THE MBUTI PYGMIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY

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VOLUME 50: PART 3
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1965

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INTRODUCTION

[P.145-A]

114 121 THE PRESENT SURVEY was originally written as a thesis for the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford University and submitted in 1956 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters (B. Litt.). It is difficult, having just completed for publication a monograph based on my own field work, to undertake the publication of a thesis written in student days, dealing with the same area but based on the work of others. It inevitably leads to self-conflict, for the new self does not always agree with the old. Further, the survey does not claim to be comprehensive. It is presented, however, as a first step in the gathering together of the earlier literature that can be best relied upon for information concerning the social structure of the Mbuti Pygmies of the Congo. It has two major objectives.

121 127 One, and the most important, is to set down in English a straightforward description of such ethnographic facts as are known about the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, based on the published and unpublished material available up to 1956, with the addition of a few references up to 1960. For the Putnam material I am most indebted to Mrs. Anne Eisner Putnam, who made available all the notes left by her late husband, Patrick Tracy Lowell Putnam.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

121 The other objective is an evaluation of the selected material, a consideration of the problems it raises, and an attempt to resolve some of the more evident contradictions.

114 121 Further reasons for publication of this survey, despite subsequent intensive field research, are, first, that my later field work (1957–1958) was concentrated primarily on making a detailed study of a single hunting band, so there is still no general structural study of the Ituri Pygmies. Also, the results of my more recent study will be better understood in the light of this survey, from which it drew its inspiration.

114 Second, despite the extreme importance of the Mbuti, one of the few remaining hunting and gathering peoples in the world, virtually all the published scientific material is in German, Dutch, or French, with the exception of Schebesta's three early travel books: "Among Congo Pygmies" (1933), "My Pygmy and Negro Hosts" (1936a), and "Revisiting my Pygmy Hosts" (1937). The only original work in English dealing with the Mbuti, up to 1961 in fact,

[P. 145-B]

was Patrick Putnam's article in "Reader in Anthropology" (1948). For the reader of English, then, some guidance is necessary.

Third, the bulk of the available material is unsatisfactory and requires careful sifting if proper use is to be made of it. Fuller details are given in the section on Source Material (p. 149). Such a preliminary sifting has been attempted in this survey, drawing on my own limited field experience of 1951 and 1954.

Fourth, Schebesta's work in particular, our main source, is, for methodological reasons given in the course of the survey, unsatisfactory for certain types of analysis. This is an evaluation rather than a criticism, for Schebesta's objectives were definite and different from those of contemporary social anthropologists, and he presented his material accordingly. In his presentations it is sometimes difficult to be sure exactly which group of Mbuti he is discussing because he regards them all as a single cultural, sociological entity.[1] This does not by any means totally negate the value of his work, which should be consulted by any student of the area, but certain cautions are essential.

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tain cautions are essential. In the present survey I have tried to make Schebesta's material more useful for analytical purposes by culling such information as can be taken specifically to refer to one or another *particular* group of Mbuti. The bulk of such pinpointed information in Schebesta's writings refers to the Efe archers of the southeastern Ituri. This group can then be contrasted with the other major group, the Sua net hunters, for which we have additional sources.

The result is inevitably somewhat disjointed and full of lamentable gaps. There is also the tiresome necessity of continually specifying "according to Schebesta, . . ." "Schebesta says, . . ." "in Schebesta's account, . . ." and I

---

[1] Such an approach is at least better than that of Gusinde, whom we must abandon altogether as a possible ethnographic source because he (1955, 12) holds that all African Pygmies and Pygmoids from the Gabon to Rwanda, and whom he groups together under the single unfortunate term "Twides," *are essentially the same in their mode of living and cultural organization.* It is difficult to see much similarity, I find, between his "Twides" in the Great Lakes region, whom he describes as sedentary grassland potters, and his Ituri "Twides" who are nomadic forest hunters and gatherers.

[P. 145-D]

[P.146-A]

114 must confess to leaving out such references
128 wherever it seemed plain that the whole passage referred to that one authority. The impression of inadequacy is heightened by the fact that almost the entire bulk of the material available is general and descriptive rather than specific and analytical. In trying to sift that which falls properly into the latter category, then, we necessarily must abandon the continuity and sense that existed in the original works. It is therefore not to be expected that the present survey will in any way offer a coherent ethnography of the Mbuti.

121 Fifth, in the course of the survey (pp. 194–
114 241) I make similar use of the unpublished notes
[127] of Patrick and Anne Putnam and expand their account of the net hunters with a limited amount of material from my own field notes dating from 1951 and 1954–1955. My own interest during those two first visits to the Ituri were other than strictly anthropological but concerned certain aspects of social organization. As I was working in the same area as the Putnams, the material is valid and useful for the rounding out of their observations. In

114
121 this way the survey points up the major differences and similarities between the two Mbuti groups (the archers and the net hunters) and opens the way both for more intensive limited studies and for comparative work.

Sixth and last, a survey such as this seems necessary in order to clear the ground of the confusion of contradictions and uncertainties in our present sources. The diversity of opinion, in itself important, proved to be of the utmost significance for my own later field work. Although it is somewhat begging the question, it might be said that only by accepting the contradictions as fact, then seeking a structural means of resolving those contradictions, can we begin to approach the truth of the situation. The survey, in this way, may be taken to point the direction in which further field work is needed. This is as true now, since my own field trip of 1957–1958, as it was then. That trip, concerned mainly with a localized band of net hunters, confirmed much of the general thesis of the present survey concerning the differences between archers and net hunters. However, detailed studies of other bands, both archer and net hunter, are vitally needed if we are to arrive at an understanding of the nature of Mbuti society as a whole and of its relationship with villager society.

[P.146-B]

[P.146-C]

The latter problem, that of the relationship 121
between the two neighboring peoples, is of the
greatest importance and has been subject to the
greatest misunderstanding. It should be empha-
sized that the opinions cited here, including my
own, are opinions and are to be accepted only
as such. It should also be realized that the situa-
tion is by no means static. Not only has the 121
relationship between the Mbuti and the vil- 178
lagers been changing even during the years since
I have known them, but so, in all probability,
has the internal structure of Mbuti society. It
is quite possible that such change has long been
a characteristic of the area, and it is almost cer-
tain that the Mbuti-villager relationship has
never been static, which may account for some
of the diversity of opinion, and a general histor-
ical perspective undoubtedly helps us to evalu-
ate the rather sketchy material at our disposal.

We have, for instance, a steady regression in 114
factual knowledge of the area from the time of
our earliest Egyptian sources right up to the be-
ginning of the present century, at the turn of
which our ignorance of the African Pygmies was
just about complete, even to disbelief in their

very existence. It is not surprising that the reports of the late nineteenth-century explorers in central Africa should have excited the imagination of sociologists, and particularly of Schmidt (1910). The material available to him was most unsatisfactory. It dwelt mainly on the bizarre, stressed the physical appearance of the Pygmies, the peculiarities of their mode of life, and generally exaggerated normalities into abnormalities with lively imagination. Schmidt was well aware of all this but was nonetheless fascinated by the obvious differences between these people and their taller villager neighbors. His work, and that of his followers, including Schebesta, are colored by this initial interest.

There was a belief that the distinct physical appearance of the Pgymies connoted not only separateness from other races but also unity amongst themselves and anteriority; that is, that the Pygmy races of the world were basically one, anterior to, and "purer" than other races. Here, then, it was thought, one should look for the roots of man's religious belief; this is the second major supposition that determines the nature and format of the work of this school. If we bear this in mind, the work of Schebesta, who was responsible for the first and only complete over-all field survey of the area, is more un-

[P. 146-D]

114 derstandable, more valuable, and more usable.

121 An examination of all the available source material indicates very clearly the necessity for immediately establishing a limited study of well-defined groups, uninfluenced by any theoretical preoccupations with questions of sociological unity, anteriority, or origin. The term "Pygmy" leads far too easily to meaningless [101] generalization. It may well prove that even the term "Mbuti," by which is understood the Pygmy population of the Ituri Forest, is too broad. The breakdown in this survey between the different economic groups of Mbuti is only a tentative investigation to discover significant similarities and differences.

114 128 In view of the existence of Schebesta's (1938, 1941, 1948, 1950) major work, "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri," with its special reference to archers, and my own field work and recent and forthcoming publications on the net hunters, the survey here has been kept to reasonable dimensions and does not pretend to give a complete picture. The accounts of Schebesta and Putnam are presented with as little speculation as possible. It will be readily seen that there is insufficient information, almost throughout, for any effective analysis to be made. But certain problems arise, and in the conclusions some attempt is made to outline these further, particularly the nature of the Pygmy-villager relationship.

121 The immediate need is for further field studies,
for which there is considerable urgency. We
have, in the Ituri Forest, a people who are still
living one of the earliest forms of life lived by
man: hunting and gathering. The extent to
which the Mbuti live this life varies from one
group to another, but we cannot expect to find
a pure hunting and gathering economy among
177 them much longer. For some thousands of years
175 the Pygmy lived this life free from any outside
[174] influence. In historic times various village tribes
invaded his forest, bringing different cultures
and different economies with them. More recently
the Pygmies have been in contact with
European civilization, which has already driven
one major road, and a number of secondary
roads, right through the forest. Luckily, no effective
attempt was made by the Belgians, until
the last two years of their administration, to
change the Mbuti way of life, and there is still
ample forest to permit a hunting and gathering
177 economy. What emerges from a study of this
182 [P.147 B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.147-C]

particular contact situation is not only the remarkable adaptability of the Mbuti to the changing world around them, but also the superficiality of that adaptability, and their much more profound resistance to any influence that strikes into the heart of their forest world and forest life. This, however, is a matter for another work. 177 182

Physical anthropology has been entirely excluded from the survey because of its highly specialized nature. A number of such specialists have worked in the Ituri area, however, notably Gusinde (1942, 1948), Jadin (1936, 1938), and Julien (1934, 1954). Schebesta (1938) has also made a physiometrical study among the Mbuti. 114 14 128

The only changes that have been made in the original survey have been minor literary alterations, the addition of a few footnotes or inserted comments, the addition of one or two post-1956 references, and a revision of the terminology used. For "Efe" and "Sua," for instance, we now use the terms "archer" and "net hunter" respectively, and in place of "Negro" we use "villager," thus stressing throughout the significance of the economic rather than the linguistic or racial differential. 128 114 101 128

tic or racial differential. It might be well to P
define how certain other terms are used. 121

CAMP: This term distinguishes the settlement 128
of the Mbuti from that of the villagers. There 104
may be hunting camps, those situated in the 361
forest and from which hunting is conducted, or
village camps, those occupied by the Mbuti
when they are visiting their villager neighbors.

BAND: This refers to the total Mbuti hunting P
population, regardless of kinship, that recognizes 121
and utilizes a common hunting territory. 128
The band may occupy a single camp or split 104
into several camps within the same territory. 621

VILLAGE: The settlement of the Bantu and Z
Sudanic cultivators who have pressed into the 121
forest. Such a village is likely to have a much 128
more clear-cut kinship composition and political 104
identity than an Mbuti band. 621

VILLAGER: This term, unless otherwise Z
stated, may be taken to refer to any of the cultivators 101
in the Ituri Forest, Bantu or Sudanic, 128
with whom the Mbuti have contact. The use of 104
the different tribal names, such as Bira, Ndaka, Lese, and so forth, would not only be unnecessarily cumbersome but suggest that the relationship varied significantly according to the structure of each individual villager tribe, whereas it seems, for the moment at least, that

[P.147-D]

Z
101 the basis of the relationship is the fact that
104 these tribes are village cultivators and not forest
128 hunters.

Z LINEAGE: We adhere to the definition and
P usage suggested in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology"
104 (1954, 88–89). The definition is
128 given as follows: "A lineage consists of all the
121 descendants in one line of a particular person
613 through a determinate number of generations."

Z CLAN: Similarly, we use this term as suggested
P in "Notes and Queries" (1954, 89–90)
121 whereby clan members may trace their unilineal
128 relationship through one line or the other, i.e.,
104 we do not use it in the sense of a matriclan as
614 opposed to a gens. Further, we here regard the
[613] lineage as a subdivision of the clan, lineage
members being able to trace their membership
to a known ancestor. A number of such lineages
hold themselves to be related by the common
descent of the lineage ancestors from a remote,
possibly fictional or totemic ancestor.

000 GROUP: Whereas I have in the original sur-

[P. 148-A]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
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Zaire FO1

GROUP: Whereas I have in the original survey, and elsewhere, used the term "group" as I now use the term "band," particularly when translating from the German (*Lokalgruppe*), I now use the term "band" as above, and use "group" only generally to distinguish, say, archers from net hunters, or Mbuti from villagers. P 121 128 104 621

THE BANTU PREFIX: This has been dropped throughout whenever I refer to persons or objects. Thus we talk of the Bira, Ndaka, and Mbuti rather than the BaBira, BaNdaka, or BaMbuti. This change is in consonance with the current practice of the International African Institute. However, we retain the "Ki" prefix to indicate language—KiBira, KiNdaka, KiMbuti. P 2 101 104 128 193

Indigenous terms, except for place, proper, or personal names, are italicized. P 2 128

Illustrations have been added. These do not set out to represent the total material culture of the Mbuti, but were drawn from the collections of the American Museum by Mr. Nicholas Amorosi.

[P. 148-B]

SOURCE MATERIAL

[P.149-A]

HISTORICAL SOURCES

114 ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING THINGS about a survey
175 of ancient and early sources concerning the
177 African Pygmies is the way it shows how, from
the time these people first entered the recorded
scene, in Egypt of the Sixth Dynasty, our knowledge
of them decreased steadily until the late
nineteenth century. To the ancient Egyptians
the existence of Pygmies was a matter of fact.
They are referred to as "Dancers of God" and
as dwellers in the "land of trees" (Schebesta,
1933, 17; 1952, 11); they are placed on the
southern borders of Sudan. A tomb of the Sixth
[101] Dynasty at Beni Hassan bears a painting of
representatives of conquered nations, among
which is a perfectly recognizable likeness of a
Pygmy, designated Aka—a name by which the
northernmost Pygmies are still known today.
Yet, until the turn of the present century, the
modern Western world believed the Pygmy to
be a myth. From Beni Hassan the scene shifts
to the Pompeian parietal paintings which depict
typical Pygmy scenes, with a forest camp of
beehive-shaped huts, and also a scene showing
Pygmies along the Nile.

114 175 177 Herodotus (1866, vol. 2, sect. 32) in the fifth century B.C. reports an expedition of Nasamonians to discover the source of the Nile. They cross a vast desert and, while resting at an oasis, are captured by diminutive men, "under the middle height."

Homer (1864, vol. 3, 3–7) introduces an element of myth when he talks of fighting between the cranes and the "Pygmaean race" to the south, but Aristotle (1910, vol. 8, sect. 2) sees fit, for some reason, to assert quite categorically that Pygmies do in fact live in the land "from which flows the Nile"; he adds that they live in caves.

An isolated reference in the sixth century comes from the Emperor Justinian's ambassador who, on his way to Ethiopia, on an island off the east African coast, came across a tribe of Pygmies speaking an unknown language (unknown even to local inhabitants). That is about the last reference to Pygmies as human beings for some 10 centuries. In the fourteenth century the cartographer who drew up the Hereford Mappa Mundi still placed the Pygmies near the

[P 149-B]

source of the Nile, although in his secondary 114
role as theologian he depicted them as monsters, 175
with their faces in their breasts or their heads 177
below their shoulders. He labels them as
troglodytes.

Battel (1625, vol. 2, 983) refers to the existence of a nation of dwarfs and places them in the land of the Yobbi, north of the Sette River. He calls them "Dongo," and it is in this area where Du Chaillu (1867, 1890) discovered the "Obongo" Pygmies in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Other seventeenth-century reports by Portuguese explorers describe what seem to be relatively pure Pygmy races who apparently brought ivory down to the west coast traders. Unfortunately, these explorers had vivid imaginations and interspersed their descriptions with most unlikely information, such as the power of these little people to become invisible, the only explanation they could

find for how the Pygmies could kill elephant. In 114
this way belief in the existence of real Pygmy 175
races in Africa was only further discredited; 177
so much so that an anatomist named Tyson obtained a skeleton of one of these fabulous beings and, after careful examination, wrote a treatise (Tyson, 1699) showing that it was quite clear that "Pygmies" were, in fact, not human beings but apes. He had good grounds for this assertion, because the skeleton he examined, and which survived until recently at the British Museum (Natural History) in South Kensington, England, was that of a chimpanzee. He rounds off his discourse in the following general terms: "The most diligent enquiries of late into all parts of the inhabited world could never discover any such puny diminutive race of mankind." His explanation of the "fables" was that travelers had mistaken apes for men (Windle, 1894).

From the seventeenth century to the nineteenth there seems to have been a complete silence. Then follows a succession of explorers, travelers, administrators, and anthropologists who finally established the fact that Pygmies did exist and were, indeed, human. But that, and their approximate distribution, is about all they do tell us. Well into the twentieth century we get fanciful adventurers seriously observing

[P. 150-A]

114 apes swinging about in the treetops and de-
175 scribing them as Pygmies.

177 The material provided by these nineteenth-
century explorers is valuable, however, for an
114 understanding of contemporary writings. Some
175 of them, such as Speke (1864) and Stanley
101 (1879, 1890), made little more than passing
reference to the "dwarfs," as they were usually called. Schweinfurth (1874) is generally acknowledged as being the first to establish beyond a doubt that there was indeed a race of such people in central Africa and to give us some real information about them, particularly concerning the association of the Aka (northernmost) Pygmies, as mercenary soldiers, with the Mangbetu tribe. He was also among the first to throw in some of the many "red herrings" that have distracted even the most recent anthropologists from a strictly scientific study of the people, leading them into the speculative realms of origin, connection between Pygmies and the Bushmen of South Africa, and degree of originality of Pygmy culture.

Others, such as Casati (1891), Le Roy (1897),
114 Burrows (1898), Johnston (1884, 1902, 1903,
101 1905, 1908), David (1904a, 1904b), Hutereau
175 (1924), Powell-Cotton (1907), and Czekanow-
181 ski (1922), to mention only a very few, give further details that are of interest but cover such a wide area as to make it impossible to gather any but the most superficial notion of a generalized "African Pygmy." When these sources provide us with factual observations, the facts are often not untainted with imagination. When they go beyond facts, additional "red herrings" are cast up, such as the silent trade between Pygmies and villagers, the lawlessness of Pygmy society, the Pygmies' complete lack of religion, and their ferocity and cannibalism. To add fuel to the fire, equally imaginative interpretations show them as having reciprocal and open trade relationships with the villagers, as living an ordered life according to their "natural instincts" for law and order, as following a monotheistic mystical religion, and as living a gentle and peaceful existence. According to this material, the "Pygmies" do have their own language and they do not, their way of life is totally different from that of their villager neighbors and it is a direct copy of villager life, they live in the heart of the forest and they live on the edge of the villages. These are just some of the contradictions that make it

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[P.150-C]

impossible to form any single coherent picture. 114

When Schmidt wrote "Die Stellung der 101
Pygmäen-völker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte 181
der Menschen" in 1910, all these contradictions 175
were his source material. Pygmies existed, but they still had tails and were flying about from treetop to treetop, or else they were crawling on their bellies like snakes to enter their diminutive houses. Quatrefages (1887) and Le Roy (1897) had, at the end of the nineteenth century, attempted to draw together what was known about Pygmies all over the world, but Schmidt's study is the first work of real importance. He confines himself mostly to the African Pygmies and Bushmen and pursues two lines of thought: first, the relationship of both to Asiatic Pygmies; and second, the place of the Pygmy, both racially and anthropologically, in the evolution of the human race. Was the Pygmy the original inhabitant of the equatorial forests of Africa, or was he a degeneration of present Bantu stock—a throwback? These "red herrings" are still being diligently pursued, while the Pygmies and their social structure have gone unstudied by any anthropologist except with reference to these problems.

with reference to these problems. The one contemporary work of any real note, "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri," is the result of research undertaken by Schebesta (1938, 1941, 1948, 1950), who was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the Schmidt school of thought, and was preoccupied with the problems of the origin and cultural unity of the Pygmies and of their racial and anthropological separateness from the villagers. 114 101

The problem of the relationship between the African and the Asian Pygmies, opened by Quatrefages in 1887, was followed up by Le Roy (1897), Schmidt (1910), Eickstedt (1934), Nippold (1936, 1937), Gusinde (1942), and Schebesta (1938, 1952). The problem itself does not concern us here, except in so far as preoccupation with it in these sources affects our evaluation of them and explains their tendency to generalize in terms of "Pygmy" or "Bambuti" culture and society.

We must ask ourselves what use can be made of all this material in a serious study of the African Pygmies, particularly as there is such a dearth of reliable contemporary material. At first sight we seem to be in possession of an abundant supply of raw material, even if we limit ourselves to the Pygmies of central 114

[P. 151-A]

114 Africa. Until the early twentieth century there are some 30 sources that seem to contain reliable information concerning not only the Ituri Pygmies but those of equatorial Africa and the central Congo area. In each of these sources we are given information as to the alleged origin of these particular Pygmies, tribal groupings and distribution, migrations, and other data. We also get fairly full and reliable information as to economic activities, particularly various hunting techniques. Technology is moderately well dealt with; social and political life is presented in a series of categorical but conflicting assertions; and religious life is frequently mentioned, but usually in such vague terms that the information is useless.

From a consideration of the material as a whole, one thing emerges: while certain points of correspondence, mainly technological, can be found throughout, superficially evidencing some uniformity of culture, the contradictions of evidence found within any one area are far more striking. These contradictions are present in all fields—social, economic, political, and religious.

114 [101] If we were not dogged by this notion of the "Pygmies" as one people, supported by their undoubted racial homogeneity and territorial contiguity, we would certainly think we were dealing with a number of totally different social systems, if not different peoples.

The more unreliable and imaginative sources have already been rejected, and we must accept the remaining information as given, however much it contradicts itself. The only alternative is to reject this material *in toto*, and there is certainly no justification for so doing other than the convenience of avoiding the contradictions. It seems preferable to accept the contradictions without trying to unify the facts. That is to say, a thorough summary of these early sources indicates that we are by no means dealing with a single people, even within as limited an area as the Ituri Forest or, indeed, one section of it. This consideration has affected the format of the present work and its limitation to a specific section of the African Pygmies. Reference to facts to be found in the early sources are made only when it is certain that they apply to the particular Pygmies under discussion. This method seems to be the only valid way of utilizing the material. It reduces the bulk of ethnographic evidence considerably, as it is seldom made clear exactly which group of Pygmies is

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[P 151- B]

[p. 151-c]

under discussion, and the material nowhere deals with any one specific group fully. 114 [101] [128]

Having spent some time examining a large body of literature, one is naturally loath to make so little use of it, but this demonstration of the need for detached localized studies rather than generalized studies concerned with or dominated by the notion of racial and cultural unity is in itself no small contribution. The extent to which one must localize sociological studies among the Ituri is as yet unknown, but some indication will appear in the following work.

It might be added that Schebesta, who made an exhaustive study of these same sources, also found himself unable to make a great deal of use of them. He (1948, 295) criticizes Hutereau, whom he regards as being one of the most important sources, for generalizing from one group to another (though Hutereau was mainly concerned with the Aka). He regards the others as even less reliable, and most of his references to them are accompanied by cautions as to their trustworthiness.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

128

Having decided, for the purpose of the present survey, to reject the historical sources for the most part, we must determine the extent to which the survey will be limited and then give a brief account and evaluation of the contemporary sources from which it will be drawn.

It must be emphasized that we are not attempting to summarize all available material on the "Pygmies" in general. Ethnography itself can have meaning only when we know to what people our facts belong and when the facts are sufficiently comprehensive to appear in a system of relationships. We see above, in the review of historical sources, that facts that would otherwise be of considerable value are useless to us because with few exceptions we cannot relate them to any one specific group of people. Further, the facts are so few and so isolated that we have no way of relating them to one another in any kind of system. When we come to contemporary sources we are not much better off. We must first decide not to include Pygmoids, 101
such as the Twa and Tswa, because of the very 128
obvious sociological differences and the feeling that we should make the present survey as detailed and as apposite as possible. Once we have limited ourselves to true Pygmies, we find we

[P. 151- D][TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 152-B]

[P.152-A]

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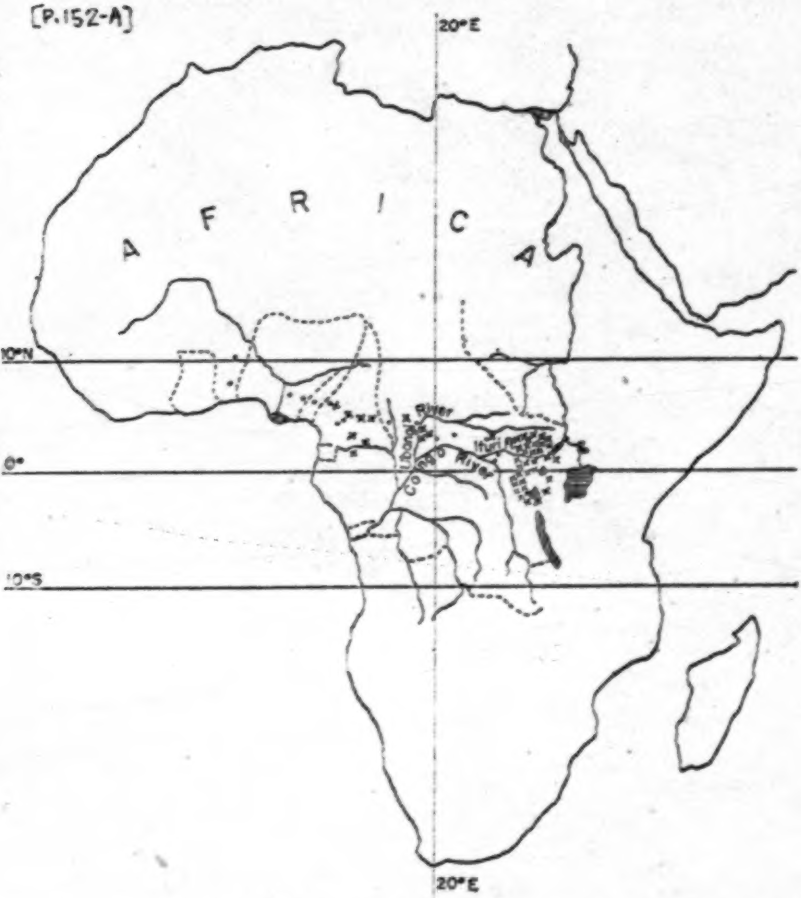
20°E
AFRICA
10°N
River
Ubangi
Congo River
Ituri
0°
10°S
20°E

FIG. 1. Map showing extent of personal knowledge of Pygmy groups according to accounts heard *in situ* or through personal contact made during the author's 1957–1958 field trip, not covering the central and southern Congo. Circles indicate accounts of Pygmy or Pygmoid hunting bands; crosses, actual contact.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

have a concentrated body of Mbuti Pygmies in the Ituri Forest and some apparently scattered Pygmy groups farther west and through the forests of equatorial Africa (Figs. 1–2). Of the latter, unfortunately, too little is known for inclusion here. 101 128

For the Ituri Mbuti one of our main sources is the four-volume work by Schebesta (1938, 101 114 127

[P. 152-8]

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 Mbuti

[P. 153-A]

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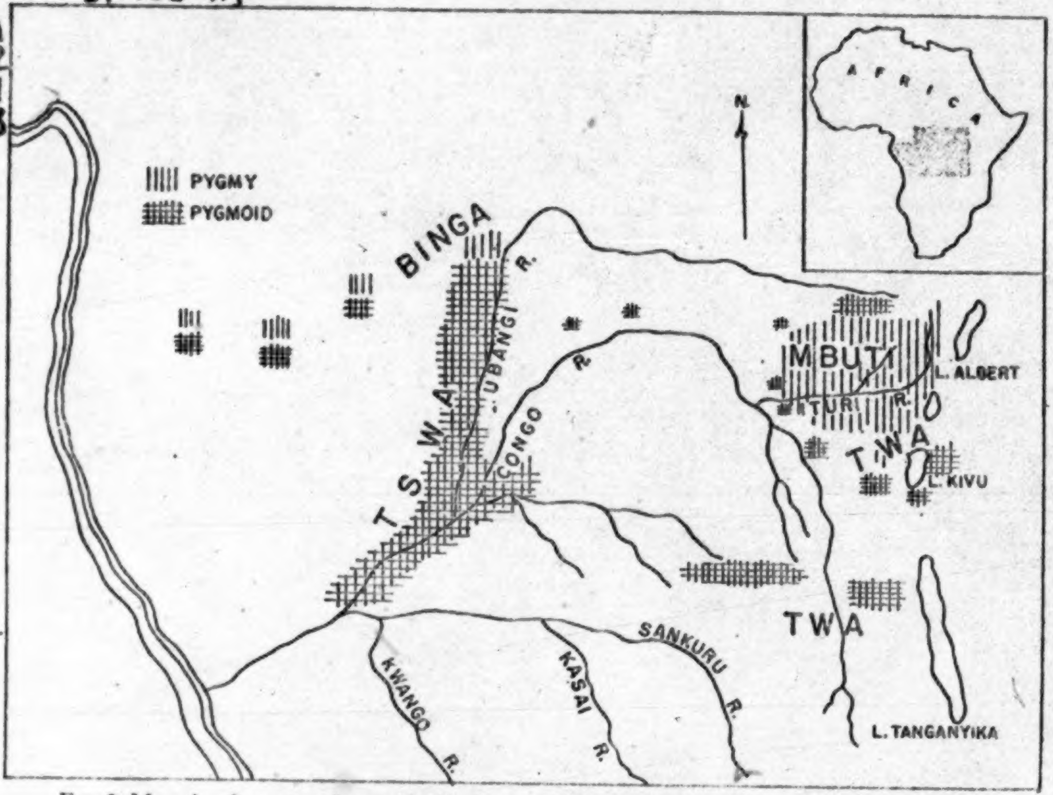
PYGMY
PYGMOID
BINGA
UBANGI R.
CONGO R.
CONGO
T S W A
MBUTI
ITURI R.
L. ALBERT
T W A
L. KIVU
T W A
L. TANGANYIKA
KWANGO R.
KASAI R.
SANKURU R.
N.
A F R I C A

FIG. 2. Map showing approximate distribution of Pygmy and Pygmoid groups in central Africa.

101 1941, 1948, 1950). Schebesta divides the Mbuti
114 (whom he calls "Bambuti") into three major
[127] groups: Aka in the north, Sua in the south, and Efe in the east (Fig. 3). His first trip to the Ituri was spent in an over-all coverage of the forest, during which he culled facts from all these groups but necessarily at a superficial level. Realizing this and desiring to make a more profound study, he returned and concentrated on the Efe in the triangle bounded by the roads joining Mambasa, Irumu, and Beni (Fig. 3). The bulk of his work concerns these Efe, who hunt primarily with bow and arrows, and as it is the only group of which he has detailed knowledge it is the only group that we present from his work with any degree of fullness. His references to the Kango in the west, the Aka, and the Sua, are too few to form a systematic account of these societies as such, and, as already mentioned, we see little value in isolated, unsystematic ethnographic data.

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There is, however, another source on the Ituri Pygmies (mostly unpublished) in the form of the field notes of an American anthropologist, Patrick Putnam, who first went to the Ituri in 1928 and was resident there until his death at the end of 1953. His material is concerned with the Sua who, unlike the Efe, are net hunters. With this material are also the notes of his widow, Mrs. Anne Eisner Putnam, who lived in the Ituri for more than eight years, until 1954; and, finally, my own field notes covering my first two visits to the same area (Epulu District) in 1951 and 1954. I combine this material as a single source, indicating its exact origin in the text, partly because, in the main, it covers one definite area, and even one definite hunting band, and partly because both Anne Putnam and myself benefited by the immense knowledge of Patrick Putnam, without necessarily being in complete agreement. 114 127 [101] 127 128

Apart from these two main sources, and a 127

[P. 153-C]

[P.154-A]

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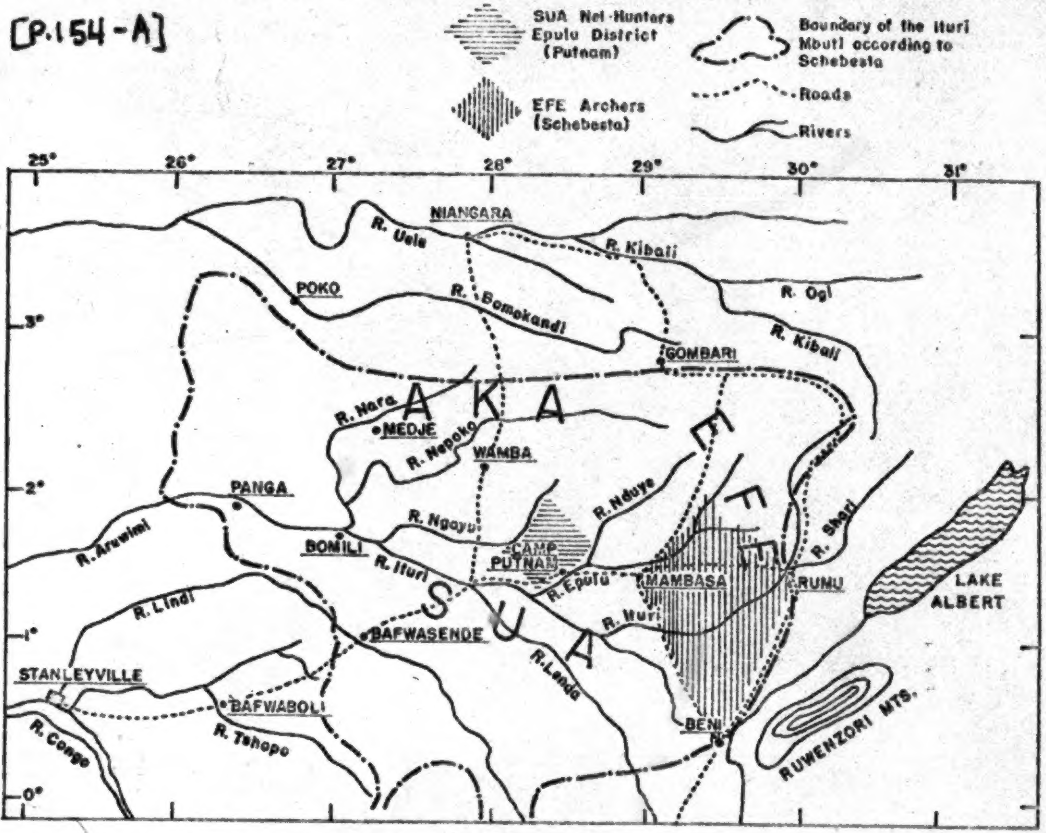
SUA Net-Hunters Epulu District (Putnam)
EFE Archers (Schebesta)
Boundary of the Ituri Mbuti according to Schebesta
Roads
Rivers
25°
26°
27°
28°
29°
30°
31°
3°
2°
1°
0°
NIANGARA
R. Uele
R. Kibali
POKO
R. Bomokandi
R. Ogi
GOMBARI
R. Kibali
A K A
R. Nara
MEDJE
R. Nepoko
WAMBA
E F E
PANGA
R. Nduye
R. Ngayu
BOMILI
R. Aruwimi
CAMP PUTNAM
R. Ituri
R. Epulu
MAMBASA
R. Shari
IRUMU
LAKE ALBERT
R. Lindi
S U A
BAFWASENDE
R. Ituri
R. Lenda
STANLEYVILLE
BAFWABOLI
R. Tshopo
R. Congo
BENI
RUWENZORI MTS.

FIG. 3. Map showing distribution of the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, Oriental Province, the Congo.

127 number of articles published in various anthropological journals, there is nothing that we can
draw upon for the present work. We have, then,
101 two distinct groups—Schebesta's Efe Mbuti
and Putnam's Epulu (Sua) Mbuti, archers and
net hunters, respectively.

101 A word should be said about classification.
197 Schebesta's division of the Ituri Mbuti into Aka,
Efe, and Sua is a linguistic classification and, at that, a division not according to Mbuti languages but to the villager linguistic groups—Mangbetu, Lese, and Bira, respectively. It thus corresponds to tribal groupings of villagers and does not seem to be particularly significant for the purposes of sociological analysis. (Schebesta is more concerned with problems of racial and cultural purity, and believes the Efe language to be of Pygmy origin; consequently, he considered the Efe Pygmies to be racially and culturally the purest.

[P. 154-B]

turally the purest. This assumption, however, is 101
open to question.) In the seeking of a more sig- 197
nificant classification, and with every available 184
source to hand, it has appeared that, as might 224
be expected, there are certain differences in
social structure related to differences in eco-
nomic activity, notably hunting technique. It
is fortunate that Schebesta's Efe are trackers
and archers, while Putnam's Sua Mbuti are net
hunters. Thus we have represented two groups
not only linguistically and territorially distinct
but also distinguished by hunting technique.
The importance of this latter distinction ap-
pears in the course of the present study. While
it is not claimed that such a classification is
comprehensive or final, at least it is factual and
more directly related to sociological differences
than Schebesta's linguistic division. Conse- 127
quently, we draw on sources in so far as they are 128

[P. 154-C]

[P.155-A]

127 related to either of these economic groups of
128 Mbuti—archers or net hunters. When sources cannot be related to our detailed study of these two types, we omit them, unless there is some special reason for their inclusion.

128 Now, before the survey itself, it is necessary
114 to evaluate briefly our two main sources, as certain deficiencies in each should be understood. The more properly critical section follows the survey; here such criticism as is presented is offered so that we can estimate the true nature and value of the facts presented by each source.

SCHEBESTA

114 Schebesta, as a follower of Schmidt, is concerned with the over-all problem of "the pygmy races of the world" and their interrelationship. He began his study among the Semang Negritos in 1924. Then in 1929 he undertook the first of three trips to Africa on which he based his work "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri." The first trip, lasting a year and a half, was spent traveling through the Ituri "*sur des pistes caravanières . . . dans toutes les directions*" (Schebesta, 1952, 16) in order to get an all-over picture of all the Mbuti and to "*établir leur unité de race et de structure sociale*" (Schebesta,

114 1952, 16). This admission, I think, is sufficient to indicate one of Schebesta's weaknesses, his obsession with this notion of cultural unity. To set out to establish a unity of social structure among a virtually unknown people scattered through thousands of square miles of forest is hardly commendable as scientific procedure. It [101] results, as one might expect, in his loose usage throughout his works of the terms "Bambuti" and "Pygmy," thus always implying that there are no significant differences between the Mbuti of one part of the forest and those of another, or between Mbuti who utilize one form of hunt and those who follow another. Further, Schebesta is constantly concerned with differentiating the Pygmies from the villagers. He looks for original traits in Pygmy culture that will evidence their separateness from the villager as well as their unity among themselves. (Any similarities he then ascribes to assimilation.) Nowhere do we find Schebesta interested in a society as such; it must be related to his own problems of cultural unity and distinctness of race. He himself (1947, 181, footnote 1) writes, "The object of my explorations was to

[P.155-8]

[p. 155-C]

stress [pick out?] that which was pygmy."[1] 114
Schebesta's division of the Ituri Pygmies into 114
three linguistic groups is another result of his 197
preoccupation with the problem of the sepa- 101
rateness of the Pygmy and villager and the
alleged anteriority of the former. He sets out to
find an original Pygmy language and claims to
have found it among the Efe archers. For this
reason he regards them as the "purest" Mbuti.
He also, of necessity, believes that their culture 114
is the purest, being least affected by contact 177
with the villagers. Yet from his account it is
plain that the Pygmies he describes live in far
closer association with neighboring villagers
than do other Pygmy groups elsewhere in the
Ituri Forest. This whole question of origin and
anteriority is so highly speculative, resting, as it [194]
must, largely on conjecture, that again we prefer our own more factual basis of classification
according to hunting technique, if only as a
temporary measure, until we have sufficient
information to make a classification according
to structural principles.

[1] [See footnote, bottom of p.155-D
--Analyst]

But there is a further and even more important criticism to be made of Schebesta's work, especially his field-work technique. His first trip was avowedly to make an all-over survey and to map the delimitations of Pygmy territory in the Ituri. He can then be excused the superficiality of his observations on social structure as published (Schebesta, 1933) in an English version and a German edition (Schebesta, 1932). He himself recognized the need for a more detailed and localized study, and his second trip, in 1934, was undertaken with this object in view. In his account of this trip (Schebesta, 1936b, 1937) in another work designed for the general public but nonetheless revealing, he tells quite plainly how he sets about making this study. The only way to get to know Pygmy life thoroughly, Schebesta (1937, 30) says is to live right in a Pygmy camp: " . . . the urgent problems to be solved forthwith, and as often as it was necessary to seek a new camp, were: a. Where would I find pygmies *in sufficient numbers;* b. Where would *I* find a suitable camping ground; c. What would I do to win the confidence of *my little hosts?* [italics mine]."

Evidently then the camps in which Sche-

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[1] "*Relever ce qui est propre aux pygmées, tel fut le but de mes explorations.*"

[P. 155-D]

besta worked are quite artificial, in that they grew up around him on a site of his own choosing. Further, he relies on neighboring villagers to send in "their" Pygmies to create "sufficient numbers." There is no certainty that the members of any of these camps even come from the same hunting band. He certainly gives us no comprehensive genealogies throughout his entire work, so we really have no idea of even the kind of kin groups he is dealing with. Further, while he moves about within a limited area, he combines all his material in such a way that, again, we lose sight of any particular society and find ourselves dealing only with an abstract model of "Efe" society.

One further criticism should be made of Schebesta's field-work technique, which considerably decreases its value from the point of view of the anthropologist. He not only establishes and works in the artificial camps already mentioned, but even within those camps he seems to have been unable to establish the kind of relationships needed for efficient anthropological documentation. This fact does not emerge in his academic writings but is evident throughout his writings for the more general

114 public. He interferes in matters of magico-religious importance with an insensitivity that is not likely to encourage confidence. To give a few examples from "Among Congo Pygmies" (Schebesta, 1933): He enters an old woman's hut, sees a charm lying concealed among the leaves, so seizes it and beats a retreat despite her protests. It is not surprising that "I barely managed to get out into the open with my spoil before all the women of the camp surrounded me with loud wails" (Schebesta, 1933, 77). Again he seems surprised that there should be some trouble because he went around the camp taking hair clippings (Schebesta, 1933, 229), and he quite proudly tells how he planned to rob a grave by building his hut over it (Schebesta, 1933, 222). It is hardly probable that this kind of attitude would have inspired the trust and confidence necessary to secure reliable information.

Schebesta also, not content with having a camp built to suit his convenience, is unwilling to let camp life go its normal (Pygmy) way. In "Revisiting my Pygmy Hosts" (Schebesta, 1937, 211-212), he is obliged to put an end to non-stop gambling by confiscating "not only the beans, but even arrows." He is also unable

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[P. 156-C]

to allow quarrels to run their natural course: 114 When his night's rest is disturbed by matrimonial disagreements he "snatches up his gun" to restore peace and quiet (Schebesta, 1933, 96). Sometimes his methods are even cruder: a fight starts over a hen he had accepted without payment, though he intended to pay later. So Schebesta enters the dispute, and "my rattan cudgel crashed among the brown bodies" (Schebesta, 1933, 113). When a villager is reluctant to allow him to stay in his village, Schebesta calmly describes half-choking him with his bare hands (Schebesta, 1933, 118), and when there is trouble in one of his camps on yet another occasion, we find the most basic rules of good field work again being somewhat overlooked (Schebesta, 1933, 89): "At last I deemed it discreet to step forward in the interests of peace and come to his aid. My well meant advice was, however, utterly disregarded; in fact the women became more bloodthirsty and more voluble. At last I lost my temper and charged into the howling mob, knocking them in all directions. I even had to threaten to give one of the amazons a good hiding. This ended the squabble and a sullen silence fell upon the panting mob."

Finally, there is reason to suspect that some of the facts presented with the certainty of an eyewitness account are actually the result either of only casual observation or even of information given by single informants. When dealing with totemism, Schebesta (1937, 143) states that Pygmies do not eat from a vessel that has touched their totem; he then reveals that this statement was based on information from a single informant, which even Schebesta himself thought to be unreliable. In "Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri" (Schebesta, 1948, 475), when dealing with the *nkumbi* initiation, he admits: "*Ich habe persönlich nur Ausschnitte vom* Nkumbi *gesehen*"—that he has seen only parts of the *nkumbi* and those only among the Ngwana at Bafwasende, the Byeru, Bali, and the Forest Bira. "These fleeting glimpses ["*Diese nur flüchtigen Einblicke*"; Schebesta, 1948, 475], however, sufficed to confirm to me the information I had gathered from negroes and Bambuti." 114

Boelaert (1936a) makes the same criticism, as does Costermans (1938). Among others, Ivor Evans (1937, vi, 15, 16, 50, 153, 177) has similar criticisms of Schebesta's field work in Malaya.
[P.156-D]

[P.157-A]

114 All this amounts not to a criticism of Schebesta's work as such, but rather to an evaluation of it from the point of view of a social anthropologist. In his work, as in his presentation of the facts, Schebesta was motivated by quite other considerations than those of a social anthropologist, and accordingly we must use his material with care. His facts we can accept with some caution, bearing in mind the remarks just quoted. His theories we cannot accept at all, unless it is with the greatest reserve, in view of the motivation of his work and his admitted preconceived notions as to the racial and cultural autonomy of the Pygmies.

PUTNAM

We must also exercise caution with regard to the Putnam material. All that is published is an article dictated by Patrick Putnam to Carleton S. Coon, who published a condensed version of it (Patrick Putnam, 1948). I myself met Putnam during my first visit to the Congo in 1951.

114 He died just before my return visit in 1954, but later I had an opportunity of spending a summer working on all his personal papers. These, for the most part, consisted of manuscript notes written during his first years in the Ituri Forest, from 1928 onward. They cover northern and eastern stretches of the forest, as well as the central (Epulu) district which came to be his home. The notes were materially in bad condition, having been attacked by both damp and termites. Intrinsically their worth is not so great as might have been hoped, though there are valuable references to conversations with old Pygmies whose memories reached back another generation, giving some historical perspective. More valuable are his notes on the Mbuti relationship with villagers, and notes on these tribes themselves, particularly the Mamvu, Mboli, Bali, Rumbi, and Mangbetu.

Isolated notes and jottings concerning the particular hunting band in whose area Putnam made his permanent headquarters, near the junction of the Epulu and Nduye rivers, prove to be of particular value in giving some idea of the composition of this band over two decades, changes in leadership, and other matters. Also useful in this respect are medical notes which he kept of all the Pygmies he treated and on which he wrote down such kinship information as he could elicit.

Unfortunately, the bulk of Putnam's notes,

[P. 157-B]

[P. 157- C]

with more detailed and systematic studies of the various hunting bands known to him, were lost when his canoe overturned. He would not be persuaded to write again but cooperated with his wife, Anne Putnam, and helped her to systematize her own observations during her eight years in the Epulu District. During his latter years he was crippled, and trained Anne Putnam to observe as an anthropologist. Some of these observations appear in a book compiled from her letters and some of her notes (Anne Putnam, 1954). Although Anne Putnam makes no claim to being an anthropologist, she became an acute and accurate observer and, under her husband's guidance, took some particularly valuable notes regarding the activities of the women's religious association, the initiation of Pygmy boys, marriage customs and ceremonies, and certain activities of the men's religious association. In addition she translated and wrote down some 200 legends as told to her by four members of the hunting group. Her notes also cover other aspects of the social, economic, and political life of this same band, but in less 114

detail. All her work has the indisputable ad- 114
vantage of being a factual record of personal
observation of a single hunting band over a
period of eight consecutive years. That she is
not an anthropologist is to a great extent
mitigated by the fact that her record confines
itself to her observations, and by the training
she received from her husband. Nonetheless
this factor should be taken into consideration,
particularly as her previous training was as an
artist. This accounts in part for the detailed
and accurate descriptions of what she saw, but
it also accounts for her sometimes highly
imaginative presentation of the facts. For in- 114
stance, when she hears the *molimo* horn at 765
night, she (1954, 84) writes: "Where the 534
Esamba roamed, there went death. Its eerie,
lowing voice was the voice of evil." In fact this,
as well as being a statement of her own inter-
pretation of the *molimo*, is also an accurate
picture of the villager interpretation. It is also 114
significant that she uses specifically village
terms, such as "Esamba" (for the more correct
lusumba or *esumba*). Living as she did among
the villagers as well as among the Pygmies,
Mrs. Putnam was influenced by many of their
notions and not infrequently used the villagers
as informants, though she always states when
the latter is the case. We must then assume that

[P. 157-D]

[P.158-A]

114 some of the "facts" she observes, she presents much as the local villagers would.

114 128 With regard to my own early material, which I add to our sources on the Epulu net hunters, I must also add a caution. My first trip, in 1951, lasting about four months, was primarily concerned with the music of the Mbuti. I was, during almost the entire time, among this same hunting band at the Epulu. My second trip, in 1954, took me through west and equatorial Africa and the Ubangi district of the Congo, so I was able to see Pygmies other than those of the Ituri, but again I concentrated most of my time at the Epulu. I use my own field notes mainly to fill in gaps in the Putnam material and to add two detailed sections on initiation and the men's religious association, here called

114 128 the *molimo.*[1] I was particularly fortunate in obtaining the material I did, and I include it because it helps to fill out the most detailed body of facts available on any single Pygmy hunting band. The fact that all this material does deal with a single band (or is used only in so far as it does) perhaps excuses the somewhat haphazard way in which it has been amassed. Obviously a single field study by one trained anthropologist would be preferable, but it is not available. Inclusion here of the notes on my 1957–1958 field trip would create an imbalance. As it is, the material is used only in the presentation of facts, and there is no reason to doubt their authenticity. If there is any fault in this joint source on the Epulu Mbuti, it is this possible fault of omission rather than any of commission.

101 131 621 The area that this band of Pygmies hunts lies to the north of the Epulu River and west of

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[192] [1] Much confusion arises through common and loose usage of the term *lusumba* among all villagers of the area. The *lusumba,* also *esumba,* seems to originate as an Ngwana magical ceremony. This is distinct from both the Bira *molimo* and the *molimo* of the Mbuti, although the terms are often used interchangeably by villagers.

[P. 158-B]

[P. 158-C]

the River Nduye (Fig. 3). The band is a relatively 101
large one and shows some interesting 131
tendencies toward fission. It did not always 621
move as a single hunting unit. Sometimes a part
of the band would be several days' journey off
in the forest, while the rest remained at the
village named Camp Putnam. Mrs. Putnam 000
frequently visited the hunting band at its various
camps, when of latter years Patrick Putnam
was more or less entirely confined by his illness
to the village.

Linguistically the band falls into Schebesta's 197
Sua category, using KiBira for the most part as
their camp language. They also use a great
many KiLese words, however, and the local
Bira affirm that they frequently cannot understand
what they call "KiMbuti," though they
recognize it to be basically KiBira. Like the
Bira villagers, these Pygmies also speak some
KiNgwana, the *lingua franca* of the territory. . . .

With regard to their "purity," it is difficult to 101
say much, particularly as it seems more satisfactory to study them for what they are without
reference to their supposed origin. They stand 101
to the villager, however, in the general, ap- 177
parent client-patron relationship found among most Mbuti throughout the Ituri, though this varies in detail from one area to another. It would seem that they are a great deal less closely attached to their village patrons than the archers described by Schebesta, and spend far less time in the vicinity of the village. At the same time they themselves, and the villagers, report other bands whose association with village settlements is still less regular. The material to hand, however, does reveal some new facts concerning this relationship, and, although interpretation of these facts can be made only with regard to this particular band (the disadvantage of such a small-scale study), at least it is more certain for that specific instance and may indicate similar possibilities elsewhere.

[P. 158-D]

[P. 159-A]

ORIENTATION

LOCATION

101 114 THE PYGMY POPULATION of the world is divided into two main groups, Asiatic and African, commonly known as Negritos and Negrillos, respectively. These terms originated in what is probably the first serious attempt to study the Pygmies as a whole (Quatrefages, 1887), and the relationship between these two groups has been an issue ever since. It does not concern us here, as our study is confined to the African Pygmies, but reference to this wider issue may be found in Quatrefages (1887), Le Roy (1897), Schmidt (1910), Eickstedt (1934), and Gusinde (1942).

TRIBAL GROUPINGS

121 101 We are concerned essentially with an ethnographic study of known Pygmy groups in Africa, but here again the field is generally considered in terms far too broad to be practical.

101 If the Bushmen, whose relationship to the Pygmies is highly questionable, be left aside, there are three main groups of African Pygmies —the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, the Tswa of the western Congo and western Africa, and the Twa between Lake Kivu and Lake
[141] [144] Tanganyika. Of these, only the first group is truly "Pygmy" according to Schebesta (1952), being under 150 cm. in stature and relatively free from intermixture with neighboring tribes. Schebesta refers to the Twa and Tswa as "Pygmoids." From all the available evidence
[184] it seems that the Ituri Mbuti alone preserve any semblance of their original nomadic life as hunters and gatherers, although little is known yet about the Pygmies of equatorial Africa.

175 131 Our earliest sources (the Sixth-Dynasty tomb at Beni Hassan, the Pompeian parietal paintings, Homer, Aristotle, and even the Mappa Mundi) all agree in placing a Pygmy population near the source of the Nile. Later sources enlarge little on this information, and the first real attempt to delimit the territory was made by Schebesta in 1929–1930.

131 The Ituri Mbuti inhabit the forested basins of the Lindi and Ituri rivers (Schebesta). The Bomokandi River forms the northern frontier. The Mbuti never move beyond the edge of the

[P. 159-B]

[P.159-C]

forest to the east. Their southern limit is 131
bounded by a line from the Ruwenzori, through Beni to Bafwasende. The western boundary runs north from Bafwasende to Panga and to the confluence of the Bomokandi and Uele. (See Fig. 3.) Apart from the Lindi and Ituri rivers, Schebesta says that Pygmies also inhabit the areas near the Epulu, Ngayu, Nepoko, and Poko rivers. Putnam makes no attempt to delimit Mbuti territory, but his notes show that he traveled throughout the area described by Schebesta, with the possible exception of the extreme south, and found Mbuti everywhere, away from the major rivers as well as along their banks.

Schebesta makes the threefold division al- 197
ready mentioned, of Twa, Tswa, and Mbuti, 101
and further subdivides the Ituri Mbuti into [619]
three major groups: the Aka to the north; Sua to the south; and Efe to the east (Fig. 3). These are linguistic groups, speaking dialects of Mangbetu, Bira, and Lese, respectively.

betu, Bira, and Lese, respectively. Schebesta 197
believes the Efe dialect to be the remnant of the 101
original Pygmy language, and for this reason he 114
considers the Efe archers to be culturally the purest of the three Mbuti groups. Costermans (1937) disagrees as to both the originality of the Efe language and the purity of Schebesta's particular Efe Mbuti. He asserts that among the Watsa-Gombari Efe, who according to Schebesta were not "true Pygmies," he found hundreds living in exactly the same manner as Schebesta's "true Pygmies."

Jadin (1936) considers that of Schebesta's 101
three groups the Efe and the Sua have remained 144
most faithful to their old way of life and finds 184
that, on grounds of blood groups, the purest Pygmies are those who live farthest from their village neighbors, from whom they are clearly distinguishable by their biochemical index.

The Aka live mostly to the north of the 101
Nepoko River, along the length of the Ituri as 131
far east as Gombari. Thence southward, to the
east of the Nduye, the Efe archers are found. 619
The Sua roam from the Nepoko to the south side of the Ituri River, from Bomili in the west, almost to Mambasa in the east. Detailed information on the Aka is not available, though they seem to make more use of the spear than the other groups. [P. 159-D]

[P.160-A]

000 the other groups. Our main source on the Efe is
101 Schebesta, whose major field work was carried
114 out in the triangle bounded by the roads joining
128 Irumu, Mambasa, and Beni. Source material on
131 the Sua is almost entirely confined to a band in
the area to the west of the Nduye and north of
the Epulu, near the village of Camp Putnam
(Fig. 3).

128 Thus the two groups available for study rep-
101 resent not only two of Schebesta's two lin-
184 guistic groups but also the two major hunting
224 techniques used by the Ituri Mbuti. The Efe
are archers, while the Sua are primarily net hunters. It is probable that certain structural differences between the two groups can be accounted for by this difference in economic activity; all such differences are also related to the different degrees of symbiosis between the Pygmies and their village neighbors. What is said of these two groups should be taken to apply within these limited areas only, though it may be found that many of the facts have wider extension.

101 The term "Bambuti" was first applied by Schebesta (1933) to the Sua net hunters only, but after his second visit to the Ituri he widened his usage to include all the Ituri Pygmies (Schebesta, 1937). This is the sense in which it seems to be used by the Pygmies themselves and in which we use the term in this [197] study. The threefold linguistic subdivision of the Mbuti is the only attempt that has yet been made to divide the Mbuti into separate groups, but it is not yet certain how far this division has any anthropological validity. It is [619] impossible to speak of Mbuti tribes or sub- [614] tribes, and, although a number of clan names are known, no material available enables us to trace any semblance of a clan system. The only 621 certain units are the nuclear family and the 602 economic association of a number of such [594] families that form a hunting band. Schebesta (1948, 288 ff.) makes this point, using the terms "*Familie*" and "*Sippe*." He distinguishes "*Sippe*" from "*Grossfamilie*," the former being primarily an economic association of incidentally related families and the second laying the emphasis on common descent. The coalescence [614] of several "*Grossfamilie*" into a clan is a concept of little significance to the Pygmy, and the clan, Schebesta writes, is in any case widely dispersed.

621 The size of these hunting bands varies,

162 [P.160-B]

[P.160-C]

among the archers from three to 37 huts,[1] but 621
averages about six huts per hunting band 162
(termed "*Lokalgruppe*" by Schebesta, 1948).
The net-hunter bands are larger, averaging
around 15 huts per hunting band. The particular
Epulu band to be considered was an exceptionally large and fluid one, in itself varying
from 10 to 30 huts. In practice it often became
two hunting bands. Both Schebesta and Put- 621
nam agree that hunting bands do occasionally 628
combine for some special hunting project, but
that such alliances are temporary and rare. The
Putnam material indicates that, even when
such an association does take place, each band
rigorously maintains its separate identity,
building adjacent but separate camps.

Each single hunting band, among both 621
archers and net hunters, has its own defined 224
hunting area, but until more material is avail- 423
able it is impossible to learn in what other ways
the forest is thought of as being divided.

1, [See footnote, bottom of p.160-D
--Analyst]

Schebesta (1934) estimates the total population 161
of the Ituri Mbuti to be more than 35,000,
in an area of approximately 100,000 kilometers;
Putnam's estimate was 40,000 within the same
area. Lloyd (1899) gives the Pygmy population
as fewer than 10,000, using information given
to him by a Pygmy in the Central Ituri. According [621]
to this information the Pygmies inhabited
the forest for a distance of seven days'
march from east to west, and six days from
north to south; and that there were 40 chiefs,
each with from 40 to 200 followers, a few with
as many as 500. There is no official count that
can be drawn on, but Schebesta and Putnam
both traveled extensively through the entire
Ituri area, and the closeness of their estimates
favors the acceptance of their figures as fair
approximations. Lloyd's reference is interesting
in that it gives some indication of what an individual
Pygmy considers to be the extent of the
Mbuti and their territory.

Reviewing his interpretation of demographic 163
data collected on his first two visits to the 165
Congo, as set out in "Die Bambuti Pygmäen
vom Ituri," Schebesta (1952, 50–53) later says
that among the Efe archers the average number
of children born to each woman is three, of
which two survive. He also finds that there is a 162

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[1] Each hut represents a nuclear family—man, wife, and unmarried children.

[P.161-A]
162 slight excess of females in the composition of the population. He gives the following figures, evidently from a population of 411 adults.

	CHILDREN PER CENT	ADULTS PER CENT	TOTAL PER CENT
Male	48.0	48.9	48.4
Female	52.0	51.1	51.6

[165] Infant mortality (32.7 per cent)
Average age 27–30
9 widowers among 201 men
9 widows among 210 women
14 polygamous families (3.1 per cent)

16 Demographic data for the Sua net hunters is
[114] not available. Putnam kept detailed medical records for all members of the band for a decade, but many of these have been lost in the course of shipment to the United States, and the few that are available do not provide a
[184] representative picture. From such data as are available, there does not seem, however, to be any significant difference between the two groups.

563 582 [166] There is no reliable detailed information as to population movement, though the general opinion is that the population has remained static for some time; nor are there data on the frequency of intermarriage between Mbuti and villagers. Jadin (1936) and Costermans (1937) confirm Schebesta's (1952, 47) opinion that miscegenation is a one-way movement. A village male may take a Pygmy wife, in which case the children will be brought up in the village, but a Pygmy male will never take a villager wife. This holds equally among archers and net hunters (Putnam, 1948, 325). Information for the Aka is, as usual, conflicting and unreliable. Schweinfurth (1874) asserts that there is intermarriage between the Aka and the Mangbetu; Burrows (1898) claims that there is no such intermarriage.

Information as to the attitude of Mbuti and villagers toward miscegenation is also lacking. Schebesta says that certain northern tribes of villagers aver horror at the idea of intermarriage, but that in spite of this it takes place and is nowhere unknown. Both the Lese and the [144] Bira tribes, with which the archers and net hunters are most in contact, are considerably modified physically owing to the frequency of miscegenation (Schebesta, 1952; Geluwe, 1956),

[P.161-B]

[P. 161-C]
but Schebesta estimates at only 5 per cent "the proportion of Negro blood passed to the Pygmies" (1938, 111). Costermans (1937), however, who made a detailed study of the Watsa-Gombari population, says that in most villages (in his area anyway) marriages of Lese or Mamvu with Pygmy women are rare. 563 582 [144]

LANGUAGE

Contemporary linguists are divided as to the question of Pygmy language. Some take the view that a search for such a language is bound to be fruitless; others (Putnam) find traces of it only in personal names and a few place names and names of animals and plants. Schebesta (1952), however, believes that he has found the remnants of the original Pygmy tongue among the Efe archers. Efe and KiBira are the two main camp languages of the Mbuti, the former belonging to the Mamvu-Lese-Mvuba language group, and the latter to the semi-Bantu Bira. 197 114

197 114 The Aka speak a Mangbetu dialect. Costermans (1937), who agrees with Putnam that the original Pygmy language has disappeared, even in the heart of the forest, states that everywhere the Pygmies use the language of the village population with which they live in symbiosis, though they retain their own accent. The Mamvu-Lese group, he says, are no exception to this rule.

19 Most Mbuti are polyglots, though Schebesta claims that the archers among whom he worked spoke only Efe, a fact that he takes to be additional evidence of the Pygmaean origin of this tongue, despite its obvious connection with KiLese. The Epulu Mbuti speak KiBira, KiLese, and KiNgwana. KiBira is used mainly as the camp language but in a dialectal form rendering it almost unintelligible to the Bira villagers. Whatever language the Mbuti are speaking there are certain similarities about the form it assumes, noticeably in the use of a hiatus (the "faucal gasp" noticed by Johnston, 1902, 1904, 532; see also Costermans, 1937) and of a curious singsong intonation. But for the present the question of originality in Mbuti language is still open, and we can state with certainty only that the Ituri Pygmies speak dialectal forms of the same Sudanic and semi-Bantu languages spoken by their village neighbors.

[P. 161-D]

[P.162-A]

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

174 Here again we are in a highly speculative field with very little data to work on. The present distribution of the African Pygmies and [175] Pygmoids tells us little. Early sources, reports of nineteenth-century travelers (Schweinfurth, 1874), tradition, and current distribution all seem to combine to indicate that the northeast Congo has at all times been inhabited by Pygmies who spread out through the entire forest area of equatorial Africa. Both Schebesta and Putnam subscribe to this view, but others, such as Kerken (1944), state that the Pygmies and Pygmoids of the equatorial forest are *not* the ancient inhabitants of that area. This school of thought prefers to regard the Pygmies as a degeneration of the basic Negro race, a view contradicted by contemporary physical anthropologists and geneticists (Jadin, 1936; Gusinde, 1948; Schebesta, 1938).

172 Archeological sources tell us nothing concerning the origin or history of the African Pygmies. Putnam reports that neolithic axheads are frequently found throughout the Ituri, often revealed when a tree is split by lightning. The
[821] Mbuti, however, do not appear to recognize their origin or use, and refer to them as "turds of lightning" (Patrick Putnam, 1948, 339). Haene (1949) reports the finding of round stones with holes, which might have been currency, in the Ituri Forest, and appeals for engineers and others concerned in exploitation of the forest to be made aware of the possibility of such finds. Soors (1950a, 59), commenting on this appeal, writes that he met an engineer who, in the course of excavation in the Rega Forest, had found a large flat stone bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions. Asked what had become of it, the engineer replied: "*Nous l'avons cassée en mille morceaus—nous ne tenons pas d'être dérangés dans nos traveaux par des amateurs d'antiquités.*"

174
175 Recorded history is, of course, nil, so any reliable historical reconstruction is ruled out for the moment and must remain so until there is much more physiological, demographic, or archeological evidence. Even the date and direction of migrations among the various village tribes are uncertain, though a considerable amount of research has been done in this direction (Moeller, 1934, 1936). We have
174 merely traditions of origin and history, and even this material is scanty and unenlightening.

[P.162-B]

[P. 162-C]

For one thing it is often difficult to tell whether a particular legend is of villager or Pygmy origin. Even from the remoter groups of Pygmoids in the central Congo, legends of origin among both villager and Pygmy agree that the Pygmies are the original "people of the forest." Verner (1902) refers to legends from the Wissman Falls area, told by both peoples, that give a purely practical account of how the Pygmies were driven before villager tribes invading their country, and how some retreated farther into the forest and others were captured and brought with their captors. Torday (1925b) gives a Luba legend attributing the origin of the Pygmies to Woto, Father of the Luba, who brought them out from the trees of the forest by singing. Torday (1925b) also mentions an interesting custom on the accession of a Luba king, the ceremonial for which requires the Pygmies of the kingdom to come to the capital to act as bodyguard for the new king. 174 [648]

bodyguard for the new king. Such isolated 174
references indicate a long-established associa- 177
tion between the two peoples, and that the 571
original nature of the association was a military
one. Casati (1891), Burrows (1898), Ward (1910), Schweinfurth (1874), and others, write of the employment of the Pygmies by the villagers as spies, scouts, mercenary soldiers, and guides. Putnam in his earlier notes mentions frequently coming across references among the older Pygmies to this relationship, which of course came to an end when the Belgian authorities stopped intertribal warfare.

Legends from the Epulu area (Turnbull, 174
1959) show scant interest in the questions of origin and history, but that here also both Pygmy and villager agree that the Pygmy is the original inhabitant of the forest and is, to a certain extent, feared and respected as such by the villager. No legends from this area of the Ituri or from any other so far reported (Schebesta, 1936b, 340; Joset, 1948, 25–56, 137–157) show that the Pygmies or villagers have any concept of the Pygmies' originating elsewhere than in this northeast corner of the Congo, nor do they reveal any doubt in the minds of these people that the Pygmies were the original inhabitants of that forest.

Socio-cultural change has been taking place 178
ever since the first villager invasions, several hundred years ago, but most rapidly in the past half century. The progress of this change can be

[P.162-D]

[P. 163-A]

178 studied both from the material available and by further field work and should make an interesting contribution to the study of acculturation and plural society problems. This change, still taking place, is likely to increase in depth and speed as the Ituri Forest is further exploited by [179] a central government. The Pygmies have constantly been thrown into closer contact with the villagers, and both have been brought into more immediate contact with the European. As the Pygmy becomes more and more economically dependent on these alien groups, the last remnants of his earlier social system will become modified and finally disappear. Up to the moment of Congo independence, the Mbuti were not subject to taxation, a fact that did not meet with their uncritical approval. The "pros and

[P. 163-87]

cons" were not infrequently discussed around the campfires; the decision, however, was generally in favor of maintaining the *status quo*. 178

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical anthropology is not treated here, partly because it is a highly specialized field and partly because, again, there is not sufficient material. The work of Schebesta (1938), Jadin (1936), and Gusinde (1948) is notable but still has produced no conclusive results other than to point out the undoubted genetic difference between the Mbuti and their village neighbors. 128 14 [114]

There is no published study of nutrition among the Mbuti, and nothing in the existing anthropological studies from which one can draw any conclusions on this subject. 146 114

ENVIRONMENT

[P.164-A]

136 **Both Schebesta and Putnam agree** on the
137 profound importance of the environment,
182 which is the same throughout the Ituri, in
determining to a great extent the life and
thought of these forest people. In the primary
rain forest there is little seasonal change. Different
species of fruits, edible fungus, nuts, roots,
and vegetables may flourish more abundantly
at one time than another, but there is ample
food of this kind at all times. The game is not
migratory, except within very small areas, and
182 is always plentiful. The combination of warmth
and humidity that produces this lush environment,
with its plentiful supply of food for the
Mbuti hunters and gatherers, also adds directly
to their material comfort. In the absence
of climatic extremes the Pygmy is little troubled
by problems of clothing or shelter. All his basic
needs are attended to for him by his environment,
a fact that, writes Schebesta (1952, 42)
does not favor "cultural evolution," but the
hallmark of hunting and gathering communities
is in any case one of "*la primitivité conservatrice*."

182 *trice.*" Schebesta (1952, 42–43) also believes
114 that the forest environment induces fear, suspi-
115 cion, and guile, and limits the intellectual
181 horizon of the Mbuti. Putnam is not entirely in
184 agreement with this view. He regards Schebesta's archers as a particularly stagnant group, witnessed by the fact that they speak only one language, whereas nearly all other Mbuti speak several (Schebesta, as mentioned above, regards this factor as an indication of their purity), and also by their inadequate individual hunting technique, which, as Schebesta himself states (1933, 28; 1952, 100–101) contributes a bare third of their food and, he writes, renders them dependent on the villagers for plantation products. These remarks are not quite consistent with his statement that the exuberance of the vegetation assures these bands of gatherers a far more stable and sufficient diet than does the environment outside the forest (Schebesta, 1936b, 79; 1952, 42).

182 Putnam associates the lack of seasonal change
825 with a general ignorance among the Pygmies of cyclical activities. For instance, the Mbuti, who observe every detail in their forest home, "are unaware that the aquatic larvae which they eat turn into mosquitoes, nor do they know that the caterpillar turns into a butterfly." [P.164-8]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 164-C]

that the caterpillar turns into a butterfly." 000

The forest throughout is interlaced with 133
rivers and streams, and the terrain is gently undulating. 182
These rivers, and the larger of the [166]
streams, seem to form effective natural boundaries [823]
and may well influence migratory tendencies, [484]
as the Pygmy both dislikes large expanses of water and lacks the knowledge of how
to bridge them. Reports of journalists and [491]
others of Pygmy bridge-building activities [177]
(Cotlow, 1956) probably result from recent attempts, by both villagers and European movie makers, to teach the Pygmies how to build swing bridges. Putnam (1948, 325) asserts that the Pygmy probably never has to go more
than 100 yards to find water. Temperatures 132
throughout the year vary only between a low of 70° F. at night and a possible high of 80° F.
during the day. The forest varies with respect 137
to underbrush but on the whole is unimpeded virgin growth, with a carpet of leaf mold between the trees. Where villagers have made a clearing, however, there is thickly tangled undergrowth.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

The environment that so favors a hunting Z
and gathering economy also allows the adapted 241
form of cultivation practiced by the villagers 361
who now live in the forest. These village tribes, 262
generally highly segmented and living in rela- 182
tively isolated communities, cut large clearings P
and make plantations, the main products of 182
which are plantains, manioc, peanuts, corn,
rice, beans, and various kinds of squash. Plan-
tains seem to be the staple food throughout.
But the cutting of large clearings opens these
villages to the intense heat of direct sunlight,
from which the Mbuti never suffer in the uncut
forest. P

The Ituri is full of all kinds of game, the most 136
important of which for the Mbuti are elephant,
various kinds of antelope, forest pig, and mon- P
key. The okapi is also hunted occasionally, [224]
though the Pygmies know that to do so is
prohibited by game laws. It is in any case a
difficult animal to catch and is pursued only if
an easy opportunity offers. Danger comes in the
form of forest buffalo, leopard, and a number of
poisonous snakes such as the Gaboon viper and
the horned viper.

There is a profusion of wild flowers and or- OOO

[P. 164 - D]

[P.165-A] . . . **There is a**
137 **profusion of wild flowers and or-**
chids and many different kinds of vine. The
824 Mbuti make great use of various species of
Ficus for the manufacture of barkcloth, and
certain vines are used to make string and hunt-
ing nets. There are also trees that give a sap
[314] which, if taken from one part of the tree, can be
used as a cooking oil and, if taken from another,
can be used either as an adhesive or as fuel for a
[278] torchlight. The Mbuti have a knowledge of
effective medicines prepared from plants and
roots, and also of poisons.

182 Schebesta (1952, 95–147), in response to
181 persons who hold that the Mbuti have no cul-
ture of their own (e.g., Kerken, 1944), points to
their remarkable adaptation to the forest en-
vironment. The level of their culture may not
be high, but, even though primitive and "con-
servative," it is distinctly a forest culture and
distinctly Pygmy. Their needs are few, and raw
material is abundant. The striking thing is the
minimal extent to which they utilize this ma-
terial. Both Schebesta (1952, 98) and Putnam
attribute this to the super-sufficiency of the
environment itself which, making minimal de-
000 mands, is accorded a minimal response. Mate-

237 Materials which could well be made use of, such as skin, bone, and shell, are hardly used at all. [789] Putnam claims that they are not used in his area, although he writes that sometimes the Pygmies wear horn charms borrowed or stolen from the villagers. Virtually no use other than magical is made of bone, horn, or shell, as far as one can tell from reports from any part of the Ituri. Among the archers there are few of the skin quivers and bow covers mentioned by [252] [262] Schebesta (1952, 124). Putnam (MS) further states that he has never known these Pygmies to skin game; they cook and eat the skin as well as the flesh.

237 411 Schebesta (1952, 124), however, writes that hide quivers are plentiful, particularly in the western part of the forest, less so among the archers in the east, where arrows are always carried in a bundle held in the left hand. Schebesta (1952, 124) also mentions the wrist protector, made of monkey skin, used by archers. 237 He makes other reference to the use of [291] skin as belts and for adornment and, occasionally, [301] the use of the skin of a Colobus monkey to cover the back, but he does not specify to which [184] Mbuti his remarks apply. We assume that, unless he specifies otherwise, he refers to the archers among whom he worked on his second trip.

[P.165-B]

[P. 165-C]

Among Putnam's net hunters, a more frequent 237
use of skin, of late, has been in the form 854
of a sling for carrying babies, but this is still
rare.

Clay and stone are likewise ignored as possible 325
raw materials, nor are there any reports [317]
that the Mbuti worked metal at any time. [316]
Apart from an exceptional case among the net [177]
hunters, quoted by Schebesta (1933), such [411]
metal as they require for knife and ax blades, [412]
and for arrow and spearheads, they obtain already [439]
worked from the villagers.

If the villager supplies the handle as well as 412
the triangular blade, Putnam (1948, 326) writes 284
that the invariable method of hafting is to burn
a hole through the wood to take the narrow end
of the blade. If the blade alone is supplied, the
Pygmy takes a thin sapling or a light branch,
splits it, and, without removing the bark,
lashes the blade in place with twine or rattan. If 412
a Pygmy is using an ax up in a tree, he will
always choose one of his own hafting, because
it is lighter. Both men and women use these
axes. Putnam (1948, 326) writes that they
never use adzes, which are the chief tools of the
village woodworkers.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

Also, according to Putnam (MS), the Pygmy never cuts a piece of wood larger than an inch in diameter. He cuts wood to make his bows, arrows, spear shafts, and ax hafts. The women use saplings of no greater size to construct the frames of the huts. 313

The material used by the Mbuti throughout the forest is vegetable fiber: From this they make the barkcloth that is their only clothing; the twisted vine that makes their hunting nets; the strings for their bows; carrying baskets and tumplines; and the basketry caps mentioned by Schebesta (1952, 173) who writes (1952, 125) that he has also seen basketry quivers. 28

The Mbuti everywhere use the large phrynium leaves that abound in the forest for roofing their huts, though when near a village plantation they may use plantain leaves. Phrynium leaves are also used in default of villager-manufactured or trade utensils, for carrying water, as cups, and pipe bowls. They use the juices of certain plants and barks for dyes for decoration of body and of barkcloth. 824 [342] [415] [386]

Mbuti exploitation of the forest has no adverse repercussions, as they move camp frequently. Among the net hunters every month or two is Putnam's estimate (1948, 335, 336). 221 361 184

[P. 165-D]

221 CP, ICC-A
361 From Schebesta (1952, 148–149), it would seem
[184] that archer camps are very much more variable
both in size and duration. Although their time
[261] is fully occupied by the requirements of their
[251] hunting and gathering existence, the Mbuti
never have any fear of shortage and conse-
181 quently have no need to store. Theirs is a
182 strictly diurnal economy. This fact, and the
abundant way in which the forest satisfies their
basic needs, not only directly affect their ma-
terial culture (and indirectly their social
structure) but also, to some extent, their social
behavior and their religious thought.

182 The present report is not the place to pursue
121 the question of the effect of environment on
personality and behavior, a study more prop-
erly in the field of psychology than social
anthropology. But it is worth emphasizing the
probable importance of the environment in this
respect, as it becomes especially significant
when we study the religious life of the Mbuti.

182
121 It is also significant in considering the relative systems of values of the Mbuti and the villagers, in so far as it develops certain qualities in the Mbuti that further accentuate their physical difference from their village neighbors. Just as the forest itself stands out in sharp contrast to the plains, so the forest people stand out in contrast to the plains people—even those who have made a notable adaptation to a forest environment such as the Ituri village tribes. The value in emphasizing the importance of environmental considerations lies not in any causal explanation of material culture or social structure offered by such considerations, but in creating an awareness of this very fundamental opposition.

[P.166-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 166-C]

According to Mbuti opinion the villager is deficient in the senses of sight, smell, hearing, and touch. There is little doubt that the Pygmy is extra-sensitive in these respects, but no scientific investigation has been conducted as yet to determine the exact extent. But if the environment favors a certain type of physical development, it also favors a certain type of emotional development. We must think of the forest not only as a place of abundance, offering a sufficiency of food and shelter, relatively free from danger, but also as a closed world, very unlike the open world of the plains dwellers. Not only has the Pygmy little incentive to develop beyond his diurnal economy, each day taking care of itself, but also he has little to make him think except in terms of the present. 182 [829] [151]

1: Turnbull E-4 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

The past and the future pale into insignificance when compared with the moment. To understand this isolated, self-sufficient Pygmy world of the moment is also to understand something about the Mbuti relationship with the villager living in a very different, expansive, and uncertain world of change. 182

It seems worth mentioning the environmental factor also because the Pygmy himself takes it into consideration. His myth and mime, both important mediums of expression of the Mbuti, accentuate the opposition between the forest and the outside world, and between their peoples. They show a constant effort on the part of the Mbuti to effect a satisfactory relationship with the forest world that dominates their lives with such certainty and inevitability. It is not necessary to consider the environment further, but we must go this far in order to begin to understand the people whose society we are studying. 182 778 [538] 182

[P.166-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

THE ARCHERS (AFTER SCHEBESTA)

[P.167-A] THE SOCIAL UNIT

621 THE MOST IMPORTANT SOCIAL UNIT is formed by
the economic association of individual families
as hunting bands (*Lokalgruppen;* Schebesta,
1948, 304 ff.; 1952, 210) which vary in size.
Schebesta (1952, 208) gives the range as be-
tween two and 12 huts, averaging six huts per
621 band. They are said, in effect, to be patriline-
613 ages, but Schebesta stresses the importance of
the economic rather than the lineal ties; in his
German publications he uses the term "*Sippe,*"
in French "*Parentele.*" In German, he dis-
tinguishes the *Sippe* from the *Grossfamilie*, the
latter being more properly the lineage regarded
in its kinship context. The elder, who occupies
621 considerable prestige and has considerable per-
613 sonal authority over the *Grossfamilie*, is only
888 *primus inter pares* for the *Sippe* (Schebesta,
1948, 290). The prerogative of the elder depends
on age, and these *avi-tiri*, or old ones, according
to Schebesta, are endowed with the authority
and dignity of the ancestors. Their power is
limited by custom and tradition.

[ARCHERS]

613 614 A number of lineages are associated into clans, but these are widely dispersed and have neither political nor economic significance. Tribal sense, says Schebesta, is entirely foreign to the Mbuti. 619

361 The bands are generally found on the edges of small villages, but still in the shade of the forest, according to Schebesta. Jadin (1936) says that only some Efe archers make their camp near the villages. Schebesta (1941, 132–133) finds that the exact location of the camps depends on the food quest, and that the presence of water and shade is a major consideration.

HABITATIONS

361 342 [462] [341] The huts are built in a circle around a clearing by the womenfolk of the individual families. Saplings are cut, bent, and twisted together to form a beehive-shaped frame, which is covered with large phrynium leaves. This is the kind of hut described by most sources. Schebesta also describes tunnel-shaped huts.

FURNITURE

352 The furniture of an archer hut is limited to a crude bed of sticks and lianas, raised from the

[P. 167-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.167-C]

ground on four short forked branches. More 352
often the sticks, or simply leaves, are laid on
the ground to make a bed. There may also be a
wooden stool, given by or stolen from the villagers, or a rough chair made from stout saplings lashed together with vine. Meat-drying 417
racks (Fig. 12) are built over smouldering fires 251
to preserve meat for barter.

UTENSILS

Cooking utensils, clay pots, and heavy 415
wooden mortars are obtained from the villagers 412
(Fig. 4). The first-mentioned are never made by 177
the Mbuti, but Schebesta says that many [439]
archers now make mortars for themselves.
There may also be wooden plates of village
origin, baskets, and basketry winnowing trays.
All metal knife and ax blades (Figs. 13–14) also 412
come from the villagers, and, like the cooking 177
utensils, these foreign importations are said to [439]
have become indispensable to the archers.

[ARCHERS]

There are different types of knives, some hafted, 412
some unhafted, always worn in the belt by 177
women and used for preparing food and for
sharpening the pointed sticks used by them in
both gathering activities and in cooking. Other 41
items that might be found in or around an Efe
archer hut include hunting equipment, such as a [534]
bow and quiver of arrows (Figs. 6–9), a dog bell [231]
(Fig. 7i), an ax for cutting small saplings and [276]
sometimes used in the search for honey, an [854]
ivory or wooden beater for barkcloth, clay pipe [789]
bowls (Fig. 5), hide slings for carrying children,
and a few personal possessions such as hunting
charms. Of exceptional interest, perhaps, is the 285
basketry press (Fig. 11), used among the arch- 252
ers for extraction of juice from fruits.

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Clothing consists mainly of barkcloth worn
tucked between the legs. The upper part of the
body is rarely covered, and then only by a skin
cape worn over the shoulders by old men. Bas-
ketry caps are worn by men, and sometimes fur
bands which may also be worn on the arm.
Schebesta also mentions bracelets of shredded 301
bark. Both men and women may wear, around
the upper arm or wrist, fiber cords to which
small pieces of wood, teeth, and other charms
are attached. Leaves, flowers, nuts, and feathers

[P.167-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168-B]

[P.168-A]
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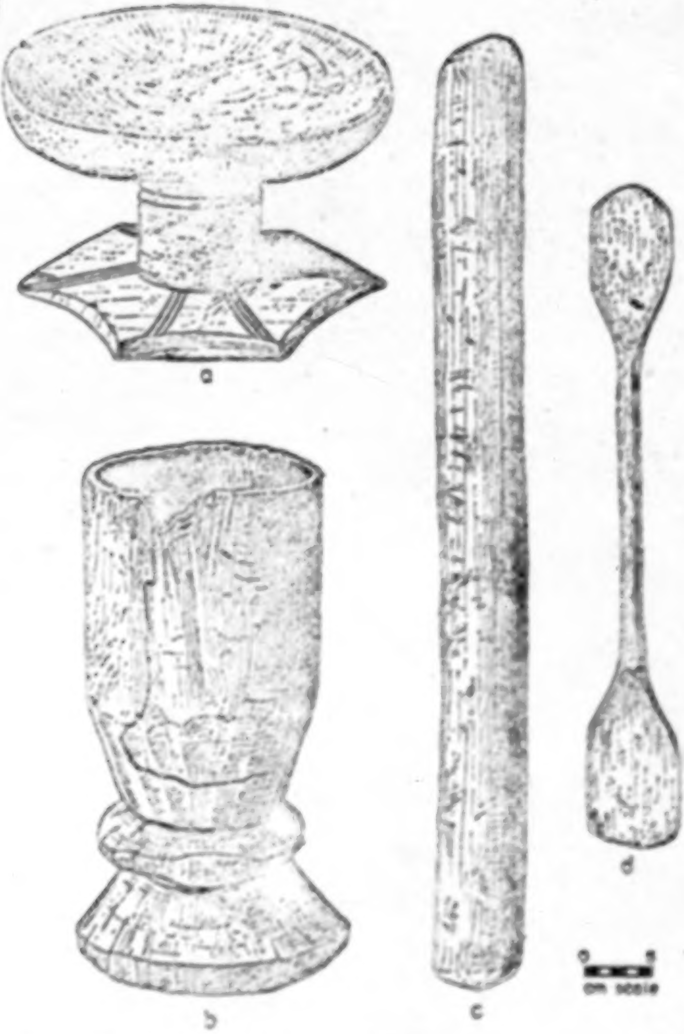

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[426]
[685]

FIG. 4. Household utensils carved from wood, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Stool. b. Mortar. c. Pestle. d. Stirrer. Throughout the Ituri the Mbuti frequently borrow or steal wooden utensils from the villagers. These may be found in hunting camps close to villages.

[ARCHERS]

[P.168-B]

301 are also used for adornment. Both men and women may wear combs in their hair. Sometimes the Mbuti make such combs themselves, more often they are borrowed or stolen from the villagers (Fig. 15a).

Body Decoration

304
177 Body mutilation is practiced occasionally in imitation of the villagers. Schebesta mentions
302 as a peculiar "Bambuti" custom the plucking of eyelashes, also the shaving of the head for esthetic effect. Men may tattoo their foreheads;
304 women, their faces, stomachs, and backs. Teeth may be chipped, and sometimes women pierce their nasal septa, lips, and earlobes. Cicatrization is very rare. All Mbuti, says Schebesta, like
302 to paint the body for esthetic effect as opposed to the magical significance of facial painting.
[386] White, red, and black are the colors used, the dyes being obtained from clay and certain

[ARCHERS]

[P.169-A]

302 386 [462] barks. The preparation of the dyes and the painting of the geometric designs are a woman's art.

Care of Body

515 Schebesta says that bodily care is very much neglected among the Mbuti. He agrees with and quotes Stuhlmann (1894) who writes that the Pygmies are exceptionally dirty and are afraid of water. Schebesta also mentions the fondness of the Mbuti for rubbing oil into the skin.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 [439] The hunting dog (Efe: *ĕbó*) is the sole domestic animal. Schebesta says that all Mbuti maintain hunting dogs, bought from villagers or [534] acquired by trade. These dogs are mute; hence the need for dog bells, made by the Pygmies themselves and hung around the dog's neck (Fig. 7i).

[ARCHERS]

TECHNOLOGY

824 237 Archer technology uses only wood, fiber, and vegetable plants for raw material, with exceptional use of skin for quivers and baby slings, and fur for decoration of body and of the hunting bow.

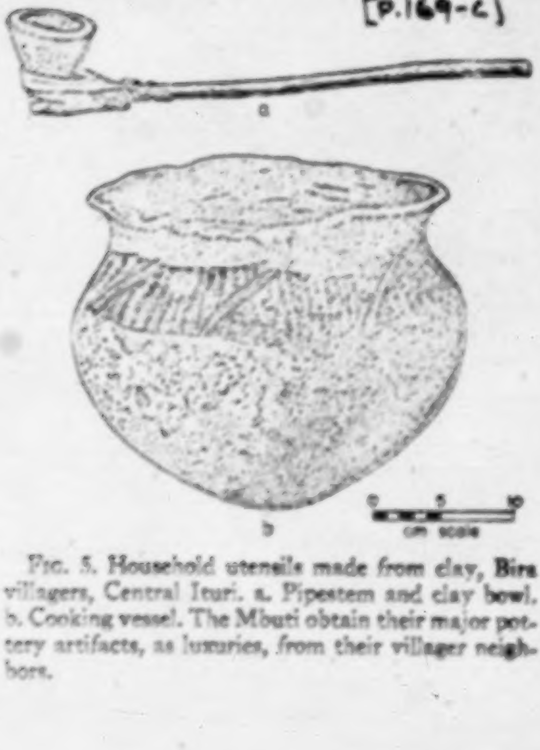
372 Fire making is unknown, though the usage of fire itself is universal. Schebesta (1941) stresses its importance to the Mbuti, and says that embers are always carried about, even on the march. A new fire is lit by taking embers from an old one. Fire is further the only means of lighting, the wood *akata* giving the best light.
[373] [416] When walking at night, the Mbuti always carry firebrands and light the path by scattering sparks in all directions. Fire is used, apart from purposes of cooking, giving warmth, and lighting, as the only adequate weapon against the black ants that not infrequently invade Mbuti camps in the middle of the night and force immediate withdrawal. Trilles (1932) and Le Roy (1897) both mention fire making by different techniques among the Pygmies in the then French Congo, but no reliable source has mentioned the practice of fire making among Ituri Pygmies. Many travelers and observers mention its absence.

411 [114] As confirmed by all explorers except Burrows (1898) who spoke of the Aka, the Mbuti use poison on their arrows (Schebesta, 1941). They never, however, put poison on arrows tipped

[P.169-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169-D]

[P.169-C]



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415
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FIG. 5. Household utensils made from clay, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Pipestem and clay bowl. b. Cooking vessel. The Mbuti obtain their major pottery artifacts, as luxuries, from their villager neighbors.

P
[439]
[323]

[ARCHERS]

with metal points. Schebesta believes that a 411
number of different poisons are used, apart from the poison described in detail by Parke (1891). The poisoned arrows are used against tree-dwelling animals, particularly monkeys, and [224]
hardly ever against antelopes or larger game. Schebesta contradicts, in the light of his own experience, Stanley's (1890) assertion that [114]
Mbuti hunt buffalo and elephant with poisoned arrows.

Mbuti use of antidotes is not known to Schebesta (1941, 65). 278

ECONOMIC LIFE

Hunting 224

Schebesta (1941, 86 ff.) describes the various hunting techniques used throughout the Ituri. The Efe among whom he did his most detailed work are primarily archers. They do not know the net hunt and seldom practice the communal beat (Efe: *begbe*). Schebesta (1941, 86) ranks the ambush as most important. This method of hunting is used by the older men no longer able to track game successfully. They lie in wait and imitate the call of the game, attracting it until it is within range of their iron-tipped arrows.

The daily hunt, however, is the track hunt

[P 169-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.170]

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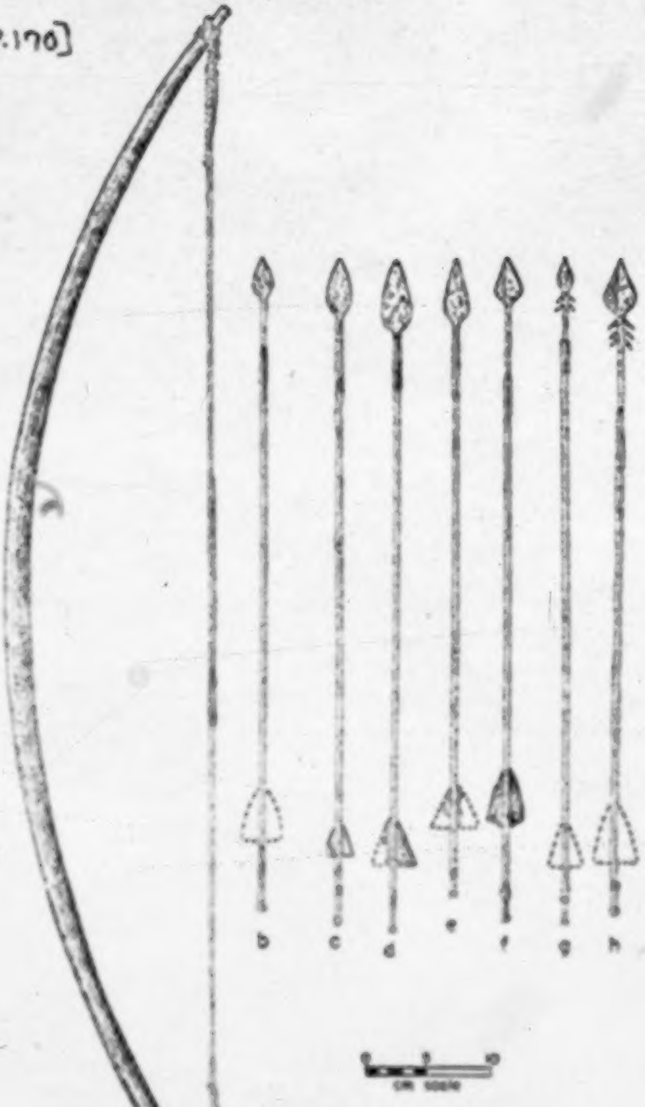

FIG. 6. Hunting equipment, archers, Kilo District, East Ituri. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. These are typical of the eastern archers and similar to the bows and arrows of the neighboring Nyari villagers.

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[P.171-A]

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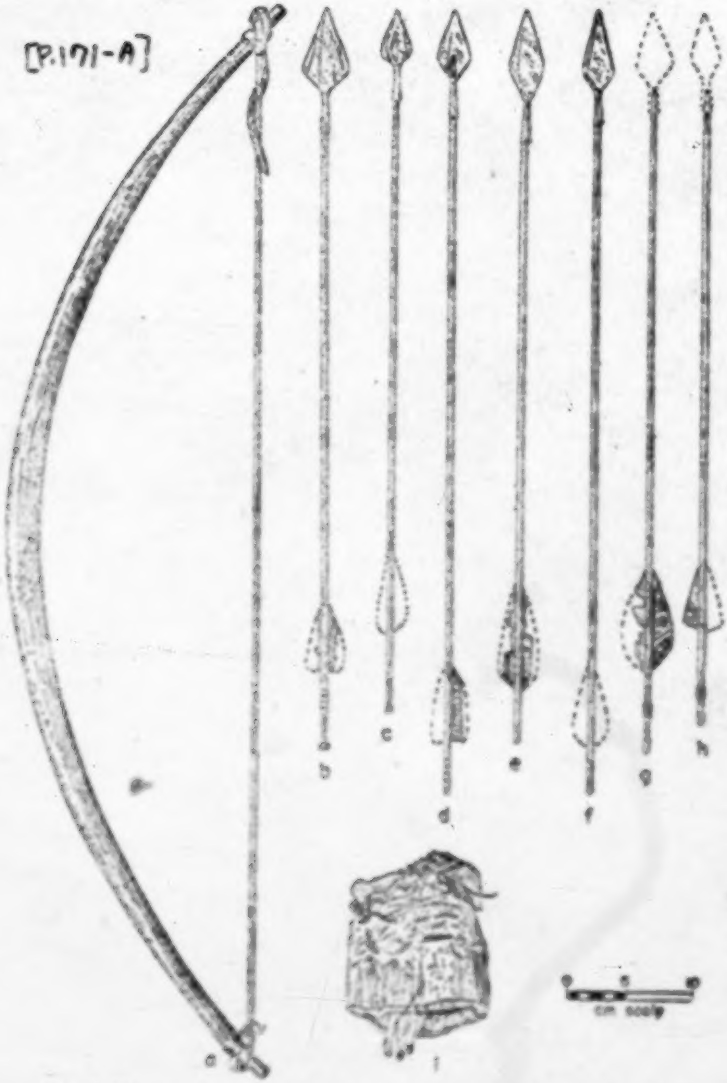
a
b
c
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cm scale

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534

Fig. 7. Hunting equipment of a western archer from Nduye District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–h. Arrows. i. Dog bell.

[ARCHERS]

224 (*Hetzjagd*, Schebesta, 1941, 89; Efe: ***motá***) in which the male members of the local group take part. Five or six men go out when the sun is high (and the undergrowth dry) accompanied by hunting* dogs. Schebesta mentions a hunt leader (Efe: ***aetasi***) who gives the signal for departure and follows the dog, guided by the sound of its wooden bell. He shouts encouragement to the dog, and the other trackers, guided by these sounds, spread out on either side of the hunt leader. When the dog puts up game, the hunters all stand rigid, bows flexed, ready to

[P. 171-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 172-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.172-A]

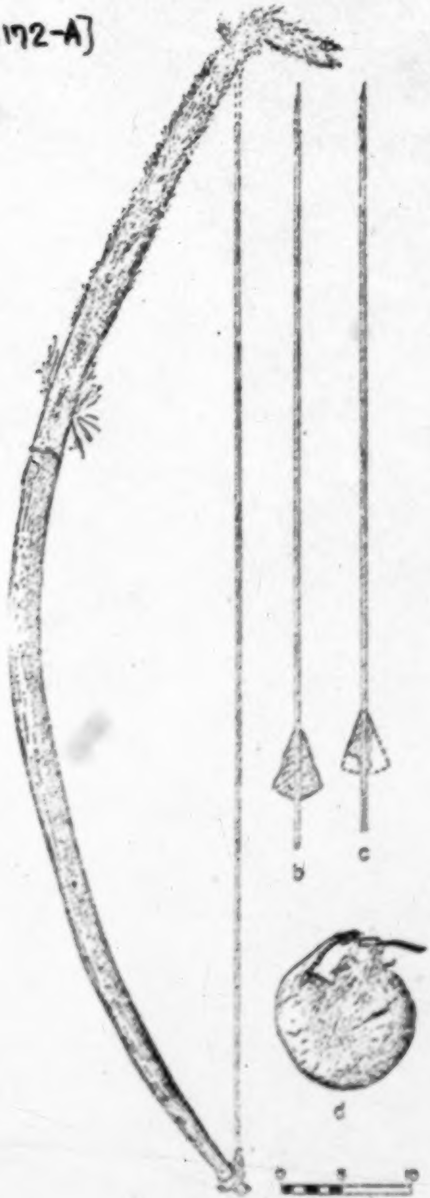

Fig. 8. Hunting equipment, archers, Oysha District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–c. Arrows. d. Wrist protector. Bows and arrows and wrist protectors of [184] the archers seem, on the average, to be approximately 3 to 4 inches longer than those of the net hunters

[ARCHERS]

[P. 172-B]

shoot if the animal passes their way. Sometimes 224
the animal is killed by the dog; sometimes it escapes or is only wounded and must be pursued. It may happen that the dog itself is wounded, a major catastrophe for the hunters.

The rewards of this type of hunt are varied. A group of five or six hunters may be able to bring back an antelope each day, or may fail completely for days on end. The hunt seldom strays far from the camp and, with or without game, returns by late afternoon. According to Schebesta, the game caught is usually gutted on the spot and divided among the hunters, who bring back their shares wrapped in leaves, nothing being left unused. This division of game is according to traditional usage. If the game is [554]
brought back whole, only the elder with the aid of an assistant can divide it. It is laid on leaves, then skinned with sharp metal arrowpoints and gutted. The sharing is theoretically only between members of the band, but in fact is between any who took part in the hunt directly or indirectly. Thus the owner of the dog, or of the bow and arrow (if borrowed) that killed the game, may claim a share. An animal killed in [628]
the territory of another band belongs to that band, but Schebesta says that normally neighboring bands overlook this unless it happens frequently, when hostilities may ensue.

[ARCHERS]

This method of hunting serves only for ante- 224
lope; Schebesta never saw okapi, wild boar, or [136]
big game brought in from such a hunt.

The beat hunt seldom takes place, says
Schebesta (1941, 98), because it requires the
participation of large numbers of people, often
from more than one band, including women and
young girls, who can seldom be persuaded to
take part. Also, it occupies an entire day. Ritual 224
preparations include setting fire to certain herbs 372
by the hunt leaders (an old man and an old
widow in the hunt described by Schebesta).
This produces a dense smoke, the sight and [776]
scent of which bring the hunters to the atten- [782]
tion of their God. The old widow asks that rain [828]
should not surprise them. The ritual takes place
a little way off from the camp; the other mem-
bers of the hunt when they arrive rub their
temples and eyes with the cinders, as did the
old couple, in order to see better. The *begbe* hunt 224
then sets out, and, when a suitable spot is 824
found, the women make their petards from a
certain bush (Efe: *magbe*). By rolling the leafy
[P.172-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P-173-A]

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[237]

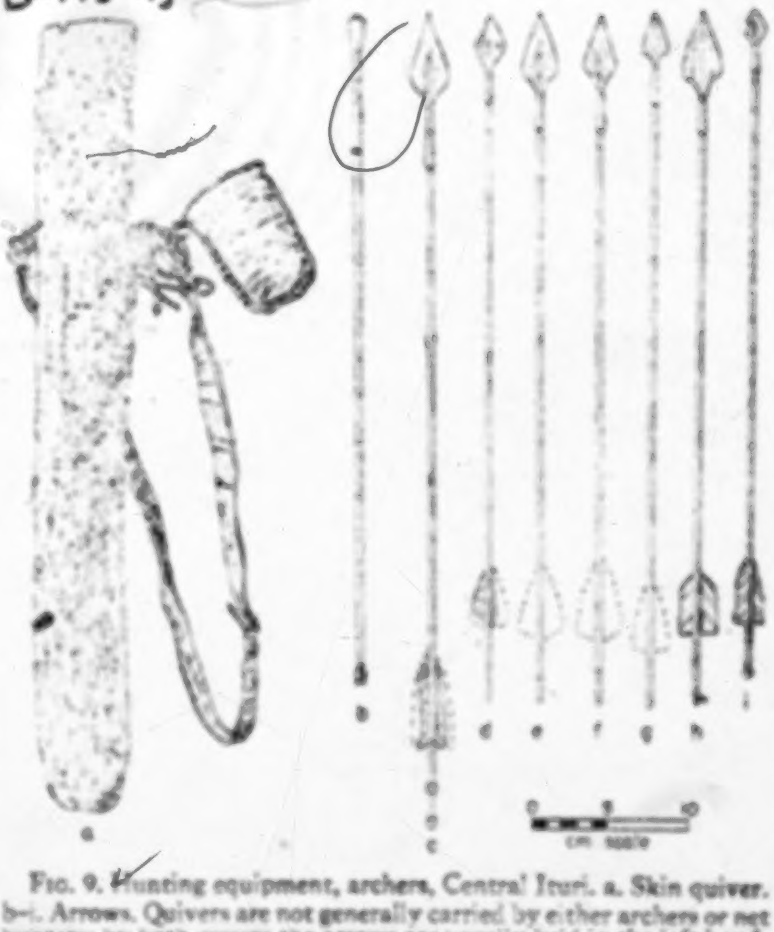

FIG. 9. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri. a. Skin quiver. b–i. Arrows. Quivers are not generally carried by either archers or net hunters; by both groups the arrows are usually held in the left hand, together with the bow.

[ARCHERS]

224 [924] stems in a special way they form cylinders which, when struck on the ground, make an effective clap. The women then go ahead and by the loud beating of their petards put up game for the men to shoot with their metal-tipped arrows. This form of hunt is usually successful in killing a number of animals, which are shared among the various hunting bands that took part in the beat.

Elephant hunting takes place only among those Mbuti who use spears (Fig. 10; Schebesta, 1941, 106); bows and arrows are quite incapable of doing more than blind an elephant, despite the reports of imaginative travelers to the contrary. Those archers who use only bow and arrow do not hunt elephant. Wild boar, similarly, are killed only with spear, especially when
[262] they appear near the camp. Monkeys and chimpanzees, considered as delicacies, are pur-

[P. 173-B]

[ARCHERS]

sued and shot with bow and arrow whenever the 224
opportunity arises but are never the object of [262]
organized hunting. Other smaller animals and birds are hunted individually; those that take refuge in holes in trees are smoked out.

Schebesta's account suggests that, despite his 224
proficiency at the hunt, the Pygmy takes care 789
to protect himself against its attendant dangers [776]
and disappointments by securing the coopera- [769]
tion of the God of the Forest, and of his ancestors, and by making use of magic. He carries charms, observes various taboos, and performs certain rites—mostly sympathetic. It is not clearly stated, however, exactly which rites and charms are used by which particular Pygmies; there is obviously a great deal of variation. Schebesta clearly indicates, however, that among the archers there seems to be a considerable amount of hunting magic and ritual, witnessed by their use of the special whistles (Efe: *segbe*), magic formulas, invocation, and ritual practices he describes.

[P. 173-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[ARCHERS]

[P.174-A]

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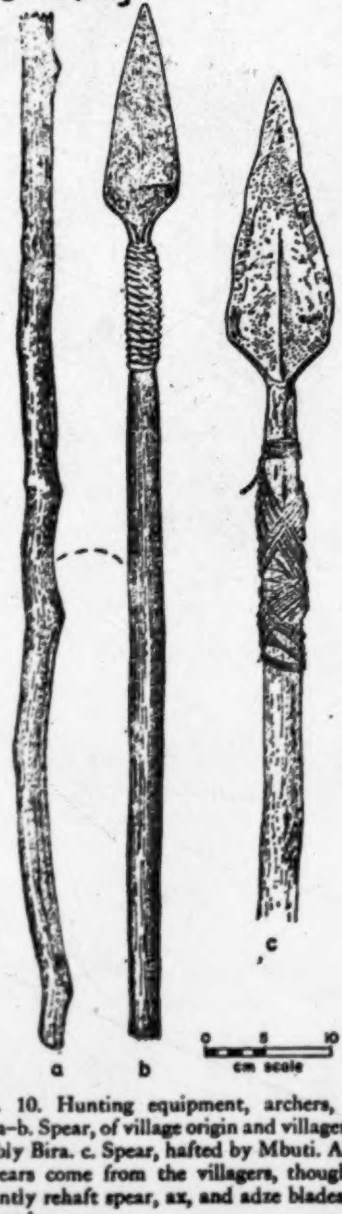

FIG. 10. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri. a–b. Spear, of village origin and villager hafted; probably Bira. c. Spear, hafted by Mbuti. All blades for spears come from the villagers, though Mbuti frequently rehaft spear, ax, and adze blades, to suit their needs.

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[197]
[439]

[ARCHERS]

[P.174-B]

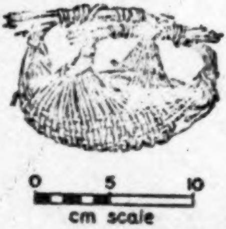

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FIG. 11. Fruit press, archers, Kilo District, East Ituri. An unusual utensil, found in the hunting camp of an eastern archer band, used for extracting juice.

GATHERING

Meat, however, forms only about 30 per cent 262
of the diet (Schebesta, 1941, 11). The archers' [462]
staple is essentially vegetarian, and this is provided
almost exclusively by women. First place [439]
goes to the plantains, sweet potatoes, and peanuts
acquired from the villagers in return for
meat or service. But the forest itself provides an
abundance of roots, vegetables, fruits, nuts, and
edible fungi, all of which the Pygmy uses.
Schebesta gives no details as to the exact proportions
of these various foodstuffs consumed,
so it is impossible to get any idea of the dietetics
of this group. He also mentions the place of
snails and grubs, termites and ants, larvae, and
certain types of snake in the diet. Fish form [226]
only a small part of the diet, but the womenfolk
catch crabs and small fish in the shallow
streams, using their hands or small nets.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

HONEY GATHERING

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[221]

Honey gathering is of particular importance and is seasonal. The equipment consists of fire,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.175-B]

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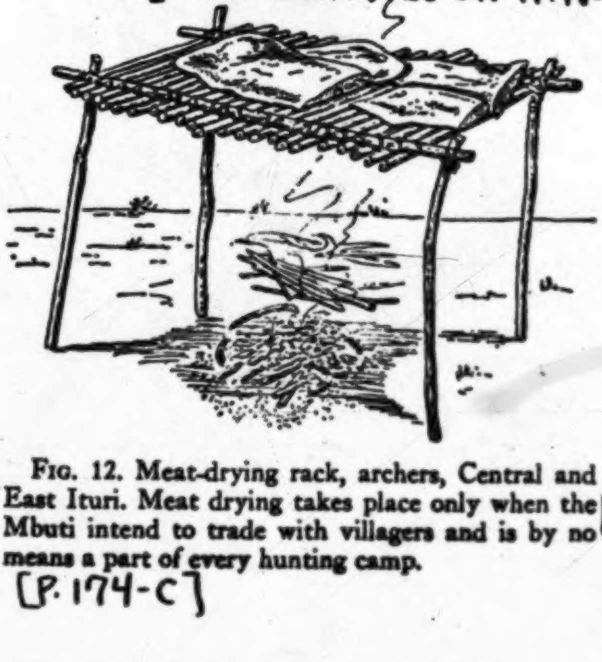

FIG. 12. Meat-drying rack, archers, Central and East Ituri. Meat drying takes place only when the Mbuti intend to trade with villagers and is by no means a part of every hunting camp. [439]

[P. 174-C]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[ARCHERS]

[P.175-A]

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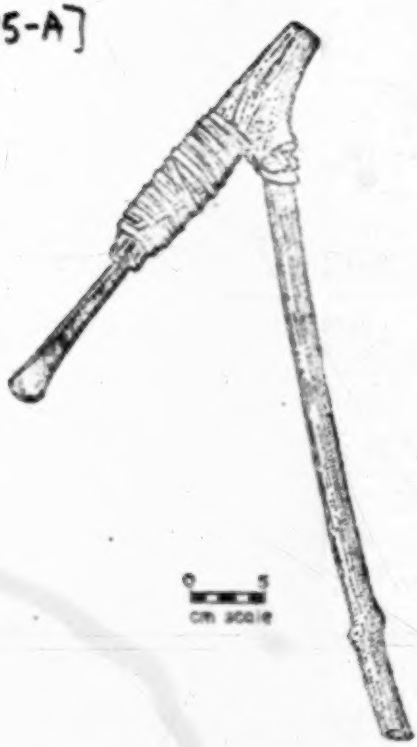

FIG. 13. Adze, Bira villagers, rehafted by Mbuti archers, Central Ituri. A villager utensil, useful but not indispensable to the Mbuti, for the extraction of honey from hives in tree boles.

[ARCHERS]

222 a honey ax, and probably some liana to assist in the climbing of the tree where the bees have been found. The Pygmies smoke out the bees by thrusting glowing embers, wrapped in a leaf, into the hive. Then the hole is enlarged with the ax until the Pygmy can thrust in his hand and arm and take out the honey. Schebesta says [776] that the honey gatherer throws some to the God [782] of the Forest before he or anyone else is allowed to taste it. (A similar practice is attributed to [462] archers when they divide the game.) If the bees are the kind that construct a hive in a hole in the ground, then the honey is collected by women. This kind of bee does not sting, but the tree bee does. The honey is distributed by the woman to members of the local band as she thinks fit, the children receiving the largest share.

857 22 The direct contribution of the children to the food quest is mediocre. Apart from such help as they give their parents in hunting and gathering activities, the children amuse themselves by hunting forest rats and mice with miniature bows and arrows. Anything they catch in this

[P 175-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.175-C]

way is theirs to cook and eat without having to be shared. 857 22

Drinks, Narcotics, and Stimulants

276

As stimulants Schebesta mentions *bangi* (hemp), its counterpart from the forest plant *medeaka*, and the kola nut. Palm wine, banana wine, and tobacco are available only from the villagers' plantations.

Food Restriction

Clan totems (nearly always animal, rarely vegetable) are always taboo; even indirect contact must be avoided. There are other ta- 262

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 176-A]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[P·175-D]

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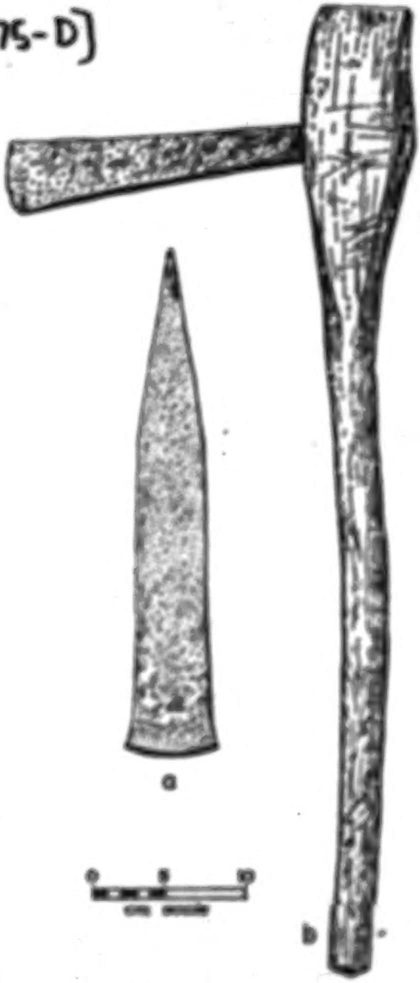

FIG. 14. Household utensils of metal, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Ax blade. A common gift made by villagers to Mbuti, nominally under their control, on the occasion of an Mbuti marriage. b. Ax, used by Mbuti mainly for the cutting of light saplings with which they make their house frames; Bira hafting.

B
[179]
[571]
[431]

[ARCHERS]

[P.176-A]

262 boos, mostly acquired during initiation, not connected with the clan totem. These two classes of taboos are responsible for what food restrictions there are.

TRADE

433
439
177
22 The food quest is, in Schebesta's words, the alpha and omega of Mbuti economy. It is a day-to-day economy. The supposed uncertainty of adequate supply is given as the reason for the alleged dependency of the Mbuti on the villagers. At times the Mbuti have no food; at others, they have an excess. But living in a symbiotic relationship with the villagers, the Pygmies are able to maintain a steady diet, relying on the villagers in times of shortage and in times of plenty supplying them with forest produce. According to Schebesta, their relationship is based on this exchange. The Pygmy not only has come to rely on village plantations to supplement his own inadequate diet, but he has come to rely on villager-manufactured tools and utensils. Jadin (1936) says that the Pygmies know no resources other than those available through hunting and gathering, despite villager domination.

[ARCHERS]

439 177 This trade relationship has been noticed by many of the earlier travelers, some of whom referred to it as "silent trade" (notably Burrows, 1898), while others found it to be quite open (Lloyd, 1899). [114] But Schebesta (1941) is inconsistent in attributing it to the inadequacy of the environment, which, in the same work, he claims is responsible, through its very abundance, for the lack of advance in Pygmy culture. Nor does he indicate precisely *how* the trading is carried out. [613] He says that there is, however, a definite hereditary relationship between Efe archer and Lese villager lineages.

SOCIAL LIFE

594

Family Organization

[342] Individual families each have their own beehive- or tunnel-shaped hut, a stick frame hung with phrynium leaves (p. 167). Schebesta (1933, 219–220; 1952, 154) reports once having seen a gigantic windscreen housing several families in an otherwise normal camp. [621] [613] Although each family emphasizes its individuality by separate residence, as a social unit it is far less significant than the band (a patrilineage, according to Schebesta) of which it is a part and outside which it could not exist.

[P 176-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 176-C]

The huts are built by women, and each woman regards this part of the camp as her property. It is there that the family lives: the food is prepared and cooked over a fire in front of the hut entrance; the children play near the hut; the husband sits by the fire, doing odd jobs, guarding the food in his wife's absence, or helping her in some way or another. Visitors do not enter the hut but wait outside where they meet any member of the family. Owing to the custom of exogamy of hunting bands, allegedly on a patrilineal-patrilocal basis,[1] the married women may all be strangers to one another. In some cases most of the women come from the same neighboring band, so their communal interest is greater, but generally they come from widely dispersed bands and are more interested in their own marital families than they are in their new band as a whole. The men, however, are bound by the strongest ties of kinship and mutual interest in the band, as such, and in the particular territory within which it moves. Conflict between the hunting band and individual family, then, is generally a conflict between men and women, and, by enlargement, between two or more bands—the band of the men and those of the women involved.

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[613]
[594]
[578]

[ARCHERS] [1]

The woman becomes interested in her hus- 602
band's band or lineage and becomes a part of it 562
only to the extent by which she enriches it with 621
children. The more children she gives to the
band the greater her interest in it, and recipro-
cally the greater the band's interest in her. The [593]
greater her authority and that of her natal
family and band, the greater the parity between
man and wife in the individual family. But at [613]
all times the husband's lineage is responsible for
her welfare and answerable to her own lineage
in default.

A hunting band may, under certain circum- 621
stances, welcome male outsiders (*Sippenfremd*) 609
into the community; as, for example, when a
wife cannot integrate herself into her new home
and returns to her own band, her husband
deciding to go with her. Children may in some
cases be brought up in their mother's band.
These outsiders occupy a position similar to [613]
that occupied by married women in their hus-
bands' bands; they remain members of their

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[1] In my own experience, among both archers and net [184]
hunters, patrilineal descent systems and patrilocality are
no more than trends, most bands being effectively cognatic
territorial units.

[P.176-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P.177-A]

621 own lineages and can at all times return to them
609 or count on their aid, but economically they are
613 members of the lineage with which they are living.

462 Among the archers a woman's daily activity
512 is concerned primarily with the welfare of the
592 individual family and only indirectly with that of the band. She takes no part in the hunt (unless it is the rare *begbe* hunt; see p. 172), and her gathering activities, which may be undertaken alone or with friends, benefit her own family
[354] only. She carries her youngest baby on her hip or her back, and the rest of the children play together or follow her about. She collects the wood for the family fire, and the materials for building and repairing her house.

593 Her husband spends less time near the family
590 hut. He is more concerned with the welfare of
621 the band than that of his own family. The children are more attached to their mother than to their father, except for the older boys who gradually transfer their loyalty to the band as a
593 whole. Schebesta (1952, 214) reports that in
594 general, however, a family eats together, though
264 the father may eat apart with his sons. The separation by sex at meal times is more of a villager custom.

[ARCHERS]

593 861 Both parents have an equal responsibility in the upbringing of their children—a frequent source of conjugal dispute. Children are expected to respect their parents and are severely criticized, or even ostracized, if they do not conform. Schebesta (1948, 323) quotes the case of a son who lifted his hand against his father who drew his bow and arrow and threatened to kill him; the group forced the son to leave the camp with his family.

606 Restrictions on relations between affines such as a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, or a father-in-law and daughter-in-law, are known to the archers, and practiced to a certain extent among those in the north, but are largely ignored by others in the southeast. The restrictions may amount to total avoidance.

Daily Life

512 The main essence of the daily routine has already been covered. It is primarily concerned with food. The archer women and men are allotted to gathering and hunting, respectively, which occupy most of their time. 514 364 361 Refuse from the food is thrown behind the hut, and elimination takes place close by, two factors favoring the frequent moving of camp.

[P. 177-8]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 177-C]
the frequent moving of camp. According to 000
Schebesta (1952, 80), the hut and the space in 356
front are kept clean. 351

In leisure hours there are games and pastimes 52
in which children and adults may take part, the [535]
dance being the most important. Schebesta (1952, 189 ff.) also mentions rope skipping; tug-of-war (often between men and women); *paliengbe*, an organized battle between men and women for a regime of plantains; and a form of gambling known as *mali*. The women and children have various string games as well.

The dance takes place on every possible 53
occasion and is accompanied by drums made by the villagers. The emphasis in archer music (Schebesta, 1952, 190) is, as in the dance, on rhythm. Schebesta cites a number of musical instruments that are used by the archers for recreation, notably the drum, the musical bow, the sanza, the zither, and the *rama* pipes.

Legend telling and mime are other important 538
means of recreation mentioned by Schebesta 536
(1952, 195). These, like most other recreational
activities of adults, take place in the evening
around the campfire. It is here, in any case, that 513
the bachelors usually sleep (although Schebesta mentions the fact that there are bands in which bachelor huts are built), as do such of the married men as are under sexual taboo.

[ARCHERS]

All activities outside the camp cease at night, 512
with the exception of termite hunting which is 222
conducted at whatever time of the day or night termites are found to be swarming.

Conception and Childbirth

The normal course of daily life runs uninter- 844
rupted throughout the year, except when camp [512]
is moved, or on ceremonial occasions attendant on birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Of these occasions, it seems from Schebesta's account that birth arouses the least public interest. The 844
band welcomes each birth gladly but at the 621
same time accepts it as no more than its due. The wives of its menfolk are expected to pro- [562]
duce children; it is their primary function in the eyes of both the band and their husbands, and even in their own eyes.

The Pygmies seem to believe that menstrual 842
blood is an important factor in conception 833
(Schebesta, 1948, 399) and are well aware of the [841]
connection between coition and conception (1948, 400). Schebesta reports frequently hearing the opinion expressed that repeated coition would hasten the hour of birth.

[P 177-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P.178-A]

000 843 would hasten the hour of birth. Pregnancy is recognized by the cessation of the menses and the discoloration of the breasts. During pregnancy a woman is subject to various alimentary taboos, but otherwise lives her full, ordinary life, including the carrying of heavy loads of wood, carrying all household goods when moving camp, going in search of food, and other specific activities of women.

844 Customs attending childbirth vary from region to region, but Schebesta concludes that, although archers have no effective method of dealing with complications, the women normally give birth easily and without any particu-
[184] lar preparation. Although this account does not specifically relate to the Efe archers, Schebesta (1948, 402) writes that, from his observations throughout the forest, certain generalizations
844 412 are possible. Women alone are admitted to assist in the childbirth. The father cuts the umbilical cord with an arrowpoint, or, among some bands, with a sharp piece of bamboo. Before metal blades were available, Schebesta (1948, 404) says that there is evidence that bamboo knives or sharp leaves were used.

[ARCHERS]

553 Schebesta reports that the child is not named
for some weeks after birth. To name a boy is
the father's prerogative or that of the oldest
male members of his lineage; to name a girl
is the right of the mother or her oldest relatives.
There is no uniform custom, except that
naming is primarily the privilege of the parents.
844 It is a Pygmy custom to fasten the umbilical
846 cord to the child's elbow and later to bury it in
some swamp. Schebesta found no evidence of
[114] the truth of Johnston's statement (1902, 1904,
539) that Pygmy women sever the umbilical
847 cord with their teeth. Abortion is known to the
Pygmies, but plays no part in marital life.

Twins

845 The birth of twins, among the archers, seems
847 to be considered abnormal and inauspicious. Schebesta frequently heard that following the birth of twins one had died. He was told by an elder that, when twins are born, the elders are immediately informed, and they advise that if both infants are strong and healthy they be allowed to live, otherwise the weaker of the twins should be killed. The mother herself smothers the infant by covering its nose and mouth with her hand. The body is immediately buried in the house, which is promptly abandoned.

[P.178-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.178-C]

Dances are organized by the women to celebrate the birth of twins, whether or not both live. Schebesta (1948, 409) mentions the fact that, although the neighboring village tribes have similar feelings about abnormal births, they content themselves with evading unhappy consequences by magical dances and other rites. Schebesta (1948, 409) suggests that superstitious terror and fear of attendant sanctions drive the Pygmy mother to the more violent way of avoiding danger. He writes that all abnormal infants are also put to death immediately following birth, either by the mother or by her female attendants; the men are never permitted to see these monsters. They too are buried in the house, which is immediately abandoned. 845 [535] 845 847

Postnatal Care

The mother surrounds her child with every care and attention until she again becomes pregnant, and even subsequently if the child is not yet able to look after itself to some extent. 846

[ARCHERS]

After giving birth, the mother keeps her infant 846
in the shade of her hut for three or four days,
receiving visits from admiring neighbors. The 854
infant is protected by various charms and [789]
amulets attached to its elbow and wrist. It is [853]
fed whenever it cries. When the mother does
leave her hut, carrying the infant on her back,
she protects it from the sun by covering it with
a leaf. When it is bigger she carries it without a
supporting sling, either on her hip or on her
back. The child is always with her, and she
devotes her spare time to playing with it and
singing to it. Even when dancing she may carry [535]
it in a sling at her side.

The child is taught to walk almost as soon as 856
it is big enough to be allowed on the ground
alone. This process is sometimes hastened by [825]
scratching its knee and placing a fast-moving
beetle (*pakalakala*) in the blood, then allowing
it to run away. Soon, the mother believes, her
child will be running as fast as the beetle.

Breast feeding is continued for about a year; 853
sometimes a child continues to be breast fed
while it is able to run about the camp. But from
a few weeks after its birth it is introduced gradually to vegetable foods.

Fathers, although Schebesta writes that they 854
do not like to be bothered with infants, help 855
their wives in the care of children and even 593
attend to their personal needs.

[P. 178-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P.179-A] ADOLESCENCE

858 Only when children approach the age of
573 puberty does the very close family solidarity begin to weaken. Girls fall more under the influence of their mothers; boys, under that of their lineage. At this age also, the sexes are segregated for the first time. Young boys of different families cease following their mothers and sisters and group themselves to organize hunts for rats, mice, and other small slow game in the neighborhood of the camp. Tree climbing is also a favorite sport among the boys. But while the boys become more alienated from their mothers, the young girls continue to be as closely attached to them as ever, though, like the boys, they tend to group together with others of the
864 [same age (and older). During this period there is no formal training (Schebesta, 1948, 415 ff.),] but boys and girls alike learn all there is to be learned by simple emulation and by assisting their parents and elders in various tasks.

882- At puberty the boys break completely away
883 from their mothers who have no more to do with them, writes Schebesta (1948, 424), than cook their meals. The adolescent girls develop their flirtatious ways, the boys develop their ability as hunters, and thus both prepare themselves for married life.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

2
P

Initiation

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Schebesta (1948, 467 *ff.*; 1952, 265 *ff.*) gives no information concerning the initiation of girls among the archers. He does, however, describe at some length the initiation, accompanied by circumcision, of boys, according to the villager rite known as *nkumbi*. His earlier account, in "Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri," is, by his own admission, drawn largely from Mbuti and villager informants throughout the forest. He was able to have only fleeting glimpses (*"flüchtigen Einblicke"*; Schebesta, 1948, 475) of parts of *nkumbi* festivals among the Ngwana, Byeru, Bali, and forest Bira, but his observations, he says, confirmed what he had been told. In 1949 he had an opportunity to see more of a single *nkumbi*, details of which he records (Schebesta, 1952), but this was among net-hunting Mbuti. Consequently, we lack precise information concerning the *nkumbi* among archers. Opinion among different groups of Mbuti varies as to the origin of the custom; some claim to have practiced it before the villagers, some say that they have adopted it only recently. There are

[P 179-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

[P. 179-C]

even Mbuti groups in which apparently it is practiced among themselves but without circumcision. Z 881 177

The *nkumbi* takes place approximately every six years, says Schebesta, and each initiation has a specific name, usually connected with some outstanding incident connected with that particular occasion. It is inaugurated on the decision of the village lineage head who invites the Mbuti to take part. An essential feature of the *nkumbi* throughout the Ituri is this joint participation of Mbuti and villager. Z [613]

The *nkumbi* (Efe: *ieku*) takes place in a special camp in the forest, some distance from the village. A large conical hut is built (Schebesta, 1948, here follows a description of a southern Lese initiation), on one side of which is the raised sleeping place of the initiates (Efe: *bemu*), and on the other, the fireplace and quarters of the elders who will guard and teach the boys. All the arrangements are in the hands of the villager lineage head (*avitiri*).

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

The candidates, Mbuti and villager, are led before the operator and are, if brave enough, circumcised standing up; otherwise, they are laid on the ground and held down. Next to every Lese youth stands a Pygmy boy, who is circumcised immediately after him. The two enter into a lasting bond of *karé* brotherhood. As the circumcision is completed, the Lese blows his signal horn, and the Mbuti his *segbe* pipe. The women in the village hear this and reply with a shout of joy at this sign that their sons have now become men. By this joint ceremony the *karé* stand in an even closer relationship to each other than do blood brothers.

Zp 881 177 608

Zp [534] [202]

Schebesta gives little account of the ensuing instruction, though he mentions the brutality with which he says the initiates are treated in the camp. Food is brought by the mothers and left nearby; the elders from the camp go to collect it. The boys are cut off from any comfort they might be given by their mothers. Instruction, "partly social, partly moral" (Schebesta, 1948, 481) may be given by the lineage head himself or by one of the other elders.

The major aspects of the *nkumbi*, from Schebesta's account, seem to be the formal transition from boyhood to manhood, the establishment of a *karé* relationship between Mbuti and villagers, and the introduction of all the initiates for the first time to a special trumpet that plays an important part in the men's secret

Zp 881 177 608 534

[P 179-D]

[ARCHERS]

P [P, 180-A]
Z society. Schebesta also mentions other instruments
881 particularly associated with *nkumbi* (and
177 the secret society) among the south Lese,
608 namely: the bull-roarer (*pahudjuhudju* or
534 *hudjuhudju*); a flute (*likuru*); a singing pot
(*pengi*); and the large wooden trumpet (*asaragba*).
Z The invitation to the Mbuti to take part
[563] in the *nkumbi* is one of the ways in which the
villagers seek to maintain and extend their
control over the Pygmies.

Z Schebesta concludes that we must distinguish
P two elements in the *nkumbi*: the villager element
881 of initiation associated with circumcision
177 and, quite distinct from it, the Pygmy element
P of initiation into the men's secret society (*tori*).
[576]

Marriage

P Schebesta (1948, 343) writes that it is difficult
581 to determine which is the stronger, the interests
584 of the hunting band or the interests and mutual
621 affection of the two individuals concerned.

[ARCHERS]

584 621 [581] Marriage is certainly an economic factor of the greatest importance to the band, and the decision of the elders usually prevails. But according to Schebesta, if there is particularly ardent affection between an unmarried couple, they may be strong enough to resist group opinion even to the point of ignoring its just claims, in which case a compromise will be reached by the bands concerned. Although there may be preferences for marriage between certain bands, no marriage is arranged with disregard for individual inclinations. Each union is usually preceded by a period of flirtation and courtship.

613 621 832 The rule of exogamy bars any flirtation within a hunting band that consists of a single lineage. If the band consists of two lineages, there may be flirtation but controlled by the parents, the mother keeping an eye on her daughter, and the fathers or lineage heads watching over the boys. Schebesta believes that [836] in spite of such supervision there is, in fact, great premarital freedom, though always outside the bounds of exogamic prohibition. For [836] [177] the Efe, he records what appears to be a borrowed custom of making payments to the father of the girl, or to her mother, either for the privilege of having an affair with their daughter or as a penalty for being discovered.[1]

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[839] [838] [1] Masturbation (*ai* [illegible]), homosexuality (*ai bepa*), and adultery are known among the archers, but rarely. Lesbians (*[illegible] bepa*) are unknown. Mbuti who practice such behavior are regarded by men with derision; women have a particular horror of homosexuals.

[P 180-8]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1953) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P.180-C]

Marriage, however, is not necessarily preceded by a period of courtship. Schebesta (1952, 233) attests to the betrothal of infants by their parents but does not know how frequently these betrothals result in marriage. The ultimate essential is agreement between individuals and their respective lineages. The qualities in a man appreciated by a girl are courage, decision, prowess in the hunt, and ability in the dance. Her hunting band also appreciates these qualities and receives favorably any suitor who brings presents of game that he has killed, but it is said to be more interested in the suitor's band. There is no formal adult betrothal; the boy visits the girl's camp and spends some days there, giving her small presents. Her acceptance of the presents and reciprocation of his attentions constitute betrothal; it remains only to secure the agreement of the two bands and to overcome the obstacle of exchange price. If a youth fears that his prowess as a hunter or dancer is not sufficiently impressive to prove his manliness, he will resort to various love philters. 584 [581] [431] [832]

Philters are also used by Mbuti girls.

[ARCHERS]

Philters are also used by Mbuti girls. One fur- 000
ther possible obstacle to marriage, outside 582
normal rules of exogamy, exists among the 621
archers: marriage is prohibited between two bands associated by common marriage ties with a third band. Thus if Bands A and B habitually marry with Band C, then intermarriage between Bands A and B is forbidden.[7] Restrictions on marrying into one's matrilineage apply only to the first generation; a child may not marry into its mother's band.

A number of early sources mention marriage 583
by purchase (Casati, 1891; Stuhlman, 1894; Burrows, 1898). Czekanowski (1924), relying on information from neighboring villager tribes, writes of marriage both by purchase and by service and apparently learned nothing of marriage by exchange among the Mbuti. Schebesta [191]
(1948, 366) writes that, while marriage by purchase is the custom among the village tribes of the Ituri, Mbuti marriage is distinguished by being essentially by sister exchange. Otherwise [197]
the man may offer a quiver of arrows, five chickens, and 10 hoes (cited for *Eba-eba* camp); and among the southern archers chickens, hoes, spears, and arrows are used—all obtained from the villagers by begging or by trade, never money. The archers of Banyari, on the edge of

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[7] It should be remembered that all the time Schebesta is thinking of the *Lokalgruppe*, or band, primarily as a patri- [613]
lineage.

[P 180-D]

[ARCHERS]

[p. 181-A]

583 the forest, pay a dog, five spears, and five arrows. Schebesta also cites the third possibility: a youth lives with his wife's band for some years, "pays" for his wife by his service to that band, then returns with her to his own band. If the payment or service proves to be insufficient, the girl's lineage claims the children, which otherwise belong to the father's band. Marriage by capture is unknown, and there are no indications that this practice ever existed.

583 585 [illegible] Nuptial ceremony is lacking among most Mbuti, but Schebesta says that in imitation of the Lese the southern archers practice a form of double ceremony in which the two bands formally meet and exchange their daughters. Normally, however, the archers seem to have, if anything, little ceremony. A youth, having secured the agreement of his betrothed, takes her back to his camp, with or without the permission of her band. There she lives with his mother, who teaches her the customs of the camp. Shortly afterward members of her band arrive. They demand their side of the bargain, either a bride in exchange or a gift of arrows,

[ARCHERS]

583 585 axes, and other implements. If the young man is unable to produce these, they take the girl back to her own camp, but cannot prevent her from returning to her betrothed. The process is then repeated. The youth exhorts his betrothed to return to her own camp until he can find the necessary wealth, but if she insists on staying with him, her relatives will leave her and the matter will be settled later. The girl builds a house, and the two live together. There is no ceremony, although the youth's band will, if possible, arrange a feast and dance to celebrate the event. The marriage contract, such as it is, is essentially between the two bands concerned.

583 Marriage by exchange, by which two hunting bands exchange girls, has its complications. The girl received replaces the girl given, not only in her capacity for work but as a child bearer. If either girl falls short in these respects, the double union is nullified. Similarly, if either of [586] the parties willfully brings about the dissolution of one marriage, the contract is void, thus possibly breaking up the other perfectly happy and fertile union. This dissolution can be avoided either by making another exchange or by substituting a payment.

595 Marriage by exchange is not conducive to the practice of polygyny, and Schebesta (1952, 244) estimates that 6 per cent of Mbuti marriages are polygynous; 10 per cent, in the border re-

[p 181-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 181-c]

gions most exposed to village influence. Objec- 595
tions to polygyny are based on economic rather
than moral grounds. A further obstacle to po- [177]
lygyny is one-way marriage of Mbuti girls to
villagers, a practice that Schebesta considers [582]
occurs with sufficient frequency to account for
the gradual replacement of marriage by exchange by marriage by service or payment.

Polyandry is unknown.

The sororate, writes Schebesta (1948, 384), is 587
usual in the wide sense of the word, and is practiced when the wife has had no children. When a 587
man dies, his widow is not obliged to remain in 589
his band or to remarry; she may choose for herself. But if she is childless, then her own band is obliged to make some compensation and this may influence her decision. Normally, a widow with children remains with them in her late husband's band.

Relations between husband and wife and 593
their children are mentioned above (p. 177). It may be added here that Schebesta notes that, for the few days following the marriage, the young man is freed of any obligation to hunt and may devote his time to his bride.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1966 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

and may devote his time to his bride. He further 593
alleges that the young couple do not exhibit 152
their affection in public, but that one may con-
clude from various signs that mutual affection
continues even in advanced age. Jealousy,
however, often comes into the open, and women
are particularly suspicious of their husbands.
The usual factors leading to the disruption of a 593
marriage are cited as disagreement over the 586
upbringing of the children, idleness of either
party, the disputatious nature of the women, or
the irascibility of the men.

Sexual relations are maintained during men- 833
struation; Schebesta mentions the fact that the 84
only restriction is during the final stage of preg-
nancy and for several months following child-
birth. In some regions, he adds, there is also a
restriction on sexual intercourse between the
husband and any woman following the birth of
a child to his wife. Such a statement evidently 833
implies an acceptance of extramarital inter- 837
course in other regions, yet he also claims that
adultery is considered as a moral transgression
offending the divinity; when committed with a
married woman, it is criminal. Some allowance
is made for a man who cannot have relations
with his wife (as during a period of sex taboo);
intercourse with an unmarried woman is then
generally not considered as adultery. An itching 837
body and birth of twins are, among some 845
827

[p. 181-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 182-A]

832 [845] [827] Mbuti, considered as signs that adultery has taken place. An offended wife has the right to leave her husband; an offended husband may chastise his wife and attack his rival, possibly leading to a feud between two bands. If he finds his wife *in flagrante delicto*, he has the right to kill her lover. However, Schebesta cites no case histories.

SEPARATION

586 A husband's justification for separation is based on the constant infidelity of the wife, her sterility, her selfishness leading to neglect of her husband, sickness, or suspicion of sorcery. On the woman's side, separation is justified by ill treatment by her husband, neglect of his hunting duties, and his infidelity. Separation is achieved simply by each band's reclaiming the daughter it gave in exchange, or effecting compensation. It does not necessarily involve hostility between the two bands, in which case the children may remain with their father, without their mother's becoming ostracized from the community. Also, a child may remain with its mother, even if she returns to her own band or remarries into another. Only when a child marries is there a necessity to settle the question of its economic allegiance.

[ARCHERS]

WIDOWHOOD

589 In any hunting band one may find divorced men and women between two states of marriage, and also widows and widowers who have had no chance to remarry. Widows, as mentioned, may remain in their late husbands' bands with their children or return to their own band. Aged widowers, no longer able to provide for a woman by hunting, remain single, as do the infirm, and both are provided for by their relatives.

589
177 Mbuti girls who have married villagers return sooner or later to their parental band; almost certainly when they are no longer fertile and cease to be of interest to their villager husbands. [589] If still young they may take a Pygmy husband; if too old to remarry, they live the life of a widow. These "widows" do their own cooking and receive frequent visits in the forest from their children who otherwise remain in the village. Sometimes one or another of the children will remain with her in the forest.[1]

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[1] Such a practice is contrary to what I was told among all Mbuti groups, namely, that such children are never accepted in the forest as Mbuti and may make only short visits, like other villagers.

[P 182-3]

[ARCHERS]

[P 182-C]

DEATH, FUNERALS, AND MOURNING

764

Several early travelers mention burial customs among the Pygmies of the Ituri. Stuhlmann (1894) describes burial, with the corpse either stretched out or doubled up in a circular hole. Burrows (1898, 197), referring mainly to the Aka, says that, when a Pygmy dies, he is buried "and there is an end to him and his memory." He reports that there is no mourning and no memorials to mark the graves. Johnston (1902, 1904, 539) also mentions burial and says that important Mbuti are buried with supplies of food, tobacco, and weapons. [94]

According to Schebesta, although burial in some form or another, generally following the villager pattern, was in common usage at the time he wrote, the northern archers formerly abandoned the corpse, placing it with its back against a tree. If someone died inside a hut, the corpse was left there for about two weeks, until decomposition had well set in. Then, without burying the remains, the camp was abandoned.

[ARCHERS]

The southern archers affirm that they always used to burn their corpses. Nowadays the burial takes place beside the hut of the deceased, and the corpse, covered with a cloth, is passed out through an opening made in the side of the hut. It is placed in a hole in the ground, covered with bark and earth. The hut is then pulled down over the tomb, and household utensils are added to the pile. Mourning is profound and sincere among men and women, but ritual dances of mourning, such as those practiced by villager women, are unknown.[3] P 764 P 765 [535] [114]

In "Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri" Schebesta (1948, 543) gives details of a funeral he attended in a southern Lese village, and of an archer funeral, and compares the two. The archer funeral was of an old Mbuti who died after a short attack of smallpox. Schebesta received the news at six o'clock the morning following the death. On reaching the camp he found the corpse laid out in a new cloth, inside the hut. Nearby crouched the widow and eldest daughter. All the womenfolk of the camp were gathered outside the hut, crying and moaning. The eldest son had gone to the village to inform his father's *kpwe* (p. 170), and within two hours returned with three villagers, wailing. Meanwhile the Pygmies had agreed that the grave should be dug beside the hut. The most promi- P 764 177 P [308]

---

[3] This statement, again, is totally contrary to my experience among both archers and net hunters.

[P 182-D]

183 (A)

[ARCHERS]

[P-183-A]

P M 764 177 nent among the many archers who had hastened to attend the funeral took charge. He measured the corpse with his stick and drew the outline of the grave on the ground. His son, assisted by others, opened a grave, using pointed sticks, a hatchet, and a bush knife, and cleared the loosened earth with their hands. P [152] The crying of the women became louder, calling "*Afae!*" (father). A few women sat nearby, singing dirges. Not only the relatives mourned, but all present. P M [308] With the help of the Lese *hari*, the floor of the grave was covered with sticks, then leaves. The womenfolk hurried to the edge of the grave as the corpse, decorated only with an arm ring, was brought through a hole in the side of the hut and placed in the grave. P [152] The wailing reached its climax; the wife, children, and even the eldest grown son, threw themselves on the ground as the men began to fill in the grave. One man had to hold the eldest daughter to prevent her from throwing herself into the grave. The earth was stamped down, and the mourners moved away, women and children and some of the young men crying. One daughter remained near the grave as the house was pulled down to cover it (after the household goods had been removed).

Shortly after the burial some men went off hunting. By three o'clock the entire camp was deserted, and a new one had been built by evening.

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1
Mombu FO31
Lese

183 (8)

[ARCHERS]

P Schebesta (1948, 545) cites this burial as evi-
M dence of band and lineal solidarity (e.g., the
764 prominent part played by neighboring bands in
177 the funeral), and of the importance of the *kari*
171 relationship. Significant differences between
P the Mbuti and the Lese ceremonies were the
[821] absence, in the archer funeral, of the sacrifice of
[628] a hen over the grave, the absence of the official
[613] mourners in their clothes and white paint, of a
P goat offering, and above all of the absence of a
M long palaver, following the burial, to place the
[782] blame for the death. The question of blame did
[761] arise after the Mbuti burial described, but it
was the Lese who were primarily interested. Nor, according to Schebesta, does a death have such far-reaching social consequences among the archers as among their villager neighbors.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Z
P The relationship between the Efe archers and
177 their villager neighbors is mentioned above.
439 The two peoples are associated in a hereditary
608 system, based on trade, strengthened by the

1: Turnbull E-4 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

[P. 183-C]

kari relationship, and the practice of joint initiation and circumcision. E 592 434 608

Among themselves the archers also practice a form of blood brotherhood, but the two major bonds are membership in the same economic local band and membership (with much wider extension) in the same secret society which the archers call *tori*. Schebesta (1948, 290) points out that a sense of tribal identity is totally lacking, that "clans" are dispersed and have neither political nor economic significance, and that even lineages, which in effect are the local hunting bands, are usually most properly viewed as economic entities. He gives neither genealogies nor any indication of any complex system of kinship terminology, nor any other evidence that kinship ties might be of extensive importance. There is even little evidence to support his allegation that the hunting band is a lineal entity. It appears throughout that the major unifying factor is one of common residence. P {621 602} [609] [575] [611] P {621 622} 114 P [591]

[ARCHERS]

The *tori* society, however, widens the field of Mbuti social contact because it embraces, according to Schebesta (1948, 492 ff.), villagers and Pygmies throughout the Ituri, being basically the same as other societies going under different names, such as *anyoto*, *neboli*, *malimo*, and *lusumba* (the latter two among the Bira-Sua). The common denominator of all these societies is the common belief in the bush demon, the divinity of the Mbuti hunters. The *tori* society, as seen by Schebesta, is thus the origin of similar villager societies in the district. It has a particular significance for the Mbuti who claim it as their own. 575 [776]

Although women are normally excluded, the Mbuti, says Schebesta, admit aged women. The villagers admit only one old woman who is charged with the duty of cooking for the men. Further, he says, the society terrifies the villager women (cf. Anne Putnam) which is not the case with the Mbuti. The society always meets outside the village, in the bush or in a remote, dark area of the forest. Schebesta (1948, 498) witnessed no exclusively Mbuti meeting of the *tori* society, only mixed Mbuti and villager, and exclusively villager, meetings. 575 14 [562]

The meeting place contains the *hut of tori*, in which are kept the musical instruments used during the ceremonies and on the march. The number and type of these instruments vary, says Schebesta, the commonest being a long trumpet made of wood, slightly curved, some- 575

[P:83-D]

[ARCHERS]

P [P.184-A]
2 times called *luremba* in Schebesta's account. All
575 these instruments, he claims, however, produce
346 sounds in imitation of the leopard. The archers
554 do not carry the tattoo marks, such as those
6 worn by the Bira-Sua, which resemble marks of
[304] a leopard's claw.

P A further inquiry made among the archers in
2 1949 confirmed these observations (Schebesta,
575 1952, 279) and added some supplementary
[346] facts. The *tore* hut is to be found near or in the
camp itself. Women and children may attend
the *tore* ceremonies organized by the men. The
0 "presidents" are an old man and an old woman.
2 The meetings are held in honor of Kalisia, God
[776] of the Bush, who is, during the ceremony, implored for help in the hunt. The society, Sche-
0 besta concludes, has a religious aspect. This
2 same study revealed the use of three wooden
[554] trumpets (*apodia*); a "sonorous pot" (*bodzo*), in
fact a large clay vessel, and the tube through
which the performer sings into it (*luma*); and
three small whistles (*liliade*).

[ARCHERS]

p 2 575 562 The society plays a part in social life by chastizing rebels, particularly women (Schebesta, 1948). All whom Schebesta (1937) questioned assured him that the primary object of the society was to keep the women in their place, mainly by stealing food from them for the society to feast upon. It is perhaps also p 2 [178] worth mentioning that Schebesta (1937, 101) writes: "Nowadays in the main a *torí* meeting place is just a home for hen-pecked husbands. . . . It has no connection in any way with the ceremonial of tribal initiation."

p 2 575 881 177 114 He modified these views in his later work (Schebesta, 1948, 492 ff.) but used the same evidence. He finds a definite connection between the *torí* society and the *nkumbi* "circumcision initiation." The latter, he says, is founded on the same belief in *torí* but has taken a villager form. Circumcision above all is a villager custom and has nothing to do with Mbuti initiation. Originally, the Mbuti knew only the association of *torí*, which integrated the young men into the adult group of *torí* hunters.

p 2 575 562 [562] As far as can be seen from this material, the *torí* society has both social and magico-religious functions. Its primary social function is the control of the womenfolk of any one Mbuti band (who, it will be remembered, come from varied bands and do not have the same communal feeling as the menfolk). Schebesta mentions the p 575 fact that, when a meeting of the Mbuti *torí*

[p. 184-8]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

[P.184-5]

society is to take place, any raiding of the plantations of village women that is proposed is made known to the villagers in advance, and meat is offered in exchange. P 575

Schebesta (1948, 501 ff.) gives a detailed description of a joint village-Mbuti *tore* ceremony. As about 10 o'clock at night, announced by blasts on the trumpet, a procession of some 20 men, villagers, and Mbuti, entered the village, dancing wildly. The Pygmies (as always) were the musicians and blew into three sonorous clay pots of different sizes, the largest being called "mother" and the others "children." The largest pot contained just enough water to cover the bottom, into which a pipe was thrust. Some sang; others made weird noises by holding their noses.[1] In the morning the procession left for the Pygmy camp, two hours away. Before they passed through small village hamlets, someone was sent ahead to warn the inhabitants who had not heard the approaching blasts of the long wooden horn; women and children fled to the shelter of their huts as the procession went by. In one village a woman who remained in sight was threatened and made to give a chicken in payment for her release. On nearing the Pygmy camp, the trumpet was hidden in the brush, and the musicians took another path. The main procession entered the camp, where there were only a few old men and their wives.

Z P 575 776 554 [535]

P Z [533]

P Z [562] [858]

[ARCHERS]

[P.186-A]

622 leadership among the Mbuti except very rarely.
622 He himself discusses the lineage elders ("*Sip-*
613 *penältesten*," Schebesta, 1948, 332, 559) and
888 states that lineage authority lies with these
648 elders alone. Under villager influence these
elders may assume the characteristics of a chief (cf. the "Sultani" of the Pygmies, mentioned by Geil, 1905). Encouraged in this by the villagers, who see a way of extending their authority, the lineage elders may appear to become headmen or chieftains of Mbuti bands, representing the band to the village chief.

622 As mentioned above, the authority of the
613 elder derives from his age, by virtue of which he
888 represents the lineage ancestors. Any offense
[769] against the elder is an offense against the lineage. He takes precedence in all matters: the best part of the game is his, whether or not he took part in the hunt; he presides at various ritual offerings; he is responsible for settling disputes with other bands or with villagers; he leads at the head of the dance. Succession by age is strictly observed. This much Schebesta (1952, 221–223) reports, but without citing examples in sufficient detail to enable us to make a valid comparison between different groups or bands.

[ARCHERS]

622
627
613 The elder settles numerous disputes, both within and without his hunting band. Such disputes mainly concern marital disagreements, Schebesta says. The elders often settle controversies by delivering speeches during the evening, leading frequently to noisy debates between the elders of different bands or lineages. [177] Outside the lineage context, the elder is not in any way different from the others; there are none of the trappings of villager chieftainship. He delivers his decisions without hesitancy and is obeyed in the same way within his lineage. His power is limited, however, by custom and tradition as well as by context. He may neither ignore nor alter traditional practices.[1]

Relationship Between Bands

628
613 It has already been observed that any formal relationship between bands is regulated by the lineage elders, according to Schebesta.

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[114] [1] Once again Schebesta's account is confused, and confusing, because of his failure to define clearly the kinship constitution of the hunting band. As the bands are, in effect, usually cognatic, and as descent is of little significance, his assumption that the band is a patrilineage and that authority is based on lineage respect naturally led him into difficulty.

[P 185-8]

[ARCHERS]

[P-185-C]

Informal relationships occur through the custom of family visits to relatives in other bands, and, perhaps most important of all, through bands attending each other's dances. Here the Mbuti extend their social boundaries and find suitable partners for married life. There is no detailed study of inter-band relationships or of the precise implications of inter-band marriage. Joint hunting is rare, except for *begbe*.

P 628 [574]

P [222] [224]

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BANDS AND VILLAGERS

These relationships are essentially between the lineage head and the villager chief, according to Schebesta. Maes (1935, 138) writes that the villagers regard the Pygmies as beasts of burden and that the villager chiefs force them to act as porters and to help with the upkeep of the roads (a duty imposed on the villagers by the Belgians). Costermans (1937), however, agrees with the opposite opinion that the Mbuti, who undoubtedly stand in definite relationships to the villagers, accepting their patronage, do so only as long as they find it convenient. On the slightest pretext, they transfer their allegiance to another chief. The Mbuti, he says, do not recognize the authority of the villager chief, nor do they pay any attention to villager manners and customs.

P 2 [illegible] [563]

13 Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

Costermans further agrees with Junker (1889–1891, vol. 3, 92) that many of the northern archers have recently themselves taken to a system of chieftainship. They lead their nomadic existence under the jurisdiction of a chief and in every way preserve their freedom under this jurisdiction. If there is any disagreement, however, they leave and place themselves under a neighboring chief. But not nearly enough information is given for any understanding of the structure of this "system." P 622 184 178 621

Schebesta seems to stand between the two extremes with regard to the archers whom he studied. He stresses the economic dependency of the Mbuti on the villagers, and also, as does Putnam (1948), the personal aspect of the relationship. He does not agree with Costermans that the archers change their allegiance at the slightest provocation. He regards the *nkumbi*, with its creation of *kare* relationships between individual Mbuti and villagers, as a major factor in maintaining villager authority over the archers and rendering the latter dependent on their Lese neighbors. P 2 439 177 571 [114] P 2 [881] [608]

[P 185-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 186-A]

000 the archers and rendering the latter dependent on their Lese neighbors.

Legal System

671 421 There is virtually no evidence from which any conclusions can be drawn about the legal system of the Efe archers or even of the nature of the sanctions that uphold social behavior. Schebesta (1941, 275 ff.; 1948, 533 ff.) points out, however, that, though the Mbuti function at one of the lowest known stages of economic development, they recognize both private and collective ownership and there is a definite property law.

421 621 628 The district hunted by the band, together with all the vegetable and animal food contained in that district and also raw materials used in Pygmy technology, is the collective property of the band. All members of the band share equal rights. Alien bands are tolerated only to the limit that the resident band desires to extend hospitality. The boundaries of the various territories, generally well known to all, are considered inviolable. If an animal is [224] hunted across a boundary and killed there, it belongs to the band in whose territory it was killed. If the neighboring bands are on good terms, they usually share the spoil.

[ARCHERS]

422
222 Certain objects that by their nature are collective property, however, are considered to belong to the finder. This applies mainly to vegetable products, a honey tree, a termite nest, or a nest of grubs or caterpillars. All who help in the gathering are due their share of these products, but the major part goes to the finder.

422
[423] All personal objects made or acquired by an Mbuti are private property. Thus not only the utensils, but the homestead itself, is the property of the wife, who may, if she wishes, pull the hut down as a gesture of defiance. Weapons belong to men; clothes, to each individual. These objects can be disposed of in any way, at will. Petty pilfering is considered as theft, and [685] theft is both forbidden and punished; but Schebesta does not describe any system of punishment.

428 With regard to succession, generally the brothers or the sons, says Schebesta, inherit from a father; sisters and daughters, from a mother.

000 Schebesta (1948, 533) argues that, as the

[P. 186-B]

[P. 186-C] [ARCHERS] **Schebesta**
(1948,533) argues that, as the 888
representative of the lineage, the elder is also 613
the guarantor of its law and is responsible for 685
the respect of collective and private property. 627
In the case of theft, the lineage thus offended [421]
demands satisfaction from the elder. Elders of different lineages settle disputes between them and must explain the settlement and plead reason with their own lineage. In disputes with villagers, it is the elder who accepts the responsibility for the wrongdoings of any individual member of his lineage, and the lineage must provide any agreed compensation. This transfer of responsibility from individual to lineage does not, however, diminish individual responsibility; if anything, it increases the responsibility as the injury to the lineage would probably be considered a worse offense than the one originally committed.

Individuals use the lineage in this way to 613
affirm their rights against offenses such as theft 68
and adultery. The band, as a whole, will take [621]
arms to defend its collective property and pun- [628]
ish any violation of territory. Murder and homi- [888]
cide are followed by feud, which is directed by the elder, leaving, however, a large measure of initiative to the individuals involved. No examples, however, are given by Schebesta.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

The lineage defends itself equally against antisocial tendencies, says Schebesta. Sluggards find that they receive no share when game from the hunt is divided; the selfish woman who does not share any of her gathering products with others is ostracized. Incorrigible thieves, and above all those suspected of sorcery, who are considered the worst types of antisocials, are punished relentlessly, exiled from the camp, and left to die if they are not executed by some means or another. Unfortunately, Schebesta cites neither examples in detail nor enough cases to substantiate fully his conclusions. He seems, however, to be generally in accord with what is known of Mbuti groups elsewhere, except with regard to the position and authority of the elder and the alleged "system" of law and punishment. 613 689 626 [685] [754] [114]

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

Exact Knowledge

802

There is little information on division of time and space among the archers. Maes (1934) gives the result of his work among five Mamvu-

[P. 186-D]

15

[ARCHERS]

[P. 187-A]

802 speaking archer bands in the northeastern part of the Ituri, near Gombari. He finds the only common characteristic to be the habit of counting in pairs and the use of the term "many" for anything over five. Finger signs for numbers up to five and a separate sign for 10 are used also by the Mamvu villagers. Thus 15 arrows would be "many times two arrows and one." Some of the examples that he gives show either the disinterest or lack of skill of these archers in exact numeration—such as the woman who for totals of four and seven arrows (the article used by Maes for his tests) gave, respectively, the numbers 40 and 10.

278
824 The use of effective poisons is well attested. Geil (1905), who reported reliably on other aspects of the life of Efe archers, mentions their knowledge of antidotes. Schebesta (1941, 65) denies having come across these. He (1941, 228 ff.) does, however, give details of various effective medicines prepared from forest plants. In
[755] some instances these medicines, or the methods of application, have magical significance. They
[757] seem unable to cure such afflictions as certain types of fever, leprosy, advanced dysentery, and gout.

[ARCHERS]

75 Cuts, wounds, and sores are treated by rubbing the medicine, prepared with water or oil, into the wound. To cure headaches, rheumatism, and mental and other disorders, the skin may be scarified with an arrow and an herb rubbed into the wound. An effective though painful remedy against frambesia is widespread among the Mbuti. Mbuti and villagers both claim that it not only cures but prevents any recurrence of the affliction: Two species of vine are used, or, if the frambesia is malignant, a decoction is made with water and the earth of the nest of the ant (*ti'i*).

The Mbuti claim to know how to reduce fractures, says Schebesta.

Dysentery, diarrhea, and constipation are treated by enemas prepared from various lianas, barks, and peppers.

Various leaves and plants are applied or rubbed externally, without any scarification, against headache and stomach-ache, or inserted into tooth cavities.

759 Schebesta says that he has encountered no evidence of specialization in the field of medi-
75 cine. There never seems to be any need for one
628 band to apply for help or advice from another,

[P. 187-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 187- C]

nor do the archers seem to rely on the villagers 75
for any medical help. 628

RATIONALIZATION

Speculation on problems of life and death are 538
dealt with under Religious Life (p. 188). Here 82
we can say only that Schebesta does not give a special account of legends or legend telling. However, from the legends that he quotes, and from those given by Joset (1948), it appears that among the archers this is an important means not only of reinforcing a system of values, or of commenting on individual behavior in the band, but also of rationalizing the strange and unknown.

Joset divides his collection of legends into four categories: (1) the Pygmy and his life; (2) animals: happy and unhappy relations between animals and Pygmies; (3) legends concerning the stars and sky; and (4) legends revealing individual psychological traits. Schebesta (1936b) says that legends tend to be spontaneous creations of individuals; there is no formal body of standard folklore.

[ARCHERS]

Art

There is no evidence of any plastic or graphic 531
art among the archers, other than designs used 532
in body painting, described by Schebesta (1941, 217 ff.), some of which he says are of magical significance and some purely esthetic. In this limited field there is no evidence, either, of specialization.

As means of artistic expression, music, dance, 53
and drama are evidently of great importance. Schebesta (1941, 243 ff.) describes these art forms and lays particular emphasis on the dance. Other, earlier sources (Schweinfurth, 1874; Burrows, 1898; Geil, 1905; Christy, 1924) frequently mention dance and also the importance of mime among the Mbuti. Of the form and function of music, Schebesta has little to say. He mentions the use of villager instruments, particularly the drum, sanza, and zither, also others such as the musical bow, rattles, flutes (Fig. 15b, c), and pipes, and resonant sticks used by women for beating time to dances. He merely mentions the existence of singing, apart from the dance.

Of dance Schebesta (1949, 252–259) gives 535
more detail. He writes (1941, 243): "The principal, if not the daily entertainment of young

[P 187-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 188-B]

412
534

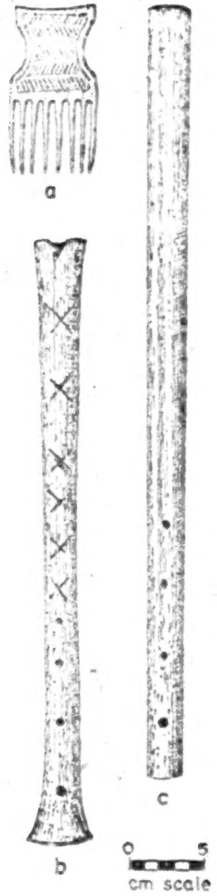

Fig. 15. Miscellaneous items, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Comb. b–c. Notched flutes. These luxuries are not an essential part of hunting life but seem to be gradually becoming more common.

[ARCHERS]

535 and old, men and women, is the dance, which is accompanied by music and song." Most of the instruments Schebesta (1941, 244–253) describes serve to accompany dance. He makes three classifications: sportive, mimetic, and erotic dances. The former are not mere exuberant acrobatics, but follow certain choreographic rules; he does not give the rules. The usual form of dance is circular, he says: an outer circle composed of women and an inner circle of men, with the drummer in the center. If there are only a few dancers, the men may dance solos, leaping one by one in toward the drummer, then back to their places in the still-moving circle.

[372] Schebesta also mentions the existence of fire dances, one of which he witnessed on the occasion of a birth in the camp.

535
831 Erotic dances generally involve two lines of dancers, one line male, one female. Each woman comes out of the line in turn and makes an

[P. 188-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P 188-C]

535 [83] obscene gesture to one of the men, returning to her place as the man follows her and makes a similar gesture.

Mimetic dances usually concern the hunt, says Schebesta.

536 Drama, chiefly in the form of mime, is sometimes associated with dance and sometimes separate. Schebesta mentions its importance and the ability of the Mbuti in this art, but gives no details.

53 From the material available it is impossible to gauge even the exact nature of these art forms among the Efe archers, let alone their functions in archer society, apart from their obvious recreational role, which seems to have been the only function assigned to them by Schebesta.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

771 114 Early sources offer only contradiction and confusion concerning the magico-religious system of the Mbuti. A few affirm that the Mbuti are ridden with superstition, but most report that they are without superstition and even without religion.

[ARCHERS] 000

without religion. From the descriptions given by the few writers who mention the existence of "spirit houses" and "temples," it may well be that these in fact belonged to villagers. The style of construction described by Geil (1905), for instance, is certainly Bantu. None of these sources offers any acceptable evidence that the Mbuti used these spirit houses and temples. 776 346 171 114

Schebesta, from the outset of his first visit to the Ituri, was convinced that the Mbuti had a religious system. He finally concluded that it comprised the notion of a dynamic but personal divinity, that it was essentially the same among all Ituri Mbuti, but that it differed from the religious concepts of the neighboring villagers though it was influenced by them. Schebesta asserts that the belief in a personal God is based on the notion of vital force. God possesses the totality of this force and distributes part of it to worldly beings. Thus God is regarded not as a transcendent creator but rather as a person who lived long ago. He is sometimes confused with the first ancestor and may be represented by the moon. 771 776 [778]

The confusing abundance of names and terms used by the various Mbuti is partly due to the different languages spoken by both Mbuti and villagers, and partly to villager influence, but it in no way denotes any fundamental difference in this basic concept of a personal God accompanied by the belief in a vital force. 776 778 192 197 177

[P.188-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 189-A]

000 this basic concept of a personal God accompanied by the belief in a vital force.

114 Schebesta (1950) bases his detailed study of Mbuti religion on an eight-month sojourn among the southeast archers on his second visit to the Ituri. He also mentions other information collected during his two visits which is of relevance to the net hunters and the Kango farther west. Here we are concerned only with his archer material.

THE CHTHONIC GOD

776
192
184 Among the Efe archers Schebesta found the name Toré, applied to what he designates as "*Buschgott,*" or God of the Undergrowth. Other names frequently heard are Muri-muri, Mbali, Muku, Kalisia, Bi'i, Ba'atsi, Epilipili, Pucho-pucho, Matu, and Lodi. Like Toré, Muri-muri is found among all archers. Those to the north describe both Toré and Muri-muri as a small, Mbuti-like forest dweller, to meet whom is death because he is the destroyer of all. The central archers distinguish more clearly between Toré and Muri-muri. The latter, who is short in stature, is sometimes termed Toré *bo'ichu* (Costermans, 1938, Toré *bo'iko*). The former is,

[ARCHERS]

776 on the contrary, tall, and wanders through the
192 forest, striking the trees as he moves about.
184 According to some of these central archers, the
mother of Toré is Mato (Matu), who lives in the
mountains, and his father is Pucho-pucho; ac-
cording to others, his mother is Ou-ororo, and
his father Ogbi-oro, names which, according to
Schebesta's linguistic studies, contain the words
776 for fire and menstrual blood. The Chthonic
372 God is, under many of his names, referred to as
825 the original possessor of fire (as is the chim-
panzee). Among the southern archers the pos-
776 sessor of fire is Mbali, and Bali is fire itself.
184 These southern archers also regard Toré as lord
of the world and creator of all things. For this
[782] reason they make offerings to him of all their
products from hunting and gathering. (In this
region the term Lodi is replacing Toré.)

776 All Efe agree that Toré sends death. The
76 southern archers believe this because they dis-
184 obeyed his command to refrain from following
and spying on him. Others say that Muri-muri
[825] had confined death in a pot, which he gave to a
toad with instructions to take the greatest care
of it. But the toad gave it to a frog who leapt
away with it and broke it, thus letting death
escape.

[P 189-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P. 189-C]

Any abnormal personal condition indicates the presence of Toré: mental confusion or disorder, shivering spells, goose flesh, dreams, bad luck, and misfortune. Toré is everywhere. He is absolute lord of the forest, of all animals and human beings, of life and death. Everything belongs to him because he created everything, but the forest is his particular kingdom. He is offended by failure to make him offerings from the chase, by quarrels within the band, by disrespect for elders, by infraction of lineage exogamy, by failure to make appropriate sacrifices. He punishes such actions or omissions by causing trees to fall, by visiting man-eating leopards on the community (or individual) concerned, by closing the forest to the hunter. 776 [827] [828] [777] [782] [784]

Essentially the giver of all good, he is also the source of death and misfortune. Schebesta finds it difficult to reconcile the undoubted affection with which the archers respect their God and their fear of him. They call him "father" and "grandfather," acknowledging him as the giver of the good life, on the one hand, while, on the other, they fear him in his disconcerting association with fatality.

[ARCHERS]

ation with fatality. Schebesta attributes this to 776
a confusion of religion and magic, a confusion of 177
Mbuti notions of God the Father with villager
notions of the demon of the forest (for the villager, the forest is essentially evil). Costermans [114]
(1938) claims that Schebesta fails to take account of the essential difference between Toré and Muri-muri which he himself noticed among the central archers (above) but chose to ignore.

Schebesta believes that, though different 776
groups of archers give precedence to one name 821
or another, there is only one God of the Under- [184]
growth, and he is universally associated with fire, lightning, storms, death, the rainbow (which frequently brings death), dreams, as well as with the good life of the hunter. The [825]
chameleon is the sacred animal of the archers, in rapport with the sky and the moon, the storm and lightning.

There is also a belief in *befe*, forest sprites, 776
whose lord and master is Mbali or Kalisia. (The [171]
Lese and Mvuba use the term *lodi* for similar sprites, says Schebesta.) They are also called *toré mo-ichu*. They make their presence known by two sorts of sound: one lugubrious, portending death, the other auguring good.

CULT PRACTICES

776

A number of practices are associated with the 782

[P. 189-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 190-A]

782 God of the Undergrowth in the form of invocations,
776 offerings, propitiatory sacrifice, and perhaps also a number of the practices of the *toré* association. There is no cult to any celestial divinity, of which the Mbuti have only vague notions.

782 Invocations usually concern the weather (requests
821 for a storm to pass over speedily or to be
372 diverted) and are often accompanied by the
534 blowing of the *segbe* magic pipe, indicating with
the arm the direction the storm should take. The archers also may light a special fire and cover it with leaves so that a thick smoke rises. The God of the Undergrowth sees the smoke, smells its fragrance, and hears the *segbe* pipes. His attention is thus drawn to the plight of his
782 "children." There is a similar ritual of fire and
224 smoke in connection with the hunt, particularly
372 the apparently ancient *begbe* beat hunt, as is mentioned above (p. 172). Invocations frequently use the term "father" or "grandfather."

[ARCHERS]

782 All Mbuti are said by Schebesta to offer a portion of food to the God of the Undergrowth. We can take this to apply to the archers. The practice seems to concern only food that has been hunted or gathered—game, honey, and vegetable products. The offering, never made with great fervor, may simply be thrown into the undergrowth, either in silence or with a brief comment such as "*Mugu! dab a iye!*" ("*Mugu!* This is for you!"). Alternatively, it may be placed on a leaf and taken with care into the forest and put in the fork of a tree, with or without an invocation. Stakes may be used, driven into the ground, forked into three or [415] [177] more branches at the upper end. Clay pots (obtained from villagers) or potsherds are placed in these forks for the offerings. Holes in the sides of trees are also used as a depository for offerings. The Mbuti do not usually use special shrines or spirit huts, affirms Schebesta, though in imitation of the villager ancestor shrines, they sometimes build crude shelters for the God of the Undergrowth and, on occasion, place offerings there.

[224] [769] [776] According to one of Schebesta's archer informants, sacrifice following the hunt is not to Toré but to the *lodi* (the dead) who then intercede with Toré.

782 776 224 Another important sacrifice is made for the re-opening of the forest (*abo lese* or *sulia*). Continuously bad hunting may be attributed to the anger of the God of the Undergrowth, caused by

[P. 190-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 190-C]

some individual among Toré's children. In his anger he closes the forest so that the hunters can kill no game. Under the circumstances all the weapons in the camp are brought out and placed in a pile in the center of the clearing. The hunters stand around in a circle, each with an arm held over the weapons. As described by Schebesta, the transgressor, who had divided game he had caught without waiting for the elder, brandished a live chicken over the center of the circle praying for success in the hunt. In the invocation he mentioned Bali (local name for the God of the Undergrowth), "fathers," "grandfathers," and the name of his own father who had apparently been an outstanding hunter. Then the elder cut off the head of the chicken, sprinkled blood on the weapons and the arms of the hunters, and threw the fluttering carcass onto the ground. Everyone watched which way it moved, and when it finally fell with the stump of its neck pointing toward the forest, this was taken as a good omen and there was a 782 776 224 [789]

[ARCHERS]

shout of joy. The wife of the elder then took 776
the carcass and invoked Bali and the ancestors,
asking them to give their children game again. 224
The dead chicken was then given to a woman 782
married into another band who, together with her children, ate it. This woman's son, a nephew of the band concerned, built a small hut (*sa'a*) near the elder's hut, and placed in it the heart and liver of the chicken; the head was stuck on a stake above. The elder made an invocation for game to both Bali and the *befe* (sprites).

Schebesta came across this ceremony twice, 782
once at Rodjo and once at Maseda, identical 184
each time except for minor differences. Certain 177
details, he claims, are borrowed from the villagers, such as the use of a chicken, which the [235]
Mbuti do not raise. He thinks that the sprinkling of blood is also foreign but that nonetheless there evidently was once an indigenous ceremony for opening the forest, involving the offering of the heart and entrails of game.

This practice of invocation and sacrifice to the 782
"*Buschgott*" is held by Schebesta (1950, 209) to 776
be the most significant feature of Mbuti reli- 171
gion, distinguishing it clearly from the religion of the villagers who have no cult to the forest God.

Costermans (1938), however, believes that 776
the word "Toré" cannot be associated with 192
"God," that the *toré* association has no religious 114

[P.190-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P.191-A]

776 function, any more than has the whole ritual of
192 initiation. *Toré*, according to Costermans, is, if
114 anything, a spirit cult. The *toré* are spirits of the
dead, known under different names such as
toré bo ichu, *toré bo iko*, *toré ba iza*, and are
clearly differentiated from the godhead. Sacrifice to Toré may take two forms, writes Costermans, *toré lusi* and *toré luba* (*lusi*, invoke; *luba*, throw, offer), and is practiced more by Lese villagers than by the archers, who practice it only rarely, for the hunt. Costermans, far from denying that the Mbuti possess a notion of God, affirms that they do, as do the villagers, but insists that it is dissociated from the *toré* cult described by Schebesta.

DEATH AND AFTERLIFE

761 The Pygmy notion of soul appears complex
774 and confused to Schebesta (1950, 90; 1952,
171 332). He attributes the confusion to heavy
borrowing from the villagers, the Mbuti origi-
[177] nally having little interest in life after death.
There is a distinction between body, shade, and
soul, respectively, *ela* (or *ida*), *tedi*, and *boru e'i*
(or *borupi* in Efe). The Lese villagers make the
same distinction. Breath, *ekeu*, is a vital force,
extinguished at death. The Mbuti believe that
[775] shades become *befe*, or forest sprites, and the
[776] villagers claim that they become *lodi* or *keti*,
phantoms.

[ARCHERS]

775 The soul, the word for which designates the
761 pulse, appears to return to God (Toré) in the
[774] sky, where it becomes a star. The other vital
force mentioned, *megbe*, changes into the
totem after death. Death is inevitable, the will
of God calling back the *boru e'i*.

774 Dreams are events that actually befall the
828 soul during sleep, according to the archers.
While the body sleeps, the *boru e'i* leave it and
wander at will. In this way God and the dead
can manifest themselves during sleep.

775 The northern archers think of a realm for the
souls of the dead, situated in ravines and caves,
[177] and of a lord of this realm of the dead. Both the
dead and their god are, like the God of the
Undergrowth, termed "Toré"; but Schebesta
attributes this to a confusion of properly
Pygmy notions (the cult of *toré* as described by
him) and adopted villager notions (i.e., the cult
[769] of the dead). Schebesta holds that the true
Mbuti have no cult of the dead. On death one
of the vital principles takes the form of a star,
living with the celestial divinity, remote from
the Mbuti world.

[P. 191-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 191-C]

the Mbuti world. The other principle becomes one of the forest sprites, the *befe*, living with the earthly divinity, Toré, and assisting him in his lordship of the forest. Far from representing the dead, these sprites are regarded as knaves, to be fought with as such. In legends they are concerned principally with the hunt and frequently try to trick the Pygmy out of his prey to which, as *befe*, they have a right themselves. If they represented the souls of the dead, suggests Schebesta, the Mbuti would hardly be able to take the attitude toward them that they do. 775 776 [761]

Death may also be regarded by the Pygmy as a punishment visited on man for one of three sins. God forbade his children to look at him, but one of his daughters was overcome by curiosity, and death resulted. (This legend is actually found more frequently among the net hunters than the archers.) God forbade his children to follow him on a certain path, but they became impatient and followed, and death resulted. God (Muri-muri) left fire in the care of his mother, Matu; but a Pygmy stole it from her and she died from cold, so Muri-muri condemned all men to die. This curiosity, impatience, and greed are severally cited as causes of death. 761 773 [184]

[ARCHERS]

The paramount symbol of death is the rainbow, whose representative is the python. The archers sometimes associate the rainbow with Matu, aged mother of Toré, the magic dancer who lured children to the forest never to return, or only to return demented. She is also the dreaded animal that hides among the rocks and kills passers-by with a glance. 761 776 821 [825]

The rainbow is associated not only with death but with sorcery, as is Matu and, according to Costermans, Toré. Like Matu it kills either by being seen by man or by looking at him. The archers, as do the net hunters, differentiate between the rainbow in the east and the rainbow in the west. (The Bira even name them differently.) [754]

Lightning is of lesser importance, being a mere work tool of God which can be used by him to bring death. It sometimes appears in the form of a bird. [825]

TOTEM AND TABOO

According to Schebesta, the archers consider the clan and the lineage as indistinguishable. A clan may be entirely contained within a single 613 614

[p 191-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 192-A]

613 614 hunting band, or, if the latter becomes too large, both clan and band may split into two or more bands. The relationship of several bands or lineages as members of the same clan is generally designated by the use of a common name, [621] ancestor, and totem. One band is distinguished from another, regardless of relationship, by individual territorial names, but apart from identity of ancestor and totem there is no effective structure binding together the clan, if dispersed. There is no clan chief, and no clan territory (except for a very small clan that happens also to be a hunting band). Even clan exogamy cannot be said to be rigidly enforced; the invariable rule, rather, is exogamy of the local lineage or hunting bands.

Totems are generally animals, rarely plants, never natural phenomena. Schebesta cites the [825] leopard and the chimpanzee as being the commonest totems. A man and wife observe each other's totemic restrictions in each other's presence or when with each other's group; simi-

[ARCHERS]

613 larly a child, who is said always to respect his
614 patrilineal totem, respects his mother's totem
[608] when living with her group. A man also ob-
serves the totemic restrictions of his *karé*-
[784] brother. The totem is always taboo for the
[262] Mbuti. One may never eat it, and often not kill
it, touch it, or even eat the food normally eaten
[753] by the totemic species. Breach of taboo is be-
[761] lieved to involve serious illness or death.

The relationship of the Mbuti to their totem is one not of fear but rather of respect, which Schebesta says is evidenced by their addressing it as "father" or "grandfather," and by the belief that the totem animal gave birth to the first member of the lineal group observing that totem.

[775] To this belief that the clan ancestor de-
scended from the totem is allied the belief that
on death the Mbuti is transformed into his
totem. Schebesta finds it difficult to reconcile
this with his analysis of Mbuti religion, and to
see just which vital principle it is that becomes
the totem. Connected with this difficulty is the
[761] all-important belief in *megbe*, the vital force
[778] emanating from the totem and immanent, but
in different degrees, in all human beings.

Schebesta cites no individual or sex totems. As he sees it, totemism follows strictly lineage lines.

MAGIC

761
778 Schebesta finds the link between the religious

[P. 192-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P.192-C]

notions and practices of the archers and their 761
totemism in their belief in *megbe*, the vital force 778
dispensed, in part, by the divinity. It is one of
the life principles, distinct from that which becomes a star or a sprite after death. *Megbe* is
transformed anew into the totem when the
body dies. The divinity possesses it in totality;
astral beings are endowed with far more *megbe*
than mortals; hence, their greater power and
strength which derive from *megbe*. Mortals,
then, have to reinforce their store of this vital
force to give themselves additional strength
and power. There are certain practices by 778
which this may be achieved, notably by the use 761
of bells hung about different parts of the body. 789
When a man dies, his son may put his lips to
those of his father to capture the *megbe* as it
passes from his body.

By increasing his store of *megbe* the Mbuti
can place himself on the same level as supernatural beings with whom he must have dealings. Schebesta cites legends showing how the [773]
Mbuti managed to steal fire from Toré by the
use of bells to increase their *megbe*.

[ARCHERS]

Various rites and magical instruments are 778
logically consistent with this notion: the *segbe* 761
pipes that are able to deflect the storm, attract
game, or defeat the enemy; the magic horn of 789
the *maigwa* antelope that seeks out thieves; and
the various charms and amulets used by hunters either on their bodies or on their weapons.
Certain animals are reputed to possess an [825]
abundance of *megbe*, notably crows, crabs, the
snake (*mageda*), the antelope (*maigwa*), the
chameleon, the toad, and the tortoise.

According to various legends, menstrual [841]
blood is also possessed of magical force.

Opposed to *megbe* is *uda*, the force of black 754
magic. As mentioned above, the archer accepts 761
death as inevitable, the recalling by God of
boru e'i, the life principle Schebesta translates
as "soul." But death may be caused by sorcerers through the use of *uda*. *Uda* is associated [841]
with menstrual blood, and Schebesta compares [773]
this notion with the legends that explain one
cause of death as being the curiosity or greed
of woman. This second cause of death, through
uda, is thus attributed to the "original sin" of
woman, who from curiosity or greed violated
God's laws or lured man to do so.

Costermans (1938) and Boelaert (1936a) 114
both criticize Schebesta on this point, saying
that the material does not justify his conclu-

[P. 192-D]

[ARCHERS]

[P.193-A]

114 sion, based as it often is on data provided by unreliable informants but passed as certain fact (Boelaert). According to Costermans, Schebesta's conclusions result from his selection of data to suit his (admitted) preconceived theories. Further, Schebesta relies, as he himself says, on the evidence provided by legends which he accepts without exercising any of the caution necessary for the proper use of such material. Possibly many of the legends and the associated concepts are indeed of Lese origin.

THE GODHEAD

771
776 The Chthonic God of the Undergrowth plainly does not stand by itself, not even when supported by an embryonic "*Totengottheit,*" which Schebesta finds among the archers but believes to be of little significance. From an examination of Mbuti mythology and a comparative study of religious terms, Schebesta concludes that there is a third, and important if vaguely conceptualized, "*Himmelsgottheit.*"

[ARCHERS]

771 Mbuti religion thus resolves into a dualism, if
776 not so neatly as it would were Toré, as Costermans (1938) believes, always associated with misfortune and death. For Schebesta the dualism is manifest in both the sky God and the earth God, but not between them.

776 He finds Toré, as we have seen, to be associated with both life and death, good and bad, fortune and misfortune. Even in his most benevolent moments, Toré seems to be necessarily associated with Matu, personification of menstrual blood and its connotations of sorcery and death, if not the personification of the dreaded rainbow itself.

The earth God is addressed as "father" or "grandfather," but the names used for the sky God, despite their diversity from one area to another, all have one common characteristic—their linguistic association with words connoting brightness, movement, or creation. The sky world is thought of as being much the same as the earth world, though much embellished in mythology. The celestial God is an old man,

[P.193-B]

[P.193-C]. [ARCHERS]

The celestial God is an old man,
with a beard which brings wind and storm to 776
the earth world when it shakes. The Mbuti respect [821]
him, but offer no cult to him; he is too far
removed and plays no direct part in the life of
the earth world. He is linked to it, however, and [761]
plays his part in the Pygmy rationale as the
ultimate source of all vital force which creates
and gives life. It flows from the sky God into
human beings, but his superabundance of the
life force insures his permanent overlordship.
The Mbuti regard him as the source of all creation
and the support of the universe, without
seeking to understand how he creates and
preserves, or why he destroys by reclaiming the
vital force he dispenses.

Schebesta states that the Mbuti place this 776
sky God in the moon and thus even *deus otiosus* 772
is involved in dualism, for the moon by its 761
brightness is associated with fire, and by its 821
periodicity with menstrual blood—the two [372]
symbols of life and death. (Both fire and [841]
menstrual blood have the dual association.)

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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[ARCHERS]

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There is no attempt to rationalize the fact that the force emanating from the sky God works both good and evil; it is just accepted as a fact. But it is exactly this fact that is the thread binding the various notions that form the Mbuti magico-religious system. Magic itself, good or bad, can be practiced only through the use of this force. The personal sky God himself is, for Schebesta, the supreme magician, manifest in different and opposing ways, whose power is everywhere. He is too remote to be the object of any cult but is, in a sense, represented among human beings by the lineage elders, inasmuch as they inherit the power of the original ancestors; hence, the respect and obedience that is their due.

If the outward manifestations of Pygmy religion mainly concern the God of the Undergrowth, if the cult practices seem overgrown with magic and superstition, and if there is any appearance of polytheism in the Mbuti rationale, all is resolved (for Schebesta, at least) into a consistent monotheism by the basic Mbuti belief in vital force.

[P 193-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

THE NET HUNTERS (AFTER PUTNAM)

[P. 194-A]

THE SOCIAL UNIT

621 [114] PATRICK PUTNAM'S (1948) DESCRIPTION of the net-hunting Pygmy band corresponds in essence to that given by Schebesta; the most noticeable difference is in the matter of size. [614] [594] The composition described is the same, i.e., a number of nuclear families tracing descent through the male line from a common ancestor, **for whom they are named.**

[361]

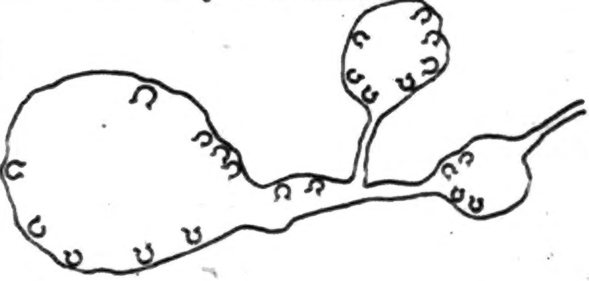

FIG. 16. Plan of net-hunters' camp (after Anne Putnam), Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[614] for whom they are named. The patriclan, however, is generally scattered and is certainly not synonymous with the band. The size of the band is determined at each extreme by the hunting and gathering needs of a cohabitive **group.**

[NET HUNTERS]

621 group. Fifty huts is the maximum given by
361 Putnam, with 25 the average and between 20
and 40 the optimum. Each hut houses a man,
[592] his wife or wives, and a few children, so the
[162] total number of Pygmies to an]average camp is

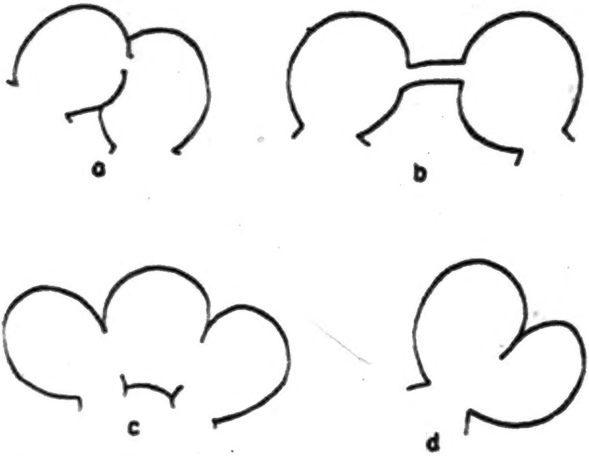

FIG. 17. Plan of net-hunters' polygynous or extended family dwellings (after Anne Putnam), Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 194-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 194-C]

about 150, with from 20 to 40 active adult males.

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592
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[114]

Anne Putnam, whose experience was confined more to the net hunters of the Epulu region, mentions 17 huts as constituting a large camp (Fig. 16), some of the huts, however, possibly being in the form of double huts (Fig. 17). Huts are continually being enlarged or re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

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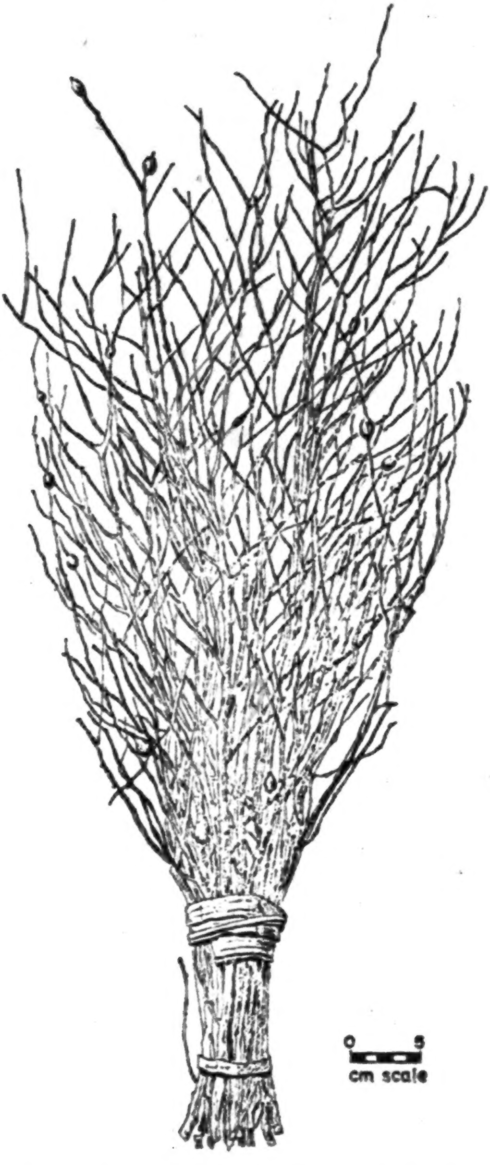

FIG. 18. Broom, *edia*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Such brooms are made daily by net hunters. The area in front of each hut is swept with leafy branches bound loosely together in this manner.

[512]
[356]

[P. 194-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 195-A]

361 [342] built, though the basic structure is expected to last for the duration of the camp.

[312] In the choice of a situation for a camp, the main considerations are the close proximity of game and fruit, but a *sine qua non* is the presence of drinking water within 50 yards. Other considerations are the absence overhead of dead branches or leaning trees which might fall on the camp in the violent windstorms that occur frequently in the forest; also, a slight slope to the ground to prevent the camp from becoming swamped during rains.

[514] Camps are moved every month or two because in that time game will have been scared away and local vegetation (fruits, fungi, and other vegetable foods) used up, and also (Putnam, 1948) because, as the Pygmies relieve themselves only a short distance from the camp, it will in that time become extremely malodorous and uncomfortable even by Pygmy standards.

HABITATIONS

[592] [342] [462] [184] [346] A camp consists of one hut per family. The huts are built by the women, in just the same shape and manner as by all Ituri Mbuti, in a circle with doors facing toward the center. There are no bachelor huts or huts for unmarried girls or widows, and no ritual structures. The relation of the huts to one another in the

[NET HUNTERS] **The relation
of the huts to one another in the** 361
circle is dictated, as much as anything, by the 621
friendship of the women. (Their gathering [571]
activities do not demand cooperation, but
Putnam says that they help one another for
company, forming work groups of two or more
adult women.)

There are frequent visitors to these camps, 574
including villagers who come to claim, trade, or 439
buy meat from the Pygmies. If a villager chief
comes, a special hut is built for him.

FURNITURE

352
The furnishings of a hut are similar to those [184]
described by Schebesta, and, like the archers,
these net hunters keep their possessions to the
minimum (Figs. 18–20). Leaves are used as
furniture more frequently than either beds or
stick chairs. The Pygmy will not sit on bare [516]
ground, and if a log is not available he will use a
piece of bark or a leaf.

UTENSILS

412
Also as with the archers, utensils are largely 439
borrowed or stolen from the villagers who make
them (Fig. 21). The net hunters do not imitate [177]
their neighbors, however, to the extent of making mortars for themselves. If they possess
mortars, they are extremely small, unlike the
large ones described by Schebesta, which could
not easily be carried from camp to camp by a
[P. 195-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 197-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

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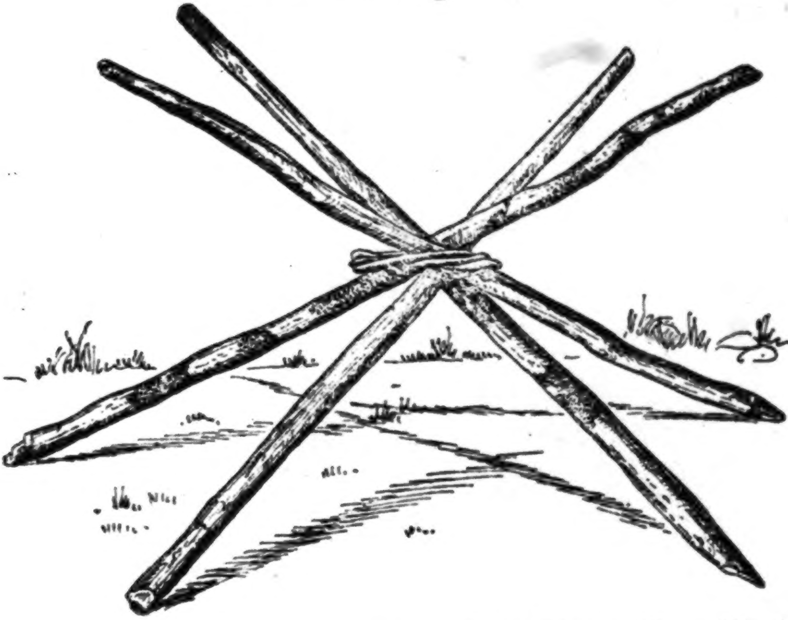

Fig. 19. Chair, *ngbanga*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 195-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

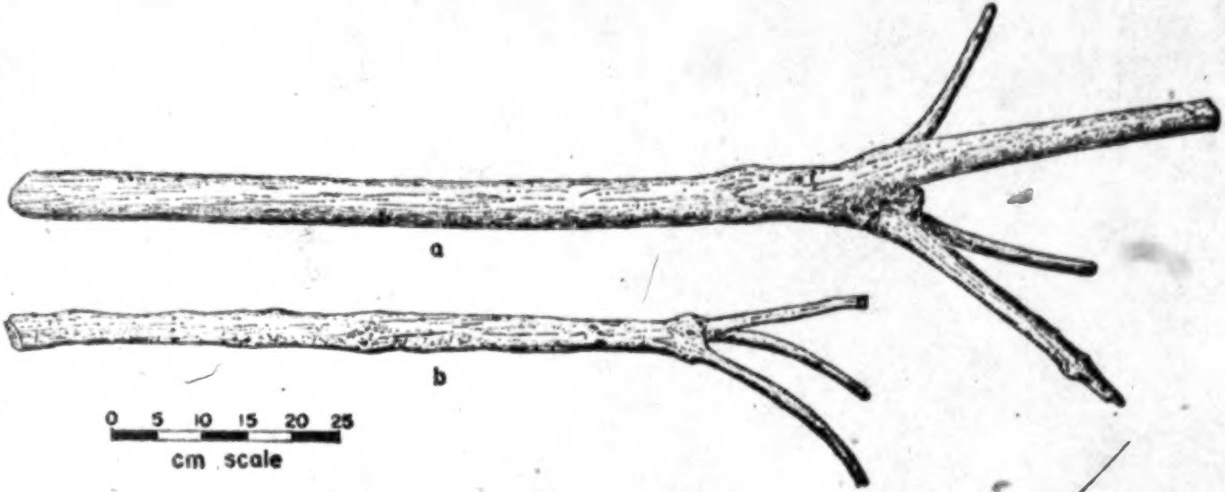

FIG. 20. Household furniture, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a–b. Benches, *mbakati*. Such forked branches are used for reclining as well as sitting, possibly in imitation of the large versions used in nearby villages.

[NET HUNTERS]

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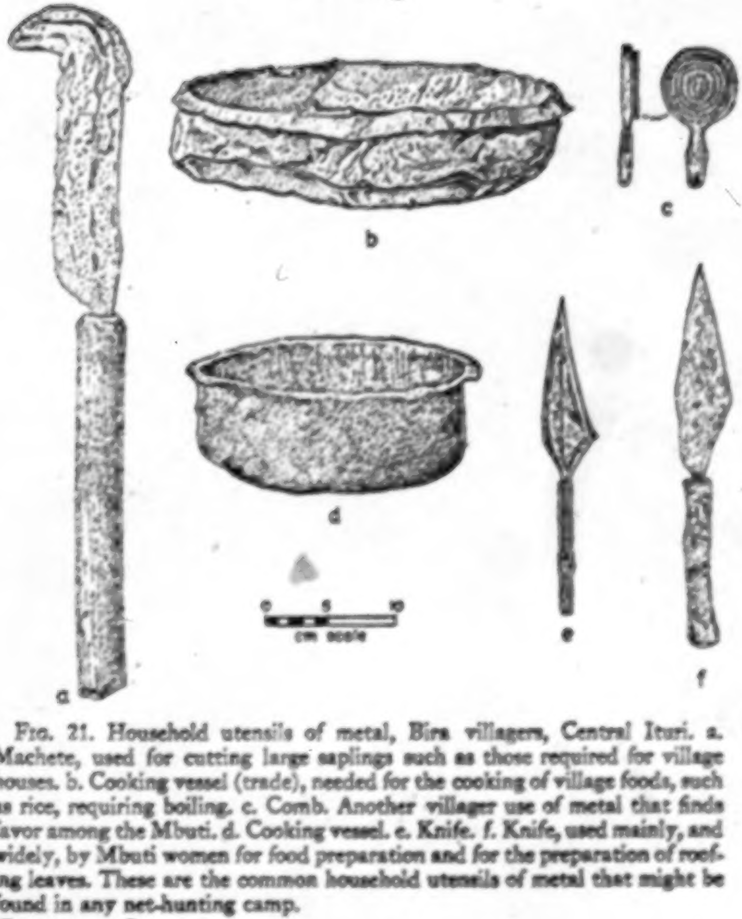

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[177]
[439]

FIG. 21. Household utensils of metal, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Machete, used for cutting large saplings such as those required for village houses. b. Cooking vessel (trade), needed for the cooking of village foods, such as rice, requiring boiling. c. Comb. Another villager use of metal that finds favor among the Mbuti. d. Cooking vessel. e. Knife. *f.* Knife, used mainly, and widely, by Mbuti women for food preparation and for the preparation of roofing leaves. These are the common household utensils of metal that might be found in any net-hunting camp.

[P.196-B]

(NET HUNTERS)

[P. 197-A]

412 439 truly nomadic group. All metal knife and ax blades are obtained ready-made from the villagers, also metal arrow and spearheads (which are frequently used as knives). The hafting and fitting of shafts may be done by the Pygmy himself, and certainly the arrow shafts are 285 439 Pygmy-made. Open-mesh baskets (Fig. 41) are made by the women, who also obtain close-mesh baskets (Fig. 42) from the villagers.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

291 [789] Clothing of the net hunters is also similar to that described by Schebesta, but with less ornamentation of fur and skin and less use of charms and amulets. Putnam denies the use of skins for clothing among the Pygmies he knows. Anne 287 Putnam ranks the manufacture of barkcloth as the major industry in a net-hunting camp, occupying even more time than the making and 286 repair of nets. Putnam once said that the Pygmies did not make nets, but obtained them from the villagers; later, he changed his opinion.[1] A net is never made complete, but in the course of repair pieces are added or removed to start a new net.

[NET HUNTERS]

000 287 new net. About 12 different kinds of bark can be used for the making of barkcloth, differing not only in color but also in texture. 287 412 The ivory bark beaters are always hafted (Fig. 22), unlike those of the archers; the beating ends may have one of three forms of grooving (Fig. 23), the dia-

[284]

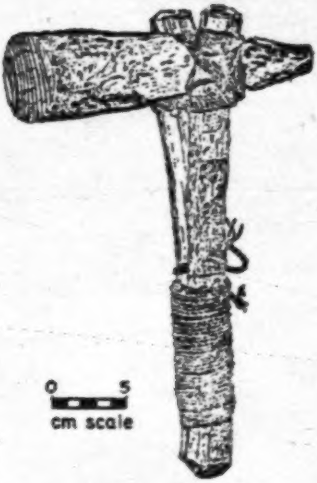

Fig. 22. Bark beater, *kolea*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. While wooden beaters are sometimes used, more frequently the ends of small elephant tusks are hafted and used to make barkcloth. [237]

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[462] [476] [1] In fact, net making is a major and constant activity calling for cooperation between men and women.

[P.197-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.197-C]

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[284]

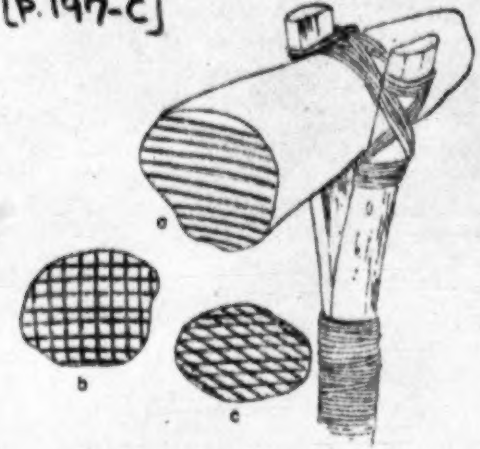

FIG. 23. Types of grooving found on ivory bark-beater heads, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

mond grooving being the commonest. There are only about two bark beaters to a camp.

287
[824]

There are two main ways of preparing the cloth. Strips of the bark of *Ficus* are peeled off the trunk between two horizontal and one vertical slit. Before the beating, the outer bark is scraped off, then the inner bark is softened either by being soaked in water from half an hour to 12 hours, according to the type of bark, or by being heated and smoked over a fire.

[NET HUNTERS]

or by being heated and smoked over a fire. The resultant barkcloth may be worn in its natural color, dyed red or blue, or be painted with simple designs (Figs. 25–27), The dyeing and painting are done by women, using a special mud for an over-all blue dye, the juice of a citrous fruit for blue line designs, and *nkula* (elsewhere *ngula*) bark, scraped with another piece of bark (Fig. 24), with water added while scraping, for

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386
531

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 200-A]

[412]

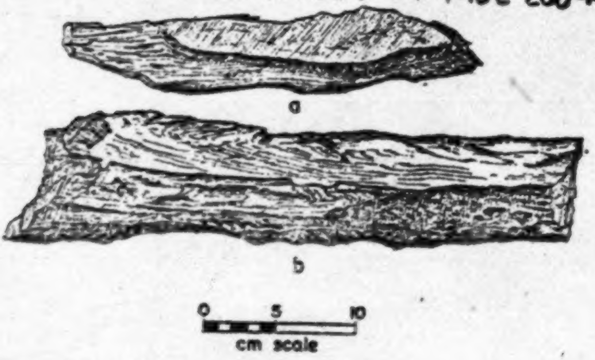

FIG. 24. Block and scraper of wood, *nkula* (also *ngula*), net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri; used with water for the extraction of the red dye most commonly employed in the decoration of barkcloth.

[NET HUNTERS]

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531

[P.198-A]

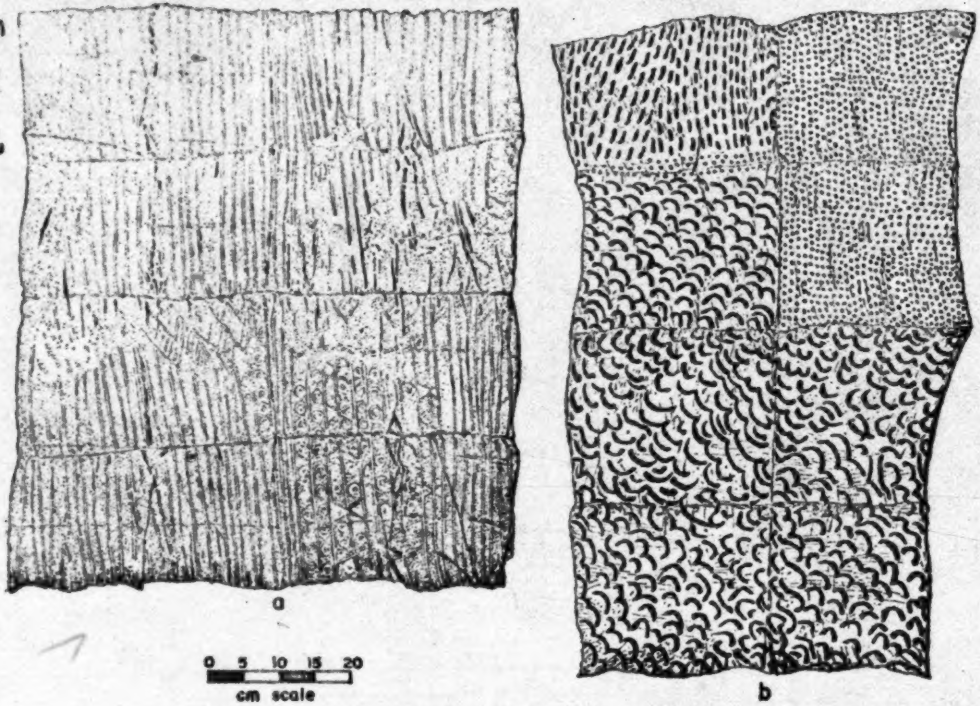
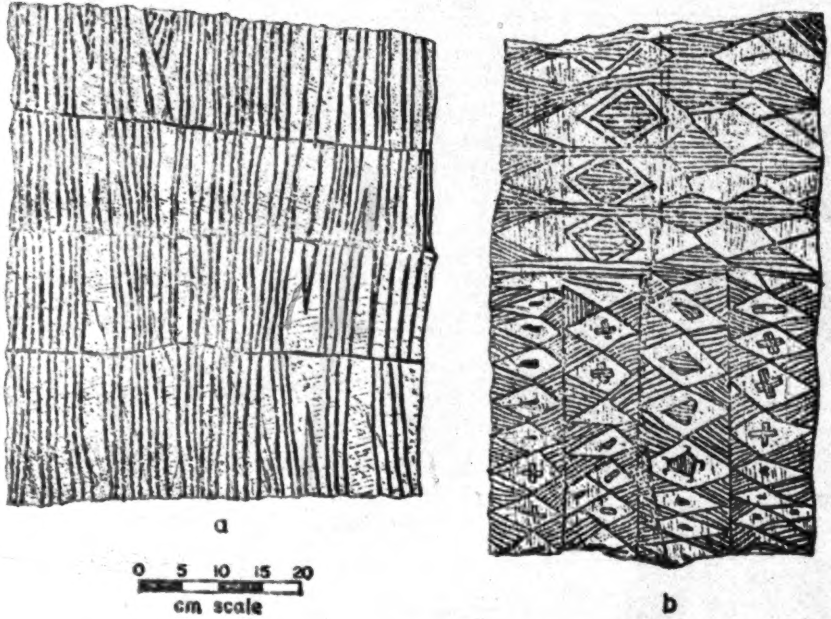

a
b
0 5 10 15 20
cm scale

FIG. 25. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.
a. Made of *epo'u* vine. b. Made of *esele* vine.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.198-B]


a
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0 5 10 15 20
cm scale

FIG. 26. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.
a. Made of *akoko* vine. b. Made of *esele* vine.

[NET HUNTERS]

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[P.199-A]

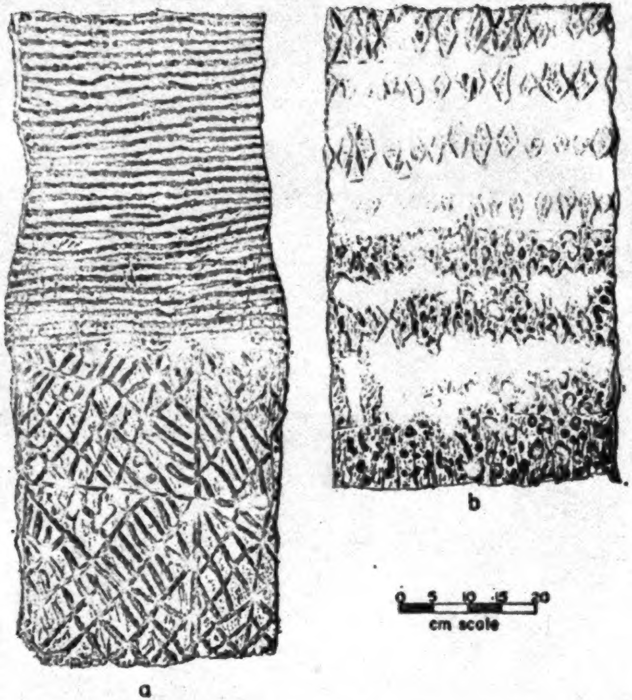
a
b
0 5 10 15 20
cm scale

FIG. 27. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.
a. Made of *le'engbe* vine. b. Made of *akbanda* vine.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.199-B]

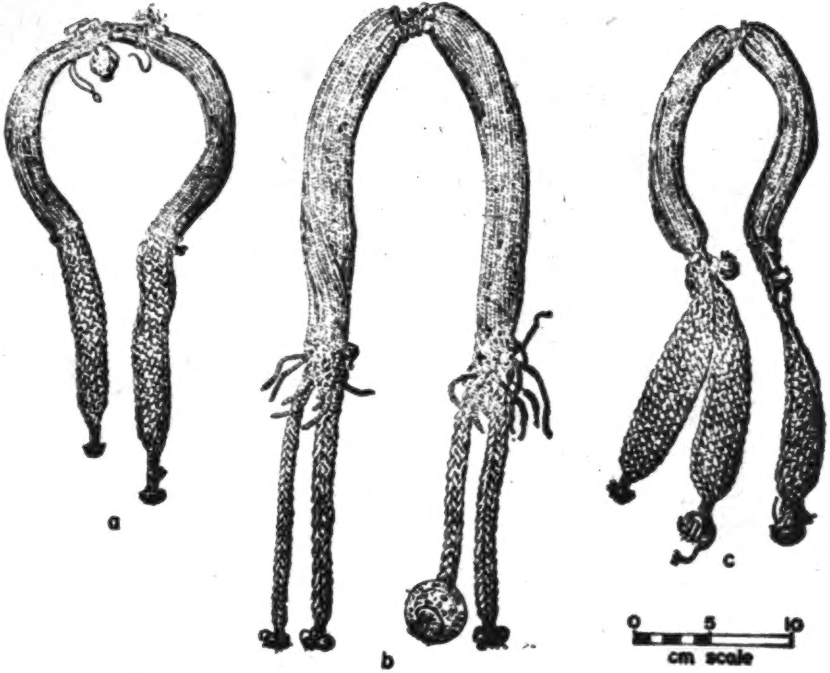

FIG. 28. a–c. Belts, *mokaba*, for barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Plaited by women from strips of vine around a vine core.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 200-A]

287
386
531 red dye. For painting designs on barkcloth, either a finger or a twig may be used. The designs vary considerably, and one piece of barkcloth may have three of four distinct patterns. [177] This is possibly in imitation of the local villager practice of sewing strips of barkcloth together to obtain larger pieces, resulting in the juxtaposition of different designs.

291
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824 The making of belts (Fig. 28) from plaited fiber and the twisting of lengths of shredded

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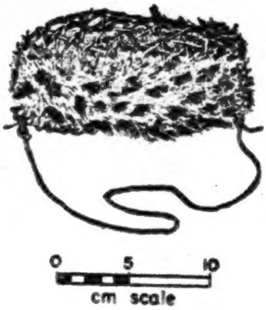


Fig. 29. Basketry hat, *ngala*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Made at whim by young or old, men or women, and worn without regard to status.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.200-B]

nkusa vine into cord, mainly used for net re- 291
pairing, are also everyday occupations. The 283
net hunters use vine much more widely than 824
the archers who use it for basketry rather than [285]
cordage. Putnam also mentions the use of cer- [84]
tain types of vine that give water. *Njelani* is a 824
long vine used for making children's swings and [312]
the high swings used by young men mainly dur- [524]
ing the honey season.

Body Decoration

Body decoration and mutilation as described 302 [304]
in the Putnam material is similar to that re- [386]
counted by Schebesta, except that in the paint-
ing of designs on the body Anne Putnam men-
tions the use of *kangay*, a black dye obtained
from the juice of the gardenia fruit (Fig. 30a).
This is applied with a small twig. Use of red and [822]
white is confined to ceremonial occasions. A va- 291
riety of hats and headdresses is used by the net 301
hunters, also bracelets, necklaces, combs, and
lip plugs. All of these may be made by the [177]
Mbuti, though often in imitation of village ar-
tifacts (Fig. 30).

[NET HUNTERS]

P
386
301
B
301

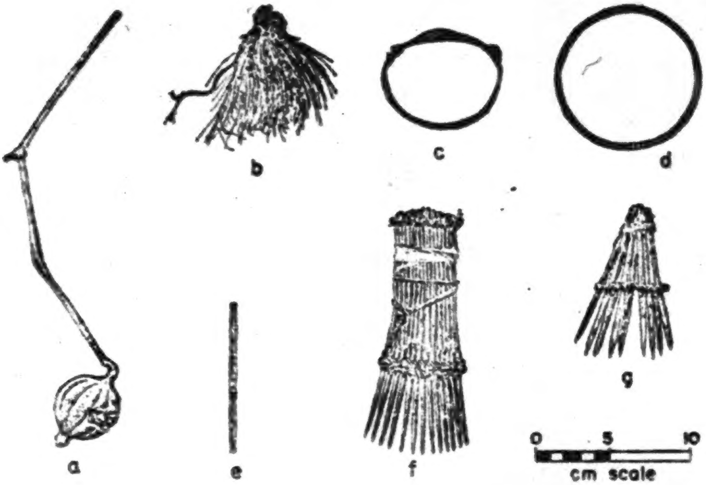


Fig. 30. Personal adornment. a. *Kangay* (gardenia) seed, used by women for extraction of a black dye for painting the body, also for painting designs on barkcloth; net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. b. Hair decoration, *mongele* antelope hair; net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. c–d. Bracelets; Bira villagers, Central Ituri. e. Nose and/or lip plug, *bobu;* net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. f. Comb, *kisanoa;* Bira villagers, Central Ituri. g. Comb, *kisanoa;* net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. As everywhere among the Mbuti, metal objects are of villager origin. Many of the wooden objects of personal adornment are made in imitation of villager artifacts (compare f and g).

P
[177]

[P. 200-C]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.201-A]

CARE OF BODY

515
302
[184] According to the Putnams, the net hunters take much greater care of their bodies than Schebesta's archers. They bathe frequently in the shallow streams near the camp, inspect each other carefully for bugs and lice (acquired inevitably when sleeping on the ground), and shave their heads for purposes of cleanliness rather than for esthetic satisfaction. Oil, when available, is rubbed into the skin. On ceremonial occasions, when they visit the Bantu village, palm oil is used, often mixed with *nkula* paste to add to its natural deep red color.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231
184 The only domestic animal, as with the archers, is the hunting dog, but this, although highly prized, is not so important to the net hunter as to the archer and tracker. Even among the larger net-hunting bands there may be only one or two dogs.

[NET HUNTERS]

TECHNOLOGY

372 Fire making is totally unknown, even as it is
to some of the neighboring village tribes, ac-
cording to Putnam. Glowing embers wrapped in
phrynium leaves are carried everywhere, even
on short journeys. They are also used, as de-
scribed by Schebesta, for light at night and for
[416] fighting off invading ants. Another form of
[373] light (Fig. 31a), in the shape of resin torches
[314] (KiBira: *kasuku*), is sometimes used, but at no
time is wood specially cut (such as the *akata*
mentioned by Schebesta) to make firebrand
[252] torches. Campfires are always made the same
way—three logs, their ends pointing to the center, where kindling is placed and where cinders form on which cooking is done.

411 Poison is used on untipped arrows, as described by Schebesta. These arrows are carefully protected by leaf covers until used. They are much more widely used than the metal-tipped arrows, largely, as the Mbuti admit themselves, because they are such poor shots.

Sometimes spearheads are also untipped, the wooden points being fire-hardened, but there is no evidence that these are poisoned, and they are becoming rare.

462 In none of the normal routine work in a
Pygmy camp such as that described by Putnam
[463] is there any specialization, except in so far as
certain tasks are divided between men and women.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.201-C]

416
314
←

276
824
→

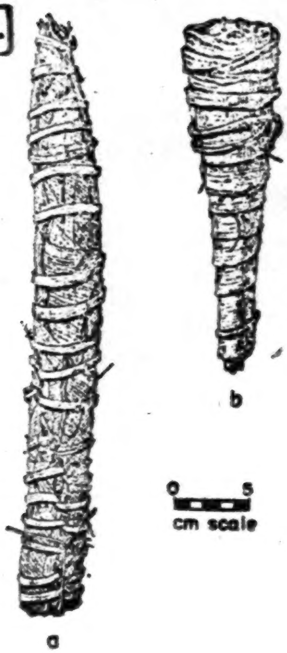


FIG. 31. Miscellaneous items, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Resin flare, *kasuku*, made of *kasuku* resin and wrapped in leaves; used when necessary to move from the hut at night. b. Bark pipe, *mbende*, used when village pipestems and bowls are not available.

[NET HUNTERS]

en. The making of barkcloth and/netting, and 462
the painting of designs on cloth and body, are individual skills which are utilized for the craftsman himself or for his immediate family. Women living in adjoining huts sometimes exchange their skills in body painting, exercising their art on one another. [476] [571]

ECONOMIC LIFE

Hunting

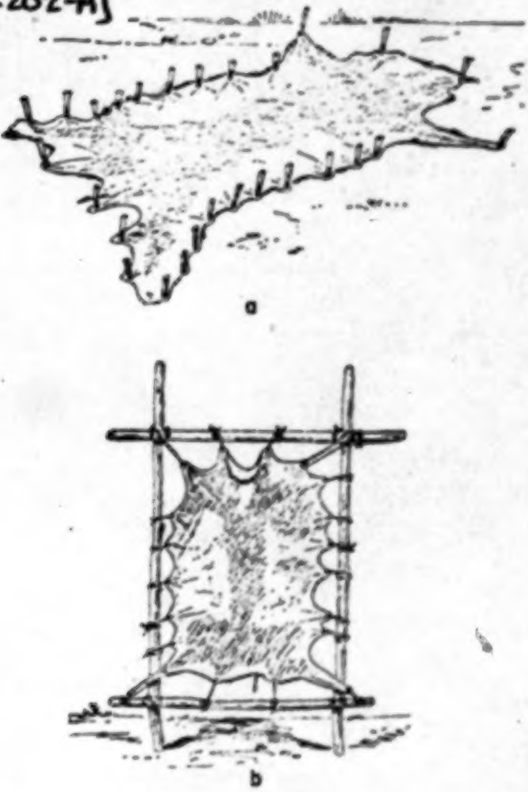
Like Schebesta, Putnam stresses hunting and gathering as the basis of Mbuti economy. Putnam (1948, 327) also states that hunting is the principal means by which the Pygmy-villager relationship is maintained. Although there is little division of labor among the Mbuti themselves, he (1948, 328) says in a sense that they are all specialists in hunting, so there is a division of labor between Pygmy and village groups, the two together forming a larger economic entity. The villager may do some hunting, but largely by means of traps, deadfalls, and pits. It occupies little of his time and is not very productive. For the Pygmy, hunting is a full-time occupation. 224 433 439 177 [222] [463] [171]

[P. 201-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.202-A]

281



[237]
[439]

FIG. 32. Methods of stretching hides to dry, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Hides, little used by the net hunters except as baby slings and, more rarely, as quivers, are good trade items that are needed by villagers, among other things, for drumheads.

[NET HUNTERS]

224
184
The Pygmy has no use for traps or pits. These require too much work and are, by his standards, inefficient. Throughout the Ituri the Mbuti can be classified as net hunters or non-net hunters or, conversely, as archers or non-archers. Putnam states that this adherence to either hunting technique depends on the prevailing villager custom, as the villagers supply the Pygmies with both nets and arrowheads. Later, he modified this view because the Pygmies are, in fact, making nets all the time by adding to and subtracting from their existing nets, as mentioned above. [Schebesta (1933) refers to the Pygmies as making their own nets.] [221] [476] This division into archers and net hunters is also significant with regard to social organization, says Putnam (1948, 328), since "The degree to which co-operation is required in hunting, and the numbers of people involved, are the principal factors in determining the composition of the band."

[P.202-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 202-C]

The net-hunting technique is similar to that of the *begbe* described by Schebesta (1952, 133 ff.) but with the notable absence of the leadership of an "elder." The decision as to when and where to hunt is made during the evening preceding the hunt, in conversation among all the hunters around the campfire. Whereas rain puts an end to both net hunting and tracking, lack of rain (causing dry leaves to crackle underfoot) is disadvantageous only to trackers. Like the beat hunt, net hunting relies on the *amount* of noise that can be made. 224 184

The net hunt calls for a minimum of seven nets, each married man owning a net. Unmarried men may also own nets if they have proved their prowess as hunters. It is usual in a normal camp of about 17 huts for the majority of men, women, and children to join the hunt. If the camp is large, some members stay behind and perform their various subsidiary chores such as the repair of nets, the manufacture of barkcloth and twine, gathering, and so forth. The women joining the hunt carry their babies on their backs; boys and young men are armed with bows and arrows or spears; and the heads of families carry their nets and spears. Various 224 [422] [512] [854]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 203-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

281

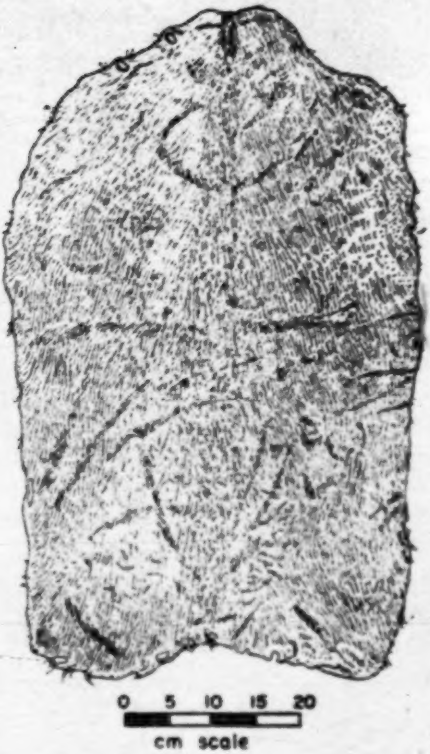

0 5 10 15 20
cm scale

FIG. 33. Prepared antelope hide, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 202-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.203-A]

224
286

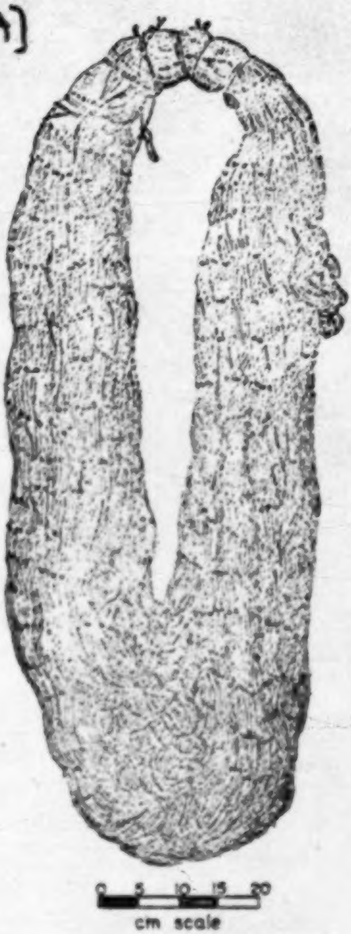


FIG. 34. Hunting net, *kuya*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Coiled and bound for carrying over the shoulders.

[NET HUNTERS]

224 [114] **Various** early travelers describe net hunts in similar terms (Parke, 1891; Lloyd, 1899; Geil, 1905; Christy, 1924). Parke (1891) gives a detailed description of the nets, which corresponds to that given by Putnam, and records their length as from 100 to 200 feet. He gives the height of the net, however, as 5 feet, while the nets used by the Epulu net hunters are barely 4 feet high (Figs. 34–36).

When a suitable place is reached, the women make beaters of twigs and branches, and go off into the forest, while the men set the nets up end-to-end, in a large semicircle. The women carry their babies, but the young children are left with the men.

Putnam indicates that there is a difference in the value of different positions in the circle of nets; the central positions are the most likely to catch game. There is a definite system in set-

[P. 203-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

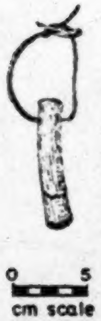


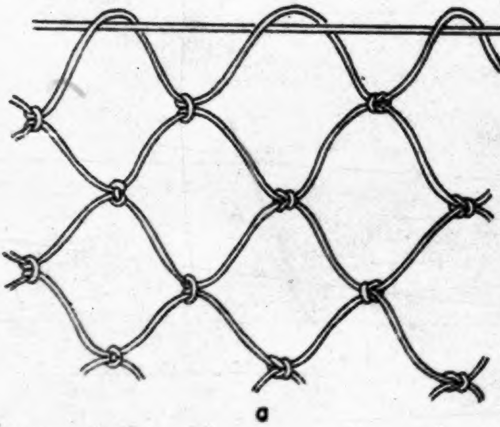
FIG. 35. Magic whistle, *mamambamamba*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Such magic is rare, though pipes and whistles are sometimes blown before a hunt in the belief that the sound will attract game.

ting up the nets, with a special vocabulary of technical terms to deal with it, but he does not give the details.

When all is ready, the women, who have spread out in an opposing semicircle, start beating into the nets, calling and shouting, beating their sticks on the ground. If they see any slow game heading their way, they dive for it and

[NET HUNTERS]

catch it with their hands, put it in a basket, and continue beating. Their main object is to put up game and drive it toward the nets. There, the men are in readiness, motionless until some animal is tangled in the meshes. Then they seize it, and the owner of that particular net kills the 224



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284
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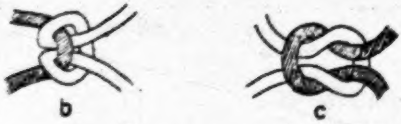

FIG. 36. Details of knotting used in hunting net, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 203-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.204-A]

224 [201] animal with his knife or spear. He claps his armpit to signal his success to his companions. The women by the tone of their shouting and the men by their arm-clapping (KiBira: *kombo*) can indicate not only when and where game is put up, but the kind of game.

In a day's hunting this process may be repeated as many as seven times, if the rain holds off. But if the first few casts of the nets are successful the Pygmies return to camp. They make no provision for the storage of meat or any other food.

If large game, such as buffalo, is driven toward them, the Mbuti try to lower the nets to avoid their being damaged; otherwise, the buffalo will probably tear its way through, though it may be delayed long enough for the hunters to spear it. Antelope is the game normally [483] caught. The hunter carries the dead animal around his neck back to the camp for division. If a larger animal, such as an okapi, is caught, it is cut up on the spot and carried back to the camp in the women's baskets. There all the meat is spread out and the division takes place

[NET HUNTERS]

224 according to specific custom (details not given), after which a share may be sent to the villagers. Putnam says that the average catch for a day is half an antelope (the size of a goat) per man [281] (i.e., per family). Skins are stretched on frames, or staked out on the ground, for drying (Figs. 32–33).

224 426 Anne Putnam gives the hunting rules as told to her by one of the great hunters of the Epulu group. From these rules it appears that a net owner, if he lends his net to another, has varying claims according to the number of animals that fall into the net during any one day. The liver always belongs to the net owners, while the head, and a leg or legs if more than one animal is caught, go to the hunter. If an antelope gets caught in two nets, or escapes from one into another, the two net owners share it. If an animal becomes entangled and escapes without cutting the net and is subsequently caught, it belongs to the net owner. If, however, it cuts the net, then it belongs to whoever kills it.

224 621 554 628 Anne Putnam also gives the positions of net owners in the hunting circle of a large band of three combined hunting bands. Apparently, while the junior members of the two visiting bands tend to keep to themselves at each extremity of the line of nets, the main (host)

[P. 204-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 204-C]

group occupies the center, with the important 224
hunters from all three bands occupying the 621
most central positions. Figure 16 gives the plan 628
of the camp, showing the separation of these 554
three "bands". In fact they are more likely segments of the same band in the process of fission.

Net hunters do not use bows and arrows 224
(Figs. 37–39) to any appreciable extent, and 411
they are poor archers. Putnam, in his travels throughout the forest, found few really good archers. He says that they shoot arrows with great rapidity, but that only one out of five may

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

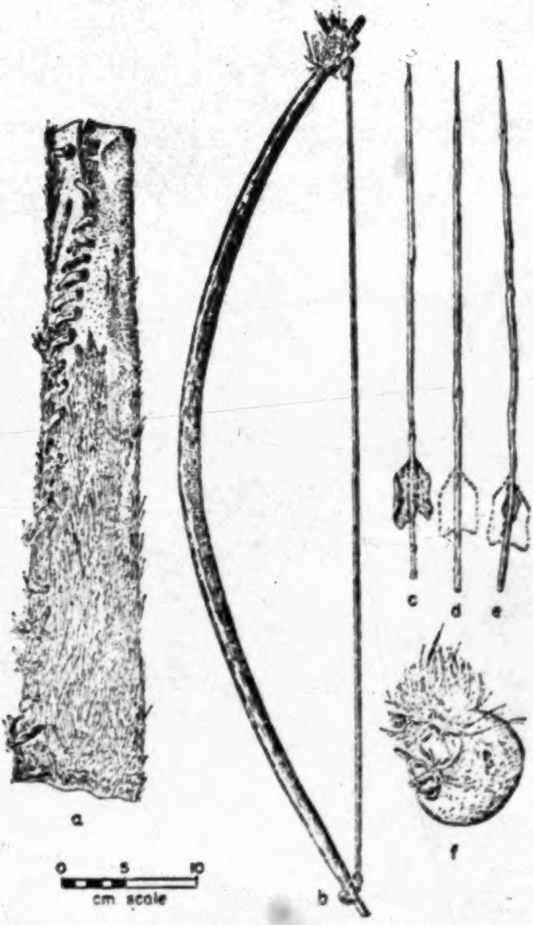

FIG. 37. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu [192]
District, Central Ituri. a. Skin quiver, *baba*. b. Bow,
mangé. c–e. Arrows, *api*. f. Wrist protector, *asuba*.
The bows, arrows, and wrist protectors of the net [184]
hunters are notably shorter than those of the archers
but are only of secondary importance in the food
quest. The net hunters prefer poisoned arrows to
those with metal tips (see Figs. 38–39).

[P 204-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.205-A]

224 hit the target. At tracking, however, the Mbuti
411 are excellent, being able to move swiftly and silently through the forest. They can, in Putnam's estimation, catch game with their hands, and often do so, as successfully as by using their bows and arrows. Iron-tipped arrows are used on larger game, and untipped, poisoned arrows
[278] are used mainly for monkeys and birds. The poison is prepared individually, strophanthus being the vital plant acting as a heart stimulant.

224 Hunting dogs are used both during the net hunt and by individual owners for hunting wild boar.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 205-B]
Elephant hunting is important in the Epulu 224
District. Certan bands of Pygmies are special-
ists. Among the local net-hunting band from
which the most detailed information is avail-
able, however, four out of 12 or 15 hunters are
elephant hunters. Putnam says that the present [178]
form of elephant hunting is a recent develop-
ment in answer to the needs of the villagers
whose plantations were continually being ra-
vaged by elephants and who encouraged the
Pygmies to kill them off. In the early days the [237]
villagers had little use for the tusks, other than [439]
as barkcloth beaters, but with the advent of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

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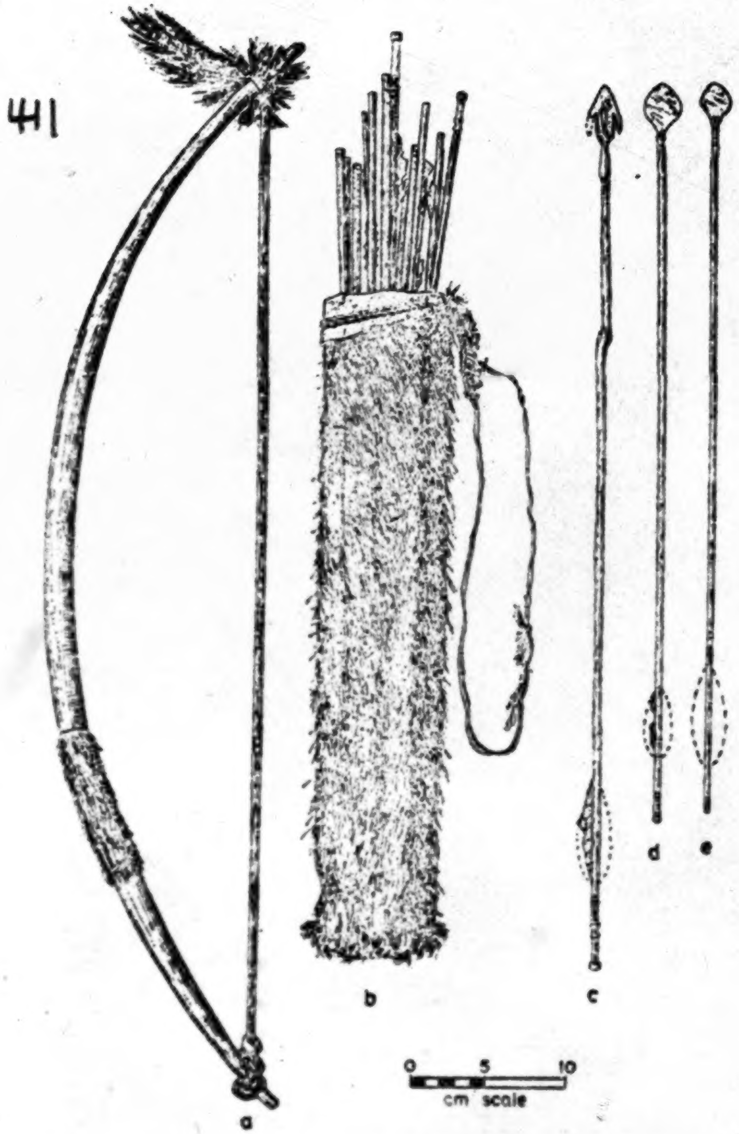
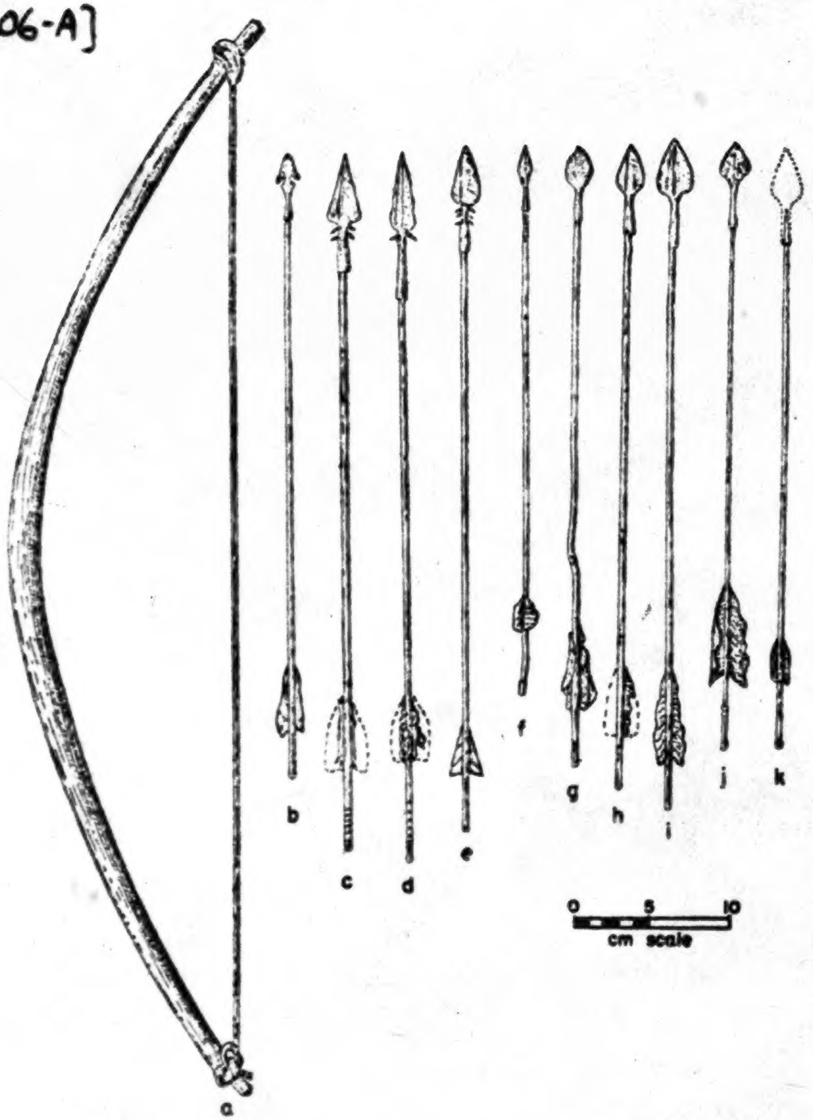


Fig. 38. Hunting equipment, net hunters. a. Bow, Epulu District, Central Ituri. b. Quiver, Central Ituri. c–e. Arrows, Central Ituri.

[P. 205 - C]

[NET HUNTERS]


a
b
c
d
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h
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cm scale

FIG. 39. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Bow. b–k. Arrows.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

224 [237] [439] Arab traders ivory became a most precious commodity, and the Pygmies were doubly incouraged to kill elephants. For the Pygmies themselves, a slain elephant was a source of great satisfaction, providing them with meat ample enough to obviate the necessity of hunting for several days.

[157] The killing of the animal was, and still is, a matter that inspired the normally audacious Mbuti with some caution. Putnam says that elephant hunting is a specialist occupation; not every Pygmy is brave enough, and the tech- [191] nique itself takes great skill. The villagers use spear-falls and elephant pits (dug so as to trap

[P. 206-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

224
(771)

the elephant's forefeet and head only), but this method of hunting is foreign to the Mbuti. Travelers such as Parke (1891) who observed spear-falls and pits almost certainly saw those made by villagers, not Pygmies. Casati (1891), Lloyd (1899), Geil (1905), Christy (1924), and others mention the fact that Pygmies are able to kill elephants with their bows and arrows, a technical ability strongly denied by Schebesta, Putnam, and the Pygmies themselves. Schweinfurth (1874, 65–66, 70) was told by a villager informant that the northern Mbuti are able to kill an elephant either with bow and arrow or by thrusting a spear into its belly. The latter

[P. 206-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 207-A]

224 method was known to Putnam, who says that a special spear, with a long wide blade of soft metal, is used (Fig. 40). The shaft is about 4 feet long and stout; the blade is carefully sharpened on a stone (as the Pygmy sharpens all his [825] blades). The hunter, who may make use of elephant droppings to cover his scent, tracks the elephant, approaches it silently up wind, and thrusts the spear as far as he can into the belly, just behind the ribs. Putnam says that the Pygmy then stands absolutely still (but presumably having jumped into the cover of the bush), and that the Pygmies themselves said that if you "as much as wink at this moment you are a dead Pygmy" (Putnam, 1948, 331). He may, if the opportunity offers, repeat this process. When he returns to camp the others examine his spear and decide, according to the distance the blood has reached down the blade, whether the wound is fatal and justifies tracking or not. If they decide the wound is fatal, the entire camp sets off, leaving only an old couple to look after the camp. They track the elephant for two or three days until it dies of peritonitis.

[NET HUNTERS]

224 Putnam describes a ceremony that takes place at that time. A man other than the hunter cuts off a section of the skin, a little at a time, distributing it for all to eat. When he has cut down to the inner wall of the abdomen and everyone has had a piece, he stands aside for the youngest son of the successful hunter to bite through the wall, whereupon the bloated elephant bursts. [262] Putnam says that this ceremony is repugnant to the Pygmies, who dislike raw meat, and particularly repugnant to the child, but he does not explain the practice.

251 252 261 Following this ceremony, the animal is quickly and completely butchered, and the meat is cooked. The Pygmies eat as much as they can. They partly boil and partly dry some (the only form of preservation of foodstuff ever practiced by them) and take this to the village.

224 In 1951, Putnam gave me another version of this form of hunt, in which the Pygmy thrusts the spear into the bladder of the elephant, and, if he sees that the urine is released, he returns to camp knowing that it will die within a few days. The procedure is then as above. Anne Putnam (1954, 93) mentions a net hunter who tracked and killed an elephant at a time when there was no shortage of food, simply because he felt the urge to do so.

Schebesta (1941, 106 ff.) mentions two types

[P. 207-8]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 208-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.207-C]

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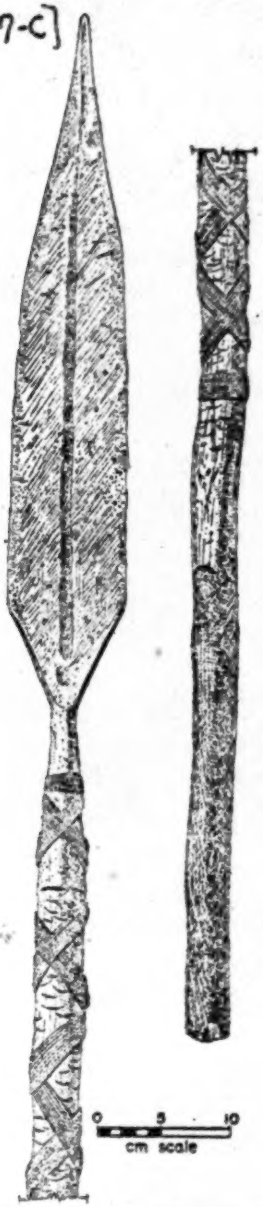

FIG. 40. Spear, *ekonga*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Used throughout the Ituri, except possibly in parts of the north, primarily as a weapon of defense and secondarily for the hunting of large game, including elephant. Mbuti hafting. [184]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 208-A]

224 of elephant hunt known to him. The first makes use of a spear such as that described by Putnam, but the Pygmy, instead of thrusting it into the belly, creeps up behind the elephant and cuts the tendon above one of its heels. The elephant spins around, at which a second hunter, waiting for this action, leaps out of the bush and cuts the tendon of the other heel, thus bringing the elephant down, at which point it is easily killed —often by blinding it and then cutting off the trunk and leaving it to bleed to death. The second method makes use of a harpoon, and according to Schebesta, this is the method used among the net hunters. Here the harpoon is thrust into the belly, as described by Putnam, after which the Pygmy leaps clear. If thrust far enough, the elephant dies from lacerations caused by the dragging on the harpoon head as the attached cord snags on trees and undergrowth during the animal's flight.

[223] Men may individually kill monkeys and birds with their bows and arrows, supplementing their individual family food supply, and women out gathering may catch slow game with their
226 hands. Children, and occasionally women, fish and catch crabs. Fishing seems more highly de-
[184] veloped among the net hunters than among Schebesta's archers, as the net hunters know of certain grubs that make good bait and can be found in the *kukumu* tree, and also understand the use of poison for catching fish.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.208-B]

the use of poison for catching fish. The poison 226
(KiBira: *matungu*) is prepared from the bark of [278]
the *atungo* tree, and has been known to blind
people who get it in the eyes. Fish caught by 252
the children are placed by them in leaves with 857
salt and roasted on fire embers. Salt is obtained 263
either from plantain skins, or in the *ido*, which
are open, well-watered clearings found in the
forest. Children also hunt rats and mice with 857
their miniature bows and arrows. 224

GATHERING

As with the archers, gathering is mostly the 222
province of women and children (mainly women), 462
though men will gather any edible food 857
they happen to pass. Gathering is an individual
rather than a collective activity. Gathering activities that require the climbing of high trees, such as the collection of most nuts, are undertaken by men, who also collect termites, silkworms, and honey. The contribution of children, though not organized, is appreciable.

The foods available are the same as those described 222
by Schebesta. It appears that the net hunters make much fuller use of forest products, the most important of which are nuts, edible fungus, and edible roots, each of which can be subdivided into a number of different species, not only insuring a supply at all seasons, for each species has its own season, but also variety.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

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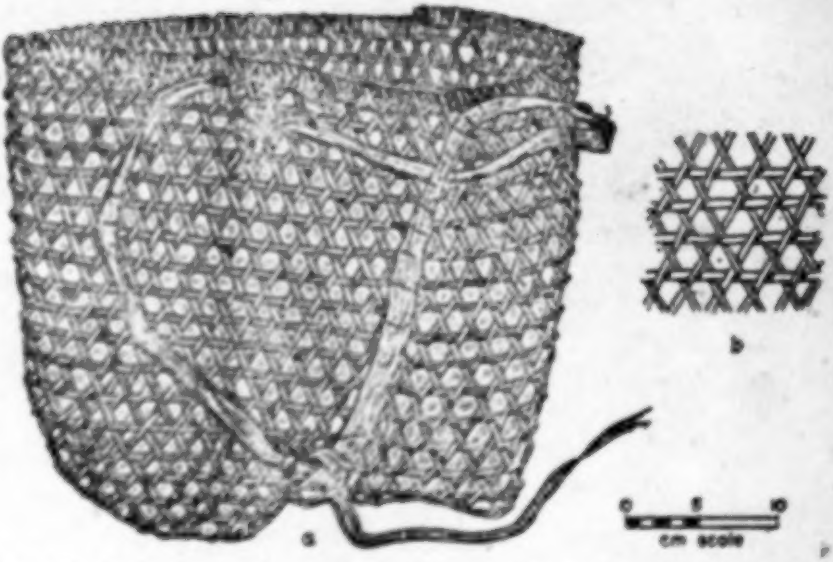

Fig. 41. Gathering equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Basket, *se*. b. Details of construction. Open-mesh baskets, of stripe of dried vine, are made and used by Mbuti women among both net hunters and archers.

[184]

[P 208-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P209-A]

222
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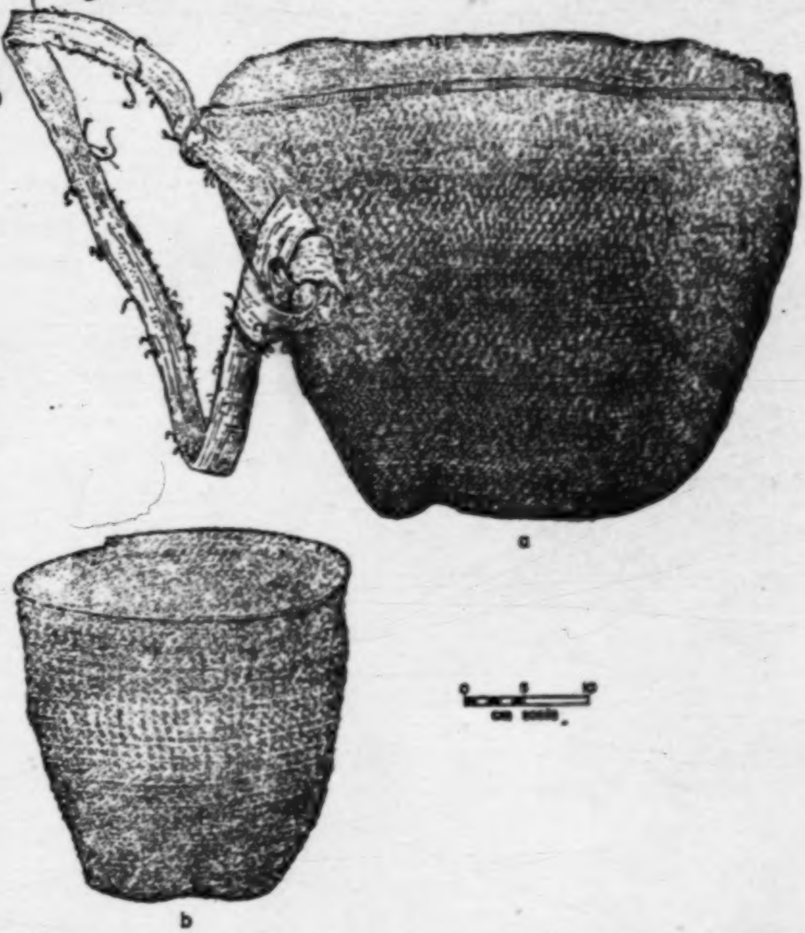

[439] FIG. 42. Gathering equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a–b. Baskets, 1/10. Close-mesh baskets are obtained from neighboring villages and may be offered by villagers in exchange for forest produce.

[NET HUNTERS]

222 221 439 Putnam says that, for most of the year, gathering can be said only to supplement vegetable food obtained from the villager plantations, although during the "dry season" (January–February) certain seeds and fruits ripen, and forest foods become so plentiful that the Pygmy can live entirely by gathering.

222 [137] Particularly important among the fruits is the *ibambi*, a large fruit somewhat resembling an outsized pineapple. When ripe it can be heard falling to the ground, at which there is a

[P 209-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

race between Pygmies and chimpanzees to get 222
to it first. Pygmies say that chimpanzees, if they [825]
are already well fed, will take a fallen *ibambi*
and hide it in the fork of a tree, but an observant Pygmy will find it. The *eseli* nut is the [137]
most important of the nuts and is too tough for
chimpanzees to open, and the *itaba* is the most
important of the edible roots. Following the dry [221]
season comes the season of termites, and then
that of caterpillars. The honey season, however,
is the only season of real significance.

[P. 209-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 210-A]

415
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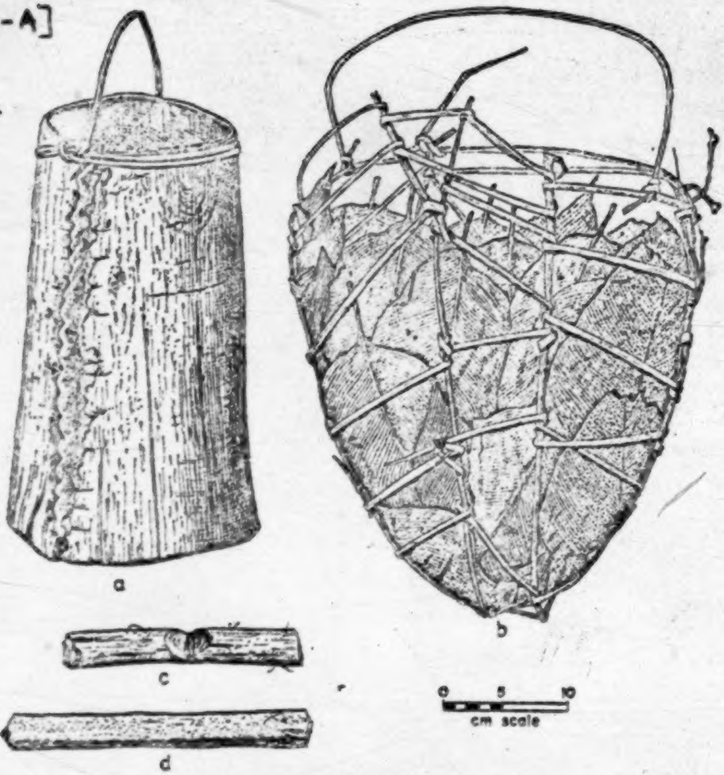

[534]

FIG. 43. Gathering equipment, net hunters. a. Bark honey container, *ebimba*,
Epulu District, Central Ituri. b. Vine-and-leaf honey container, *apayabisi*, West
[824] Nduye District, Central Ituri. Normally the bark container is used, but if the
Mbuti come across honey unexpectedly, they improvise a container of leaves sup-
[184] ported by vine strands. This may be found among both archers and net hunters.
[221] c–d. Clappers, *ngbengbe*, used exclusively by the Mbuti during the honey season
[533] to accompany honey songs, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[NET HUNTERS]

222

HONEY GATHERING

[221] [184] This is an important and festive season, coming toward the middle of the year. The method of collection is the same as that described by Schebesta (1952, 143–144) for the archers, and is undertaken by men. Women may accompany them, mainly to be sure of getting their share of honey. On such expeditions, and on any other occasion when they are going from one place to another, the women carry baskets on their backs and leave the right arm free to cut roofing leaves and gather mushrooms and roots and other vegetable foods in passing. In the left

[P 210-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

In the left hand they carry a smouldering log end wrapped in a phrynium leaf, and they may also carry a baby on the left hip in a sling. Special utensils of Mbuti origin include a bark container (Fig. 32a) sealed with *kasuku* resin, and a fragile vine basket lined with leaves (Fig. 43b). Hardwood rhythm sticks, *ngbengbe* (Fig. 43c), are cut and used during the honey season.

222
[372]
[854]
[415]
[534]

Drinks, Narcotics, and Stimulants

276

The information available is exactly the same as that given by Schebesta for the archers. Pipestems and bowls are borrowed from vil-

[184]

[P 210-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 211 - A]

276 lagers, but the net hunters also make a pipe by twisting a bark strip into a cone, lining the end with fire-resistant leaves (Fig. 31b).

Food Restrictions

262 614 [84] Putnam's information on food restrictions differs from that given for the archers. While there are clan names and clan totems,[1] opinion among the net hunters themselves seems vague as to the exact extent of the restrictions arising from these totems. Probably, if the occasion arose (though the commonest totem animals in this particular group are the leopard and the chimpanzee, not important features of the local diet), a hungry Pygmy would turn a blind eye to the rules of totemism. Putnam says that these rules call for avoidance not only of the animal as well as of its flesh, but also of its favorite food. The animals are not regarded as representing the ancestors themselves but are associated with them in some myth.

[NET HUNTERS]

262 Lesser taboos are observed by children until they reach the age of puberty. These, according to the Pygmies themselves, result from the fact that a certain kind of food makes a certain child sick and thenceforth is taboo to it.

262 There are also certain food restrictions during periods of puberty, pregnancy, and mourning, and others emphasizing the opposition of the
[825] sexes. Putnam gives as an example the refusal of men to eat frogs and toads, which women gladly eat, and suggests as a reason the association of the amphibians with water and land, and that they might bring about rainfall adverse to hunting.

Trade

439 As with the archers, great stress is laid by
177 Putnam on the present dependency of the net
[184] hunters on the villager plantations for vegetable food, particularly the plantain. In principle the system is the same as that outlined by Schebesta. Putnam says that the relationship is interfamilial and inherited according to the principle of patrilineal descent. There is no strict account kept of trade, or any system of equivalent values
[571] other than mutual satisfaction. But the villager, if displeased, may withhold bananas, and the Pygmy, if not satisfied, may leave and go to hunt with another band attached to another patron. (Putnam uses the term "host.") When

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[177] [1] Very possibly of village origin.

[P. 211-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.211-C]

alliances change in this way it is a source of friction between the two village groups involved and was at one time a frequent source of intervillage warfare. 439 177

Prior to this trade relationship, however, Putnam stresses the importance of the place of the Pygmies as mercenaries, acting as spies and scouts for warring village tribes. From his inquiries during his first period of field work in 1928 he surmised that throughout the Ituri this had at one time been the major basis of the Mbuti-villager relationship. It necessitated the supply of food by the villager to the Pygmy, as the latter had no time to hunt and gather his own food. When the Belgians put an end to tribal warfare, there was no further need for the Mbuti as mercenaries, resulting in the present trade relationship. The difference between net-hunting Pygmies and those of Schebesta's account, in their relationship with the villagers, is that among the archers the relationship is band to village, a result of the Belgian bolstering of chieftainship, even where it did not exist, for administrative convenience. The village "chief" then chooses to work through a Pygmy "chief" 648 439 177 [174] [178] 648 184 177 571

[NET HUNTERS]

of his own creation. But among the Epulu net hunters, and other central and western groups, in which village tribal structure has not been so greatly affected, the relationship is still, in Putnam's opinion, intensely personal between individual and individual, or family and family. The superficial dissatisfaction manifest between Pygmy and villager over their trade relationship is a result of and symbolizes the present stratification with the villager at the upper end of the scale and hides the inner feelings of loyalty and affection that Putnam says exists between the two groups. 648 184 177 571 [439)

SOCIAL LIFE

Family Organization

621 562

For the most part the family organization among the net hunters is the same as that described by Schebesta for the archers, and, as with them, some of the women come from different bands and are strangers to one another. The net hunting camps are larger, however, than those of the archers, and it is seldom that a bride finds herself a total stranger in her new home. Further, because of the differences in hunting technique, cooperative feeling among the women of a net-hunting band is much stronger than that [582] [184] 621 476 184 562

[NET HUNTERS]

184 [P.212-A]
621 in a band of archers. Women are vital to the
476 hunt and have their own part to play in it. In
562 addition, they must undertake all the duties
[462] and responsibilities described by Schebesta: the
building and care of the home, gathering vegetable food, and, above all, the raising of a fam-
621 ily. Putnam's notes do not give much infor-
562 mation on the status of women, but it would
184 seem to be fully as high as that of women among the archers, according to Schebesta, and also proportional, to a certain extent, to their fertility. The net-hunter band has the same responsibilities to its men's womenfolk as does the archer band.

593 The man, however, spends relatively more
[184] time with his wife and family than can an archer. When the band is large enough, several families may stay behind while the others go
[512] hunting. On such occasions the womenfolk may go gathering, at which time the men attend to their various chores such as the manufacture of barkcloth, repair of hunting nets, and other specifically male duties, or else the women may find work to do in the camp, in which they are aided by their husbands. The men are good fathers and, contrary to Schebesta's assertion for the archers, take pleasure in looking after their children, playing with them, and amusing them with stories and mime.

[NET HUNTERS]

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574 The wives never lose their feelings for their own band, and a woman will either invite some of her relatives to visit her, or else will go, with her husband and children, to visit her own family.

593
621
[591] The family hut is merely a place for sleeping: all other family activity takes place outside. There is, then, considerable interaction between one family and another. During the evening this applies particularly to the womenfolk, as at this time the men gather in a group by themselves. Family life is anything but private, and a dispute between a husband and his wife is taken up all over the camp. [184] As with the archers, the authority of the mother over her children is fully equal to that of the father, and this is one of the most common sources of quarrel. As boys grow older they tend to spend less time near their hut and more with the men, so they come under the influence of the band rather than the individual family.

602 There is no information regarding relationships between affines, avoidance or otherwise.
[P. 212-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P 212-c] DAILY LIFE

The food quest, as with the archers, is the pri- 512
mary concern of daily life among the net hunt- 22
ers. The net hunt is considerably more reward-
ing than the other form of hunt, although it
probably occupies as much time. Care and [286]
maintenance of the nets are also laborious and
time-consuming. Women gather not only as
they accompany the hunt, but also on those
days when the hunt stays behind in the camp.
The children make a not inconsiderable contri- [857]
bution to the family food quest. A common 512
occupation on a non-hunting day is for men and 283
women to assist each other in the making of
twine from *nkusa* vine. This twine is used pri-
marily in the repair of hunting nets.

As with the archers, elimination takes place 364
not far from the camp. Refuse is never carried 514
away; it is merely thrown behind the huts. [184]
These practices not merely create an unpleas-
ant smell after some weeks, but also attract
armies of ants. The Mbuti themselves, how- 515
ever, keep their bodies scrupulously clean, and
the favorite recreation of the children is playing
about in the shallow streams. The men assert [481]
that they can all swim but are never seen doing [823]
so; they are certainly much afraid of deep wa-
ter.

[NET HUNTERS]

Games and pastimes are the same as those 526
for the archers, with the addition of a form of [784]
spear practice. A large forest fruit is fixed to the end of a vine which is swung around in a circle. Men standing in a group surrounding the swinger throw their spears as the fruit comes past them, dashing in to retrieve the weapons that miss.

Legend telling, like dance and song, is an important medium of expression as well as recre- 538
ation. Instrumental music among this group of 534
Mbuti is virtually nil. In a hunting camp a 533
lukembi (*sanza*) may be heard, a musical bow, and possibly, though rarely, a notched flute. If the camp is near a village the men may borrow or steal a drum for the dance; otherwise, they use sticks as clappers, either shaved at the end to give a flat sound, or left smooth to give a sharp, hollow sound. The women add to the rhythm with handclaps, and both sexes with stampings of the feet.

There are two kinds of secular dance, erotic 535
and imitative, as described by Schebesta. The [831]
third kind of dance described for the archers, [372]
[784]

[P 212-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 213-A]

535 [372] [84] the dance through fire, is reserved for special religious occasions among the net hunters. Secular dancing takes place at any time of the day, any day, but nearly always there is dancing in the evening, and, when the moon gives enough light, the dance may continue through most of the night. Except for the religious dances, men, women, and children take part in the dancing together.

533 Song is even more important to the net hunters. There is not much information in the Putnam material, except that different types of song exist for men and for women and for different occasions, but from my own observations among this group there are, as with dance, clearly two major divisions. One is between secular and sacred, and the other is between songs proper to men and songs proper to women. Certain songs are sung only by members of the men's religious association, the *molimo* (Schebesta: *lusomba*), and those proper to members of the women's association, the *elima* (Schebesta: *elimo*). Then there are songs for hunting and songs for gathering. Each of these

[NET HUNTERS]

533 four types of song can be distinguished by its musical form alone, but its performance is not necessarily limited to the appropriate occasion. Thus a *molimo* song may be sung around the campfire in the evening without the *molimo* association's necessarily holding a formal meeting, which would exclude the presence of women. Similarly, honey-gathering songs may be sung well out of honey season. A fifth group, play songs, is associated with children's games and mothers' lullabies.

512 Singing, dancing, and story telling may continue late into the night unless it is raining. Families retire to their huts as they feel inclined, but throughout the night there is nearly always a small group of men or boys around the main fire, warming themselves or smoking. This is where the bachelors generally sleep.

84 CONCEPTION AND CHILDBIRTH

184 The general information given by Schebesta for the archers applies to the net hunters also.
845 Putnam has, however, recorded a number of difficult births, and Mrs. Putnam witnessed various measures taken to overcome complications. On one occasion a Pygmy woman was in labor for 36 hours in a village. Villager and
[177] Pygmy women came and tried their own individual remedies, including filling the ears and

[P. 213-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 213-C]

nose with leaves (Pygmy), making slight cuts on the stomach, arms, and knees and rubbing in herbal medicines (villager), and rubbing the stomach with cold water (both Pygmy and villager). While these activities were going on, children were playing about and running in and out of the hut where the pregnant woman was kept. Finally, the woman in labor, who, though in great pain, had never uttered a word of complaint was made to sit on a log, while one woman sat behind her and held her up, and another in front massaged the infant out. During the whole period of labor the woman's father and her husband were with her constantly. It was agreed that her difficulties resulted from her having broken a food taboo and eaten the flesh of an anteater.[1] 845 [177] [843]

Another aid used by the Pygmy woman during childbirth is described by Anne Putnam (1954, 165). The girl in labor is given one end of a liana to hold; the other end is tied to a tree. Each time the pains start, the girl pulls on the liana as her friends massage her stomach. 844

[NET HUNTERS]

If no foster mother is available, an infant whose mother dies during childbirth is fed banana water, supplied by the villagers, through a leaf funnel. When an infant is in such danger, the juice from a certain liana is sprinkled over it to make it strong. 846 [853]

A woman who has given birth is not allowed to leave her hut until game has fallen into her husband's net. If the camp is moved before this happens, she is hidden in the bush and taken separately to the new camp where she is kept hidden until her new hut is built for her by relatives (not stated which relatives). The husband himself may not join the hunt but sends his net with another member of the group.

The father keeps the arrow that cut the umbilical cord, and the cord itself, until the child is old enough to throw them both away into the forest.

If no animal falls into the husband's net (the rule is extended usually to include some close relative's net) for some weeks, the mother and infant may be brought out of seclusion by the giving of a feast to her relatives. The baby is then shaved with an arrowpoint, bathed, rubbed with oil and red *nkula* paste, and bands [851]

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[1] Note that this took place in a village, where such supernatural explanations are always sought by villagers. It is doubtful that the same explanation would have been given in the forest context. [177] [771]

[CP 213-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.214-A]

846 of barkcloth are sewed around its arms and
[851] knees. The father and mother are now freed of
most restrictions, but neither may eat meat
until the baby can crawl. The exact extent of
restrictions on sexual relations[1] during this
period is not given by Putnam.

844 Putnam emphasizes the normality of child-
birth itself, despite the possibility of ensuing
complications such as those described above
from Anne Putnam's personal observation. The
woman makes no allowance for her condition
and may actually be moving from one camp
to another when her time comes, in which case
she gives birth to the child and then moves on
(Putnam, 1948, 339). There is no ritual recogni-
851 tion of the birth of a child. Naming takes place
553 only after some weeks when the infant has
shown that it "has come to stay." If it dies
[766] before it has been named, there is no particular
ceremony and little mourning except by the
mother. There is a great deal of fostering and
597 adoption, according to Putnam (1948, 340),
85 particularly between sisters and women who
are friends and who work together. When a
woman with young children dies, her sister
takes her girls and young boys and looks after
the girls until they are marriageable; the father

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[777] [1] Again it must be stressed that many such restrictions are part of the village system, and, although the Mbuti may claim to follow them, such adherence is likely to be far from rigid.

[NET HUNTERS]

[p. 214-B]

looks after the boys as soon as they are old 597
enough to join him on the hunt. Fostering and 85
adoption may also take place if a mother is
without milk, or if one woman is childless and a
baby is born to a friend or relative who already
has a large family.

Twins

There is no information available, except 845
that twins have been born and survived, and
that the phenomenon of Siamese twins is
known. It is believed that to separate them is to
kill them.

Postnatal Care and Adolescence

As with the archers, infants among net 854
hunters are given every care and attention. [784]
They are breast-fed until after they can walk [853]
and talk. It seems, however, that mothers of
this group are much more prone than the
archer women to leave their children with
sisters or close friends for short periods. A
great deal of freedom is allowed the infant when
it begins to crawl, and it may well be playing
with sharp knives, bows and arrows, and trying to climb trees before it can walk. When a
camp is moved, an infant is carried either on
the hip of its mother or older sister or in a hide
sling (Fig. 44) across the hip.

The children, as they grow older, tend to 857
play together, frequently away from the camp.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.214-C]

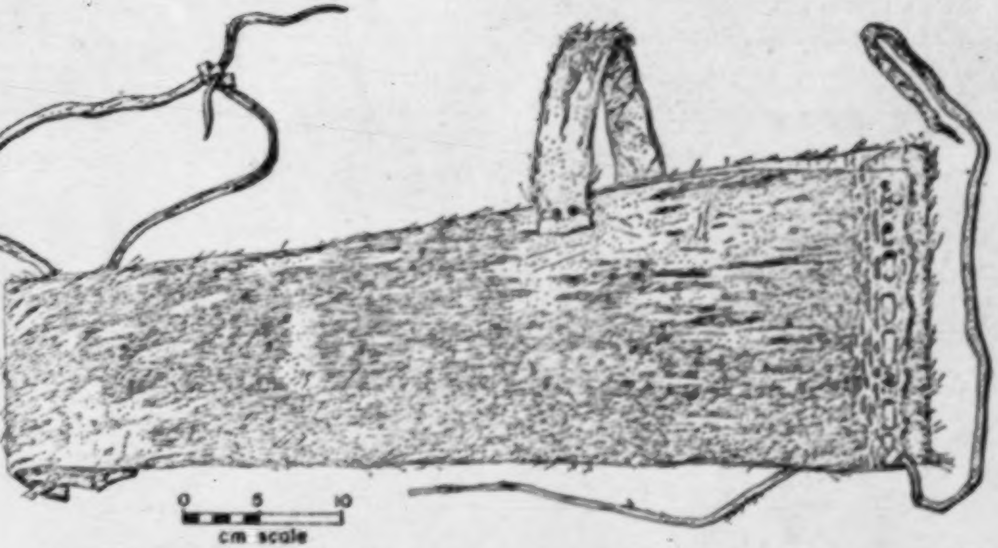

FIG. 44. Baby-carrying sling, *koko*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. The sling is used relatively rarely and usually only on long treks on which the women will also be carrying loads. Otherwise, the baby is sat on the hip and is held loosely by one arm.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.215]

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[411] ←

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[412] →

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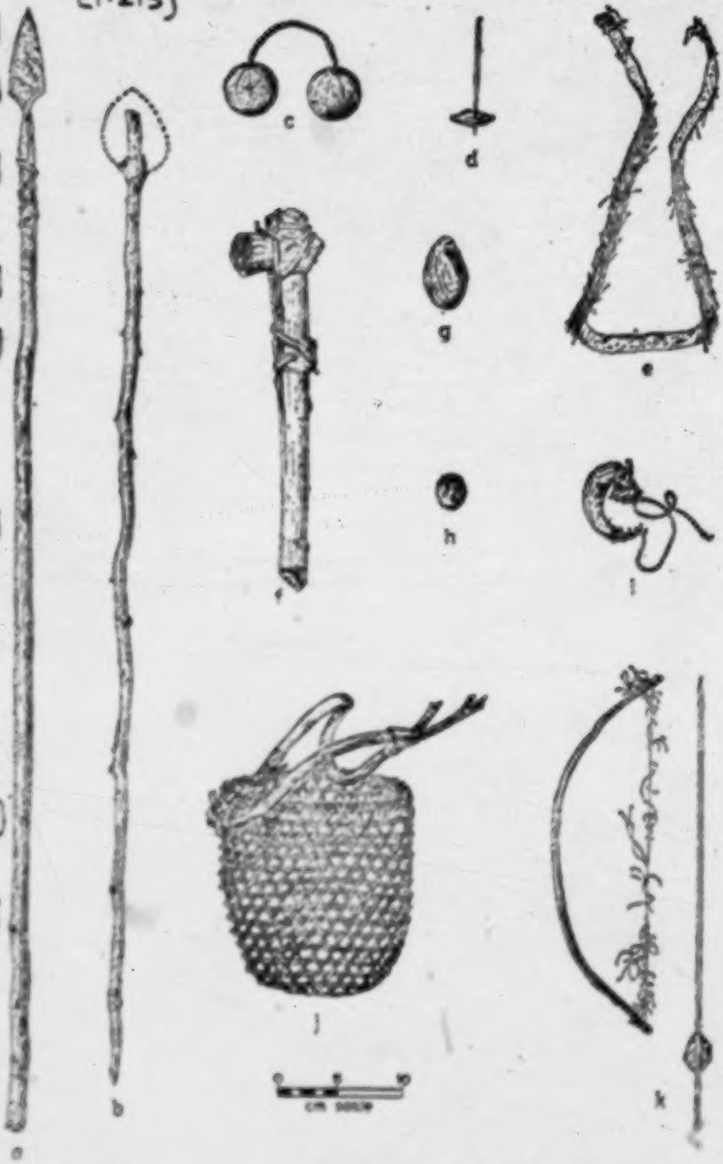

FIG. 45. Toys, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Spear, *ekonge*. b. Fire spear, *irumakamaboki*. c. Castanets, *kolokkenje*. d. Top, *tekiya*. e. Baby sling, *beko*. f. Bark beater, *kolea*. g–h. Seed whistles, *pke'a*. i. Wrist protector, *azuba*. j. Basket, *ro*. k. Bow, *mange*, and arrow, *api*.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 216-A]

857 One of their favorite sports is fishing, for which they use small wooden floats with a piece of vine attached, similar to that described by Burrows (1898). Later they split into groups according to sex as well as age. The boys, until they are allowed to take part in the hunt itself, carry out imitation hunts around the camp.
881 Even at this age, however, and after under-
882 going the *nkumbi* initiation, they are still under
593 the authority of their mothers. Unlike the information given by Schebesta for the archers, the boys in a net-hunting band do not break completely away from their mothers until they become full hunters, which may be as much as two or more years after their *nkumbi*.

868 Education is through imitation, and both boys and girls have miniature hunting-and-gathering utensils and may, in addition, make miniature replicas of any adult possession (Fig. 45).

[NET HUNTERS]

Initiation: *elima*

881 The first difference between Putnam's material
[184] and that of Schebesta regarding initiation is that among the net hunters there is a form of initiation of girls known as *elima*. Schebesta
[114] believes this to be a village custom (*elimo*), but no details are available for comparison.
881 Data on the Mbuti *elima* come mainly from Anne Putnam's notes on several such festivals that she witnessed among the Epulu net hunters. She was unable to get full information, but states that the *elima* (her spelling: *alima*) is held as girls come to the age of puberty—either individually or jointly. At such time the girl,
[346] with some of her companions (unmarried girls and those whose breasts had begun to form), enters the *elima* house, a special hut built in the camp in the usual way but larger and with a partition down the middle. The *elima* hut is in the care of one of the old women in the camp, who is also in charge of the instruction of the menstruating girl.

[301] The *elima* lasts about a month. During this
[302] time the *elima* girls put on the vine circlets over their heads and under each shoulder (as worn by boy initiates) and paint their faces and bodies with white clay about twice a day, making designs on one another without, apparently, any particular convention. They go out of the camp together to collect vine and wood, also to collect roots and small pieces of wood that will make good ammunition. At

[P. 216-8]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 216-C]

At sundown they return to their hut, which they enter, and start singing the special *elima* songs taught to the new initiates by the old woman in charge. The women of the camp sit outside and also sing, having armed themselves with whips made from the vine brought by the girls. 881 [533]

The menstruating girl will have sent word to her lover, who may be of the same band but must be of a different lineage. He must fight his way into the hut, through the women armed with whips and against the shower of missiles hurled at him by the girls of the *elima*. In the old days, say the Mbuti, the fighting used to be serious, and sometimes people were killed. The young man, if successful in gaining admission, had to pay an ax for the privilege of deflowering his maiden. He remained with her all night. The next day he was bound with vine and kept a prisoner in the *elima* hut until evening. He was then washed and rubbed with ashes and allowed to leave. [613] 881 836

From then onward any eligible young man (i.e., not of the same lineage as the girl) could try his luck. If he happened to be the husband of one of the women guarding the hut, she could [831] [613] [837]

[NET HUNTERS]

claim compensation from him. The women guardians also could make it easy or difficult for the candidates, according to their inclinations. Any man, having fought his way through, had to secure the girl's permission before he slept with her. But reliable Mbuti informants reported that a large number merely fought for the prestige acquired and sought no intercourse with the girls. Outwardly, there is no change, except that instead of firing arrows from their bows the men fire fruit peel, and the fighting is less severe than that described in the tales of olden times. Exactly what happens inside the hut is not known, but the festival is evidently an opportunity for young men to prove their valor, and for young maidens to prove their womanliness, each one attesting to his or her readiness for marriage. There is unfortunately no evidence as to how far the opening of the *elima* constitutes a betrothal, nor how frequently it is followed by marriage. 881 836 [554]

During the course of the *elima* the girls are under certain food restrictions, which include a prohibition on all meat. *Elima* singing goes on all night. Presumably, as with the *nkumbi* initiation of boys, this is a period of discipline as well as of education. Apart from the special *elima* songs, apparently special dances are 881 [533] [535]

[P 216-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.217-A]

881 [535] taught to the *elima* initiates. In one such dance witnessed by Mrs. Putnam, the girls held arrows and cut one another, and the women struck them with whips.

There is no information from the Putnam material as to any particular ceremony to mark the end of the *elima* (but see Turnbull, 1960a, 198 ff.).

INITIATION: *nkumbi*

Putnam's notes on the initiation of boys concern a net-hunting band and are particularly interesting, as they describe an initiation that occurred in the Bira village of Kokonyange in 1935, 14 years before Schebesta witnessed an initiation among the same group. It is significant that Putnam makes no mention of *karɨ* brotherhood between Pygmy and village boys. 881 608

For male initiation among the particular Epulu net hunters we are dealing with, I have only my own field notes,[1] and here again there is no mention of *karɨ* brotherhood (Turnbull, 1957). The full details of the ceremony do not concern us, as they vary from one village to another. [184] It is important, however, to compare the relationship between the net-hunting Mbuti and the Bira villagers with that between the archers and the Lese, with regard to initiation.

[NET HUNTERS]

881 114 608 The first *nkumbi* of which I saw something was in 1951 at the village of Effundi Somali. I saw only a part and the final closing ceremony. Although I may well have missed much detail, it is unlikely that I would have missed anything of the nature of a *karé* relationship had one existed. There was certainly no sign of it. The next *nkumbi*, which took place in 1954 at Camp Putnam, was exceptional in that no village boys of the right age were available, so only Mbuti boys were initiated. Thus, there was no question of *karé* relationship between them and villagers, but also, during the entire course of the *nkumbi*, I heard no mention of it. This, together with Putnam's own silence on the subject, would seem to indicate that this relationship is either not so widespread or not so important as Schebesta assumes.

881 The peculiar circumstances of the 1954 *nkumbi* are given briefly here. Though exceptional, they contain some interesting points for

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[114] [1] These covered my visits to the Ituri in 1951 and 1954-1955 only.

[P. 217-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1965) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 217-C]

comparison with the *nkumbi* as described by Schebesta for the archers. P 881

P 177 881 Z 563 881

In the Epulu region the *nkumbi* takes place every three years. It is organized and conducted throughout by the villagers, who invite the Mbuti to take part. The first part of the year, from the dry season onward, is considered most suitable. On this particular occasion there were no village boys of the right age, but the villagers (Bira and Ndaka) went ahead with the arrangements as usual. The fact that only Pygmy boys were to be initiated made no difference to the celebrations, which were conducted in the village with full enthusiasm, bringing villagers from as far as 50 miles away. Villagers allowed themselves to be beaten with long sapling whips (Fig. 46) "to give strength" to the Mbuti candidates.

P Z [411] [751]

After a week of preliminary festivities, on the day of the first circumcision, the *makata* sticks (a set of eight or nine resonant sticks tuned to a specific scale) were cut and sounded. The *makata* are heard only during a period of initiation and are destroyed simultaneously with the initiation camp at the end of the festival. Villagers and Pygmies joined in a dance with the *makata*, while others went into the forest a short distance to make a clearing for the initiation camp.

P Z 534 881 177

P Z [535]

[NET HUNTERS]

ation camp. While some started erecting the hut, in the style of a bent-over windshield, others prepared a horizontal cross bar between two trees. Five boys were circumcised the first day, and three on separate days during the second week of the *nkumbi*. Not all were cut on the cross bar. Some were taken down to a stream. One was circumcised in the middle of the village; another, in a different place within the initiation camp. The cutting was done to the accompaniment of much drumming, while all the womenfolk of the village were shut up in their huts. No signal was given to indicate when a boy had been cut, though probably the change in the vigor of the drumming and *makata* beating served to notify the women. Only one boy was given a *segbe* pipe to blow, by a particularly superstitious father. The "doctor" wore a mask made of a thin strip of bark (Fig. 48a) and raffia armbands (Fig. 47a) which were thereafter left hanging from the roof of the initiation hut.

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After the circumcision, the wounds were dressed, and the boys immediately were made to begin to learn the initiation songs. Far from

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[P 217- D]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 218-B1

[NET HUNTERS]

Mbuti
Bira FO11

[P-218-A]

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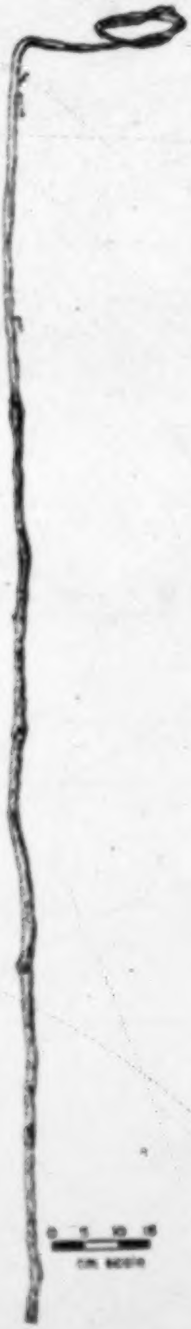

Fig. 46. Initiation whip, *[illegible]*, Bira villagers, Central Ituri.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 218-B]

being confined to their beds for three days, as P Z
mentioned by Schebesta (1952), they were 881
made to move about continually by the villager 177
instructors. The boys' fathers, who were present
at all times, frequently comforted their sons,
apparently to the annoyance of the villagers.
There was, however, no question of the sav-
agery implied by Schebesta. During the follow- P
ing two months the boys were strictly disci- Z
plined. There was a process of physical training 881
that was undeniably tough, but it fulfilled only 861
one of the major purposes of the *nkumbi*, 177
namely, to fit boys for adult life. The Mbuti P
fathers, however, obviously had different ideas Z
as to how far this discipline should be carried [571]
and criticized the villagers when they carried
it too far. Further, when there were no vil- P
lagers in the camp, the Mbuti talked quite 881
openly and showed by their speech and their 829
behavior that they had no respect for the ta- 177
boos associated with the festival. It seemed Z
quite evident that they consciously underwent 881
the *nkumbi*, not because of any religious sig- 177
nificance, but because it gave them status in
villager society, in which any uncircumcised
youth is a laughing stock. The important thing,
then, was the circumcision, for this specific
purpose.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS] Z

Further, unlike the initiation described by P
Schebesta, the *molimo* (Schebesta: *lusomba*) 881
trumpet did not appear during the entire 534
festival, nor was it mentioned. The initiation [114]
here seems to be almost completely dissociated [575]
from the men's religious association, at least as
far as the Mbuti are concerned. The only
instruments that were used were the *makata*
sticks, small clappers used by the women in
their dances during this period, and a bull-
roarer (which the boys knew about, though in
front of the villagers they pretended otherwise). Z
There was nothing at any time in the ceremony P
itself, or in the instruction, to connect the 881
nkumbi with the Mbuti *molimo* society. Toward Z
the end of the initiation the boys were dressed P
in grass skirts (Fig. 47) and paraded through [532]
the village with leaf masks (Fig. 48b) held [292]
between their teeth to prevent them from P
talking to non-initiates. After the final cere- 881
[P 218-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 219-A]

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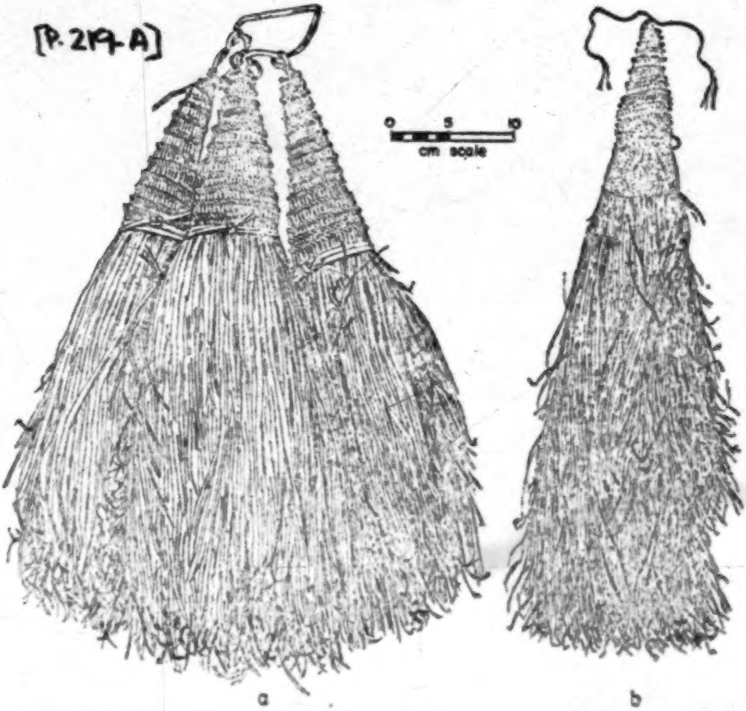

FIG. 47. Initiation items, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Raffia armbands, worn by "doctor" during *nkumbi* dances; at other times, hung from the roof of the initiation hut. b. Grass skirt, worn by initiates at final presentation dance.

[NET HUNTERS]

881 mony the boys returned to their hunting band and resumed their previous status.

885 Among the net hunters the Mbuti boys do
not participate fully in the proceedings of the
[575] *molimo* society until they have proved their
prowess as hunters. Putnam does not mention any such elaborate ceremony as that described by Schebesta for the archers, to mark the killing of his first game by a youth, but such an event is simply received among the net hunters with much acclaim and, if possible, feasting and
[304] dancing. It may also be accompanied by the
cutting of the tattoo marks on the boy's forehead.

881 It seems that with the net hunters the ***nkumbi***
177 serves merely to give status in villager society.
17 The Mbuti have different forms of initiation
[554] into the religious associations of their own men
and women; the ***molimo*** and ***elima***, respectively.
They are, at least, forms of initiation practiced

[P. 219-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

apart from the villagers, whatever the origin of 881
the actual ceremonies. 177
171

Marriage

Putnam is able to cite several cases of conflict 58
over marriage, proposed or accomplished, [578]
and while such conflict may secondarily be [621]
between two lineages, it is primarily between [613]
the hunting band (whether it composes a single
lineage or more than one) and the individual
concerned. Putnam mentions neither arranged
marriages nor the betrothal of infants, although
there may be bands with whom marriage is
preferred. The net-hunting Mbuti themselves
simply say "the further away the better,"
referring to geographical distance. Kinship distance [613]
means little to them, though all cite
general rules of bilateral lineage exogamy.

Putnam says that the hunting band is 58
meant to be an exogamous unit, but that in 621

[P. 219-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.220-A]

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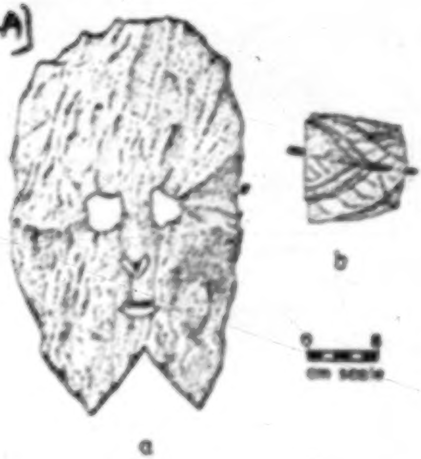

Fig. 48. Initiation masks, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Bark mask, worn by Bira and Ndaka initiators during the preliminary *nkumbi* dances. b. Leaf mouth-mask, worn in mouth of initiates when paraded through village.

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fact marriages within the band occur and are in fact often favored as they can be arranged without any ceremony. Ceremony occurs, he says, only when a marriage involves two different bands. Intra-band marriage is made possible, even within the bounds of lineage exogamy, by the practice of maintaining a number of "resident aliens." A net-hunting camp, always

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

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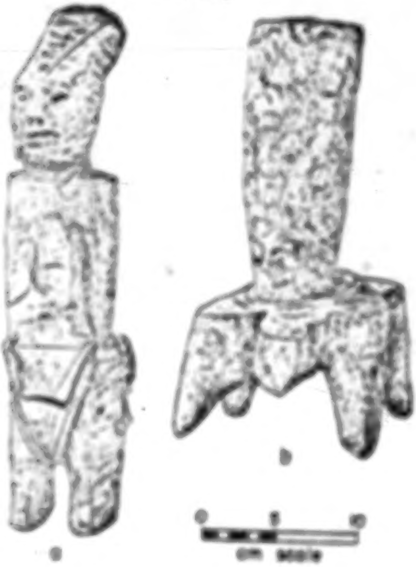

FIG. 49. Wood carvings, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Carving of standing male. b. Carving of tree. Such carving is done by the Mbuti extremely rarely and only in direct imitation of the villager carvers.

[KM]

[P 220-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

A net-hunting camp, always larger than that of archers, may not only be comprised of two or more different lineages but will also nearly always include a number of visitors who may originally have come to visit female relatives and who, for one reason or another, settled permanently. Putnam also mentions the frequency of adoption and foster-parenthood. While he says an Mbuti will never knowingly marry another related to him on either side (he does not give the degree of relationship), he has no qualms when only social parenthood is involved. 621 582 597 608 582

A further advantage to marriage within the band is that it does not immediately upset the economic balance, so provides a loophole in the usual requirements of exchange marriage. Putnam does not say, however, exactly what the economic status is in the band of resident alien families or of the offspring resulting from intermarriage between them and other band members. From what can be observed and from cases cited, common residence seems to be the most significant factor. 621 58 [591]

[P 220-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

Living as he does in the present, the most P 621
important consideration for the Mbuti is the 571
present constitution of the band. Absent [613]
members of the band, regardless of lineage, are
soon forgotten as economic members, though
lineal ties will be remembered for as long as any
Mbuti remembers such ties (not more than
three generations). Consequently, the question
of economic allegiance among the net hunters
does not arise even for the first generation P
resident aliens, let alone for their offspring. [594]
Any considerations that do arise are invariably
connected with the relationship between the P
individual family and its villager host. When an 571
Mbuti changes his residence, he automatically 177
changes his allegiance to the local villagers who 166
act as patrons of his new band. The villager, on Z
the other hand, does not so easily adjust him- 563
self to losing a Pygmy. He tries by threats and 571
bribery to get the Pygmy back to his own dis- 177
trict but, failing that, will take action against
the newly adopted villager patron.

It is plain that the band as an economic P
unit is the effective unit for net-hunting Mbuti, 621
and that its welfare, together with individual 581
inclination, should be the prime concern when a 582
question of marriage arises. When the marriage
is within the band and there is no immediate
change in its economic constitution, there is no
concern, providing the general niceties of

[p 220-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.221-A]

621 581 582 exogamy have been observed. When it is between two bands, then the Mbuti prefer them to be as far apart as possible. The trouble 628 58 57 177 they envisage in a marriage with a member of a nearby band is friction between themselves and the village patron of the incoming bride. He will constantly assert every claim he has, or thinks he has, to her services, even to her children when she revisits her own band. As 628 583 far as the two Mbuti bands are concerned, such a marriage would be on an exchange basis, thus maintaining the economic balance of each band. [584] If the groom's band cannot find a suitable girl to offer, his mother's band may be asked to find one. There is always the alternative of compensation or service, or both. For compensation the help of the village patron is usually sought, and the marriage is arranged by him. [585] Such marriages are usually subject, in the first place, to the normal Mbuti custom, which involves no ceremony other than a mutually agreeable exchange and a token offering of gifts, such as a few arrows.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

Z gifts, such as a few arrows. But it is also sub-
585 ject to settlement between the two villagers
588 involved. This is formally accomplished by
628 having a ceremony in the village according to
563 village custom. [Both Putnam (MS) and
P Schebesta (1952, 238) mention the possibility
177 of a double ceremony when it is a question of
585 exchanging two brides rather than of effecting a
"purchase."] Such ceremonies, belonging to the
villager rather than the Mbuti, need not concern us here. It is worth noting, however, that,
as with the village ceremony of *nkumbi* initiation, the Mbuti undergo the village marriage
P ceremony merely as a matter of convenience.
[829] They pay no attention to its magical or
religious significance, or to the taboos that would
fall upon any villagers undergoing the same
ceremony (though they may pay lip service to
P them in the presence of their patron). Fur-
[533] ther, even during such a villager ceremony, the
[535] Mbuti have their own way of consecrating the
union, both by introducing a dance with forest
leaves, associated with the *elima* (the women's
religious association), and by the singing of
elima songs. In this way the young bride from
the distant band is introduced to the association of her female companions-to-be.

P It is unlikely that the bride will be a com-
609 plete stranger to the band, but even if so, she
571 will be immediately befriended and will have
585 willing helpers to make her first few days of

[p 221-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 221-C]

married life free from the normal household chores. 609 592 585

Unlike Schebesta's description of passionate lovers who, as married couples, in no way exhibit their affection in public, both premarital and postmarital sexual relations among the net hunters seem equally open, if not quite equally free. Flirtations among unmarried boys and girls of the same band, providing again they do not openly flout exogamic convention and do not result in childbirth, arouse no interest among the adults other than casual gossip. Married women, while as incorrigibly flirtatious as ever, are not expected to have sexual intercourse with any but their husbands. On the other hand, no social convention prevents the husband from having sexual intercourse with unmarried girls, though he does so with care to avoid unpleasantness with his wife. 836 837

[NET HUNTERS]

P 593

After marriage the affection between the young husband and his bride is no less open than before marriage. An estimation of any degree of affection necessarily depends on one's own attitude, but Schebesta's description of "passion" and "ardor" would hardly be applicable to the net-hunting Mbuti; "determination" would perhaps describe the situation better. Initial flirtations that lead to marriage openly change in character from relations on a purely sexual basis to a more intimate relationship of companionship, which is manifest by the way young grooms behave toward their brides and even older men to their wives.

DIVORCE

P 586

Divorce is achieved as informally as marriage, whether the union dissolved involves just the one or two bands. It is usually initiated, says Putnam (1948, 337), by the woman's simply packing her household goods into her basket and leaving with her children. In such a case, the sons, when old enough, return to their father and the daughters remain with their mother until married. Such a divorce may well upset the complementary marriage if it is a marriage by exchange. Such a dispute almost certainly involves the village patrons, who may finally be called upon to settle it between themselves, the patron of the happily married Mbuti making a compensatory payment to the patron claiming the return of that Mbuti's bride.

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[177]
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[563]

[P 221-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[p.222-A]

595 Polygyny exists but is almost as incon-
587 siderable as among the archers. It sometimes
comes about through the very informality of
[586] divorce. A husband who has been deserted, having made every effort to retrieve his wife, seeks another. After remarrying in this way, he may find that he still misses his old companion and will try to woo her back, or she may return of her own accord. There is no information as to the relationship between the two wives, except that they have separate huts and that there is no open friction.

Widowhood

589 Information on widowhood, though not given in detail by Putnam, seems to correspond to the general information given by Schebesta for the archers. Widows tend to remain in their late husbands' band and are cared for by their children unless they remarry.
589 Aged widowers are similarly provided for. But
887 even widows and widowers too old to remarry can play a useful economic role by attending to various chores in camp when the entire band is out hunting, helping in the constant manufacture of *nkusa* twine and barkcloth, and by looking after small children.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

DEATH, FUNERALS, AND MOURNING

764 Burial is the custom among the net hunters, as
[184] with the archers. In general it follows the same
[768] pattern, taking place inside or immediately
beside the hut of the deceased; the hut is pulled down over the grave and the camp deserted immediately. No weapons, utensils, ornaments, or food are buried with the corpse.
[761] Nor is there any attempt to find the cause of death and to place the blame.

165 Most deaths occur from causes easily understandable to the Pygmy. Infection is rare. Pneumonia and dysentery are the major fatal illnesses. The greatest single cause of accidental mortality is a fall from a tree (the trees are of great height, with few low branches to break a fall). Other possible and not infrequent causes of accidental death include the falling of dead branches on top of huts, which may kill several people at one time. Death through burning may occur owing to the habit Pygmies have of getting up at night to relieve themselves, then squatting down almost on top of the fire to get warm. At such times they smoke
[276] strong tobacco, which they inhale deeply and sometimes faint as a result, falling into the fire.

[P. 222-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.222-C]

Far less important than disease or accidental 165
death is animal hostility—elephants, buffalo, 136
and leopards being the major sources of danger.
It is extremely rare for any Pygmy to be killed
by one of these animals. The net-hunting Mbuti [278]
have effective medicines against poisonous
snakes.

For most illnesses, says Putnam, the Pygmy 757
can find a local remedy. For stomach upsets and
diarrhea an enema (a hollow reed with a gourd
gummed to one end) is administered, with the
use of vegetable decoctions containing *gorogoro*
bark for the former complaint, and *teboo* liana
for the latter. These enemas are also used to [847]
produce abortions. For ailments that they are [755]
unable to cure and that are foreign to them,
some may seek the help of a villager witch [177]
doctor, though Mbuti opinion varies as to their
efficiency.

Death, then, is accepted as just as natural a 763
phenomenon as birth, and the body is accorded [761]
little ritual respect. There are, unlike Schebesta's
account for the archers, cited examples of wailing. The following instances taken from the
notes of Anne Putnam illustrate its extent.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

1. A Pygmy who had been visiting another band returned to his own camp and reported that a cousin of his had died. A wailing, suddenly started, was taken up, mostly by women but also by men and children, all over the camp. It lasted for 10 minutes and was repeated several times during the evening for five minutes at a time. Everyone went to sleep as usual; there was a final wail on waking the next morning. 763

2. A newborn infant (son of one of the most important hunters in the band) died at night. Only its father and mother wailed. Early in the morning the parents dug a pit in the house and buried the baby, wrapped in a small mat, with no ceremony. The next morning the couple dismantled the house and, using the same material, rebuilt it on the other side of the clearing. That night the father danced as usual. 763 764

3. An old Mbuti woman died while visiting the village. She was the mother of three of the male members of the band. Most of her relatives were with her when she died, and they wailed. When the news was received back in the hunting camp, such of her relatives as remained there wailed. Only one of them, one of the great hunters of the band, left to attend the burial. 763

4. There was an epidemic in a hunting camp, 763 731 765

[P. 222-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.223-A]

763 and two people died. After burial and wailing,
731 camp was broken. On the march to another site a
165 woman who had not contracted the illness died, although she was not "ready to die." Within two weeks a woman gored by a buffalo (an extremely rare occurrence) died from her wounds. Following this last event, there was a consultation, and it was suggested that the band should disperse as there was some strong influence at work.[1] However, the dispersal did not take place.

763 5. A very well-liked hunter died while in the
[754] village. There was some talk that a half-paralyzed Pygmy, also a member of the band, had put a curse on him; but this in no way impaired the friendship between the accused and the children of the deceased. When the Pygmy was dying, his son wanted to take him back to the forest but was persuaded to let him die in the village in peace. His family and friends were present; those in the hut wailed occasionally, those outside were busy cooking. When he died the wailing broke out anew, and relatives started coming into the village from the forest. His villager patron could not come, so he sent his brother, the headman of a village a few

[NET HUNTERS]

764 miles away. There was some suggestion that the Mbuti should be buried in the village of his patron, but the eldest son refused and said that the forest was his father's "earth," and this was where he should be buried.

The grave was dug by Mbuti and villagers, about 4 feet deep, with half of it 1½ feet deeper. The body was placed in the deep section, on its side, facing north, covered with sticks and phrynium leaves. Then everyone threw in earth and filled the grave. The women at the funeral became hysterical at this point, falling to the ground and beating themselves. The dead man's second wife tried to throw herself into the grave on top of the body. When the grave was filled, everyone sat down and talked and smoked. The youngest son of the deceased had been playing around quite happily all the time. After smoking, villagers and Mbuti all washed their hands and feet in a nearby stream.

152 Both Patrick and Anne Putnam claim that there is, among the Epulu Mbuti, formal and controlled wailing, also wailing as a manifestation of genuine grief among both men and women. Men and women will weep apart during

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[199] [1] Suggestions of this kind are sometimes made by the Mbuti in their village context, in imitation of the villagers. They by no means necessarily indicate Mbuti belief.

[D 223-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.223-C]

the official wailing, as well as before or after it. 152

Anne Putnam (1954, 77) mentions the opinion of a Pygmy hunter concerning the village custom of burying the dead in a cemetery. He is reported as saying, "There the ground locks everyone's arms together and it isn't comfortable." 764 829

She also refers (1954, 81) to village speechmaking following a burial, during which the cause of the death is hinted at. On one occasion, the death of a young Pygmy girl in the village, the villagers attributed the calamity to the evil-eye and roused a relative of the girl to vow vengeance. The next morning, however, the Pygmies all went hunting, despite the assurance of the villagers that it was dangerous to go hunting for three days after any death and that no game would fall into their nets. Four antelope were caught. 763 761 [754] 765 177 224

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The relationship between the net-hunting P 177
band, or between individual members of it, and 571
village patrons is dealt with separately. It 881
has already been mentioned that Putnam Z
speaks of its current foundation in trade, and of 563
how the joint *nkumbi*, unlike that of the 571
archers, seems not to have the same significance 881
for villager and Mbuti. For the villager it is a P
tribal initiation in its usual sense and with its [554]
usual implications; for the Mbuti the *nkumbi* is
a means of acquiring status in an alien community.
It does not seem to initiate both into P
identical social or religious associations, such as Z [575]
the *tori* society described by Schebesta (1952,
278).

Also, there is no evidence of blood brother- P
hood or of a *kari* relationship between villagers 575
and net hunters. When we deal with religious 571
associations among the net hunters, we deal P
with exclusively Mbuti associations. This is not Z
to deny that a close relationship exists between [608]
an Mbuti and his villager patron, which, in Z
fact, Putnam stresses; nor does it deny the fact [575]
that Mbuti may be invited to take part in the [591]
meetings of villager associations, and that villagers may conversely be invited to take part in the meetings of Mbuti associations (though information on joint meetings is lacking). All our material deals with exclusive meetings of the *elima* and *molimo*, as held by the Mbuti women and men, respectively.

Information on the *elima* is scant; there is no P
evidence of any ritual other than the singing of 575

[P 223-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 224-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]
[P. 224-A]

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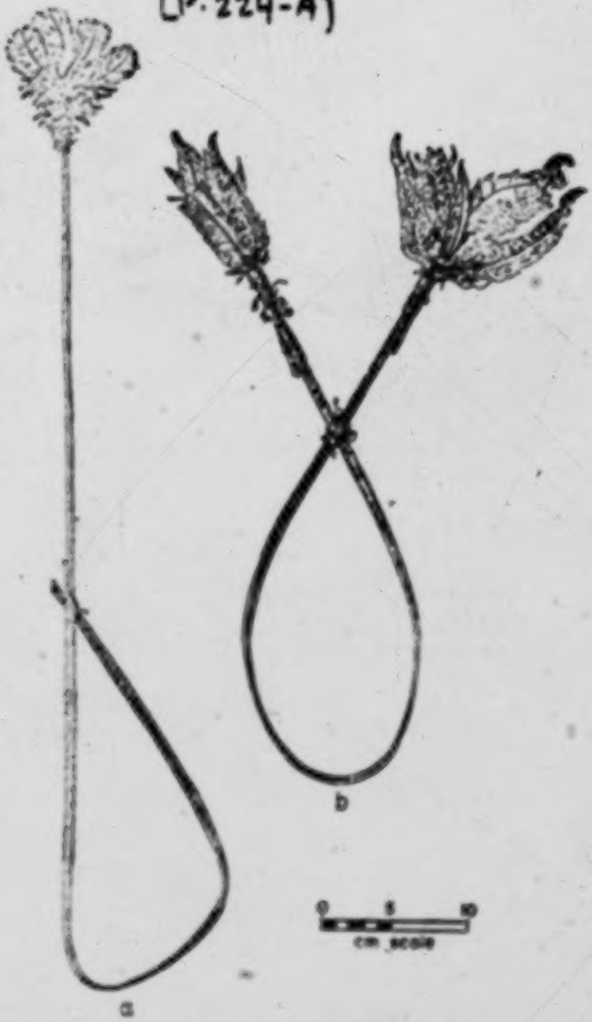

[535]
[575]
[71]

FIG. 50. a–b. Headdresses, *salakuku*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Made of vine and feathers, at will, and worn during *molimo* dances. Similar headdresses may occasionally be worn by village women during their *nkumbi* dances.

[NET HUNTERS]

575 special *elima* songs by initiated girls and women, to mark any event of special importance to the womenfolk of the camp. The *elima* is an association that serves to bind women of otherwise different backgrounds together. It not only emphasizes their unity as a group opposed to the group of men, but also emphasizes their identification with the hunting band as a whole. [781] It serves as a means of religious expression for the women just as the *molimo* does for the men. It operates separately, but simultaneously, on occasions of common religious significance. Unfortunately, details are lacking in the Putnam material as to the exact occasions on which each of these associations functions.

[P. 224-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[p.224-C]

Unlike the *molimo*, however, the *elima* usu- 575
ally calls for the joint participation of men and 533
women both in song and in dance, which in this 535
context are essentially means of religious ex- 781
pression. This joint participation is in no way
connected with that aspect of the *elima* that in-
volves the formal deflowering of the young
maiden.

The *molimo*, as practiced by the net hunters, 575
both from the Putnam material and from my 184
own field notes, is strikingly different in man-
ifestation from the description given by Sche-
besta (1952, 278) of the archers' *toré* association.
I mention above the fact that the Putnam ma-
terial places far more weight on the religious
than on the social function of the *molimo*. We 575
have also seen that participation in the *nkumbi* 561
does not necessarily entitle the young Mbuti to 88
take part in the *molimo* proceedings. The
molimo is essentially an association of adult
males; an adult male is a hunter, and one does
not become a hunter by being circumcised and
learning a number of village songs and dances.

[NET HUNTERS]

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The physical discipline and training in the *nkumbi* camp undoubtedly toughen the body, and the boy emerges, even after a short *nkumbi* of two months' duration, very much more adult than on his entry (see my separate account, 1957, of the *nkumbi*). But as far as the Mbuti are concerned, he is still a child, until he has proved himself a hunter. As he grows older, he is allowed to sit with the men in the evenings and gradually to take part in their conversation and some of their activities. He may even be allowed to sit nearby as they sing songs of the *molimo*, but not to take full part. Mrs. Putnam, however, believes that the *nkumbi* does entitle the boy to partial membership, at least, in the *molimo*. She holds this opinion because of her personal knowledge that certain boys who previously were secluded with the womenfolk in their huts during *molimo* proceedings, as she was herself, were not secluded following their *nkumbi* initiation. As a woman, however, she was unable to witness the *molimo* itself, except for some dances she caught sight of by chance. My own material indicates that anyone who has been acclaimed as a hunter is allowed to take full part in the association's proceedings and that there are *nkumbi* initiates who are not considered as hunters and who are definitely barred from full participation. The Putnam material demonstrates the close relation of hunting skill

[554]
[224]

[P 224-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 225-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.225-A]

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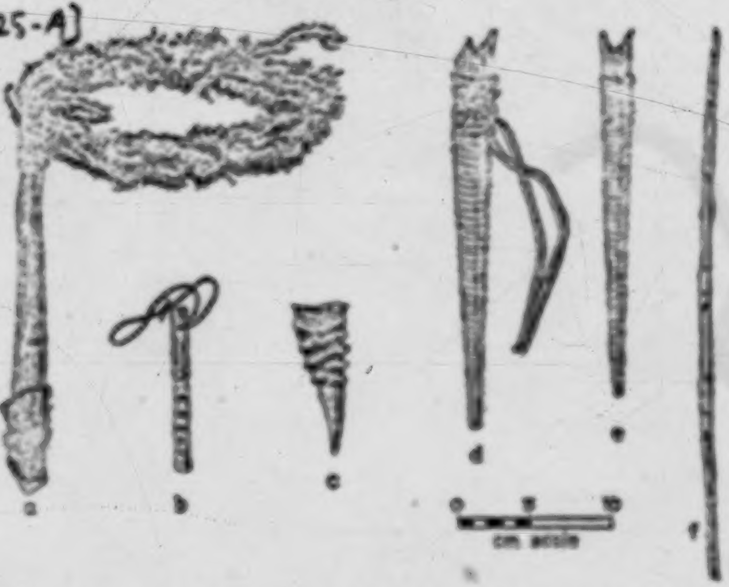

FIG. 51. Magical paraphernalia, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Pipe, *akbelea*, attached to fur headband; worn by a few net hunters, the pipe sometimes being blown before they
[237] set out on a hunt. b. Wooden whistle, *angbela*. c. Antelope horn,
anjo, used to carry paste sometimes smeared on the *face* to
[128] heighten the senses of smell, sound, and sight. d. Honey whistle,
[222] *madi*, used during the honey season for "calling" the honey. e.
Honey whistle, *madi*. f. Hunting whistle, *manyengi*, found in northwest area; stuck in the ground near a special hunting fire in the camp and pointing in the direction in which the hunt has gone.

[NET HUNTERS]

575 561 88 [594] [224] to status in the band and the fact that young men, as yet unmarried, who have displayed particular prowess as hunters may take a prominent part in *molimo* activities. In the absence of any detailed information on formal initiation into the *molimo*, we can at least say with some certainty, from the available material, that among the net hunters membership is associated primarily with hunting skill.

575 796 With regard to the proceedings of the association, all reports from this district indicate that the *molimo* is held only on occasions of the greatest importance to the community: various crises, and particularly death. A fuller account is given elsewhere (Turnbull, 1960b, 307–340); a summary is given here.

534 [192] The word *molimo* is used to denote the association, its proceedings, and a musical instrument. Only one instrument is reported by the Putnams as being used—the *molimo* trumpet. But Anne Putnam, in her notes, mentions having heard the trumpet one night and thinking that it sounded very different from the one she had heard some months previously. It is possi-

[p. 225-8]

[NET HUNTERS]

ble then that there may be different types of instrument, but evidently not used in conjunction. Anne Putnam further mentions having heard sounds that she took to be animal sounds but that may in fact have been singing pots as described by Schebesta (1952, 279). The only instrument that she or her husband mentions, however, is the trumpet, and no description of it is given. 534

This instrument is an essential part of the proceedings; its use marks the difference between two grades of *molimo* meeting. A meeting in which the trumpet is not used does not carry the significance that one with the trumpet does. There is no information as to exactly when it is used and when not, but it is recorded that the trumpet is heard during meetings following death, during serious illness, or during some crisis affecting the welfare of the band as a whole. It is frequently associated with song, accompanied by split-stick clappers, *banja* (Fig. 52) that are apparently peculiar to the *molimo*. 534 575 796 [533]

A third grade of meeting is that from which women and children are not excluded, during 533 534 575 796

[P 225-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P226-A]

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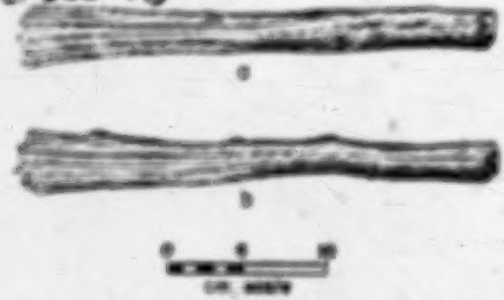

FIG. 32. Split clappers, *banja*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

533 which *molimo* songs may or may not be sung.
222 Such a meeting may be said to be religious, in
575 that it is known by all that the songs effect
797 some kind of communion with the God of the
[P716] Forest, but they are not held with any specific purpose. After an evening meal the men sit together around the main fire, talking and smoking. The subject of conversation may take a serious turn, or there may simply be a long silence during which one or another of the men starts singing. In either case someone quite spontaneously starts singing a *molimo* song, and the others join in. At such times the women and children remain sitting, as is their habit, around their individual fires outside their huts; they

[NET HUNTERS]

533 are not expected to retire to their huts. Only if
575 the singing develops a certain turn do they
retreat. They know that certain songs have more
796 significance than others, and, on hearing these, they retire. It is unusual, however, for an ordinary meeting of the men to develop to this extent.

575 Usually the trumpet is heard at about the
533 time the band normally retires for the night.
534 The women in any case have been aware of whatever crisis is the occasion for the meeting
796 and are prepared for it. On hearing the trumpet, they take their children and shut themselves in their huts. None will come out, even to cross the clearing. The men sit close together around one of the fires. As they sing, the *molimo* trumpet echoes their song, sometimes coming close, sometimes going far away into the forest. The *molimo* may come right into the camp itself and install itself, unseen, close to where the men are
[535] sitting. At a given point the men may suddenly start dancing through the fire, scattering the ashes and cinders to all sides. Shortly afterwards the participants go to bed. The singing may last only two or three hours, or may con-

[p. 226-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 226-C]

tinue until first light, according to the Putnam 575
material. Once a meeting is begun, it may con- 796
tinue nightly for as long as a month. It is ob- [533]
ligatory for all members to attend, and those [534]
who are away visiting return to take part. Visi- [574]
tors in the camp also take part if they qualify
as hunters. Men, and more particularly youths, [292]
sometimes improvise headdresses of cane and
feathers (Fig. 50), similar to those worn by vil-
lage men and women during initiation festivi-
ties. Putnam says that food may be prepared
for the men by a woman (it is not known who),
but that she never appears and has no other
function in the proceedings.

In my own experience the words of the songs 575
that are sung by the *molimo* are not supplica- 796
tory but are mainly repetitions of one or other 533
of the names of the God of the Forest, or affir- 776
mations of his goodness and omnipotence. The
songs are, nonetheless, effective means, as far as
the Mbuti are concerned, of securing an end to
the crisis. The purpose of these meetings is un- [182]
doubtedly to restore the normality to a com-
munity which in some way or another has devi-
ated.

[NET HUNTERS]

There is, however, some evidence that indi- 575
cates another usage of the *molimo* society, more 534
in accord with Schebesta's interpretation of its 533
social function. Anne Putnam reports having 782
once been in a hunting camp when there was 796
some commotion, fairly early in the evening, and the women shouted that the *molimo* was coming. All the women and children promptly fled to their huts and shut themselves in, with much loud complaining. Shortly afterward, the trumpet was heard in the distance and then, closer at hand, the sound of a chicken being killed, which evidently called forth a renewed burst of anger from the women. The men in the camp started singing, and the women became quiet. The singing lasted until nearly dawn. In the morning it was explained to Mrs. Putnam that the *molimo* had taken a chicken and would not pay. "But that is the way of the *molimo*," explained her male informant.

That evening a basket appeared in the camp, hung up in a prominent place, filled with plantains—a gift for the *molimo*. Members were able to help themselves from the basket, and the women were expected to keep it filled. After all the women had gone to bed, the men started singing, although they had said that they were not going to sing that night. As the singing

[P. 226-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[p. 227-A]

575 reached a climax (drums were being used, un-
533 usual for a religious meeting of the *molimo*),
534 the trumpet arrived. Anne Putnam heard one
782 of the hunters say, "We shall give the *molimo* a
796 present tonight." Another said that there was
nothing to give. Then one of the more important but younger hunters said, "We'll give it water." At this point Anne Putnam looked out and saw water being thrown over a figure that seemed to be white and that was playing the trumpet. The figure did not flinch and continued playing, while the hunter who suggested throwing the water laughed. Shortly afterward the trumpet left, and the men sang without the drums before going to bed.

During this same meeting of the *molimo*, the basket was kept filled with food for the men of the association. The singing went on each night, sometimes with drums, sometimes without. On some occasions the singing, particularly when there were no drums, appears to have been serious. At other times the meeting seems to have been more in the nature of a joke, as in the case of the water throwing, and on another occasion when the *molimo* kept moving about in the bush

[NET HUNTERS]

575 and refused to come to the camp. Some of the
533 men tried to find it, but, as they went after it,
534 it stayed silent for a while, then suddenly was
782 heard on the other side of the camp.

Anne Putnam gives one other instance of this
796 kind of meeting. While the evening meal was
being eaten, the trumpet was heard and all the
women had to shut themselves up. The trumpet
approached the camp, and the men ran out to
greet it, shouting and beating the drums. The
trumpet came right into the clearing. Mrs. Putnam
heard much shouting, drumming, hunting
cries, and swishing of branches. The trumpet
made a quick tour of the circle of huts and was
then heard to disappear into the distance. The
women were called out. The men were busy
[823] dancing. The women cooked a large meal, and
the men all drank salt water so that they would
sing well. They sang until about midnight. The
trumpet was heard again for a short time early
in the morning, in the distance.

575 The occasion for this *molimo* meeting, which
533 lasted about a month, was poor hunting. However,
765 ever, an old woman died during the month.
796 Anne Putnam was told that if the *molimo* had
not already been meeting, they would have had
to call it out for this occasion. They also explained
that the woman's death was the reason

[P. 227-8]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.227-C]

575 [illegible] 796

for the particularly long and intense singing at that time.

575 534 533 796 [14]

I myself witnessed only one such meeting of the *molimo*,[1] the occasion for which was not clear and which took place down near the village. One villager took part. The trumpet and the performer, covered with a cloth, were carried in from the forest on a crude litter and disappeared behind one of the huts. As the playing and singing proceeded, the villager and one or two Mbuti danced around the camp, tearing leaves off the roofs of huts and placing them against the door of the hut behind which the trumpet was playing. There was much laughter, but everyone spoke in low tones. Finally, the player and trumpet were carried away as they arrived, and everyone went to bed.

765 533 [534] [535] [831]

The other meetings of the *molimo* that I have witnessed were of the more serious kind, following the general disruption in the district among villagers and Mbuti alike when Patrick Putnam died. At these meetings no drums were used, even though they were sometimes available. But even at such meetings there was generally a period, early in the night, during which the men started singing a *molimo* song that mocked the womenfolk, accompanied by a mildly obscene dance around the fire, with much laugh-

[NET HUNTERS]

ter. During this time the food was being cooked, 765
and the women were still chattering, though 533
shut up in their huts. After eating, and when all
the women were silent, the serious singing began.

Final mention should be made of the coinci- 575
dence of an *elima* initiation and a *molimo* meet- 881
ing, described by Anne Putnam. It is the cus- 796
tom of the *elima* to sing through the night, as do 533
the boys of the initiation during the *nkumbi*.
When the women once found themselves rivaled
by some men singing the "hunting" *molimo*,
they competed but were sung down and finally
gave up. As soon as the sounds of the *molimo* [534]
trumpet died into the distance, however, the
women started up again. When it was a case of [765]
death, and serious *molimo* singing, the women
offered no competition.

It is told by these Mbuti that in the old days 173
the *molimo* was an animal that belonged to the 534
women, and all the men had to run away every 825
time they saw it. But then the men caught the 562

[1] Subsequently I saw many more meetings of the *molimo* association (1960b, 1961) and its two different aspects were clarified and reconciled.

[P 227-D]

1

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

173 [P.228-A]

534 825 animal and since then no woman has been allowed to see it.

562 171 177 534 Local villagers, who claim also to have the *molimo*, are critical of the occasional joking attitude of the Mbuti and say that they, the villagers, call it out only when someone important has died.

POLITICAL LIFE

AUTHORITY

622 888 [623] Putnam goes further than Schebesta with regard to the existence or non-existence of chieftainship among the Mbuti. Primarily of the net hunters he writes, ". . . there are no chiefs, councils, or any other formal governing bodies in a pygmy camp" (Putnam, 1948, 334). There is respect, he says, for age and experience (*not* for "elders"); the opinions of the old and the wise are generally heeded. Any individual who shows disrespect for an old man, or who refuses to comply with any reasonable request, is abused by the others. Old men who are eccentrics are ignored.

[NET HUNTERS]

621 888 At the same time every man in the band has a full say in any discussion. There may well not be the placid acceptance of the "elder's" decision described by Schebesta (1952, 221 ff.). For one thing, among the net hunters the old men themselves may disagree. But again, unfortunately, we do not have details as to the subjects most or least open to dispute, so can give only a general account.

623 554 Additional information on this point comes from the notes of Anne Putnam, in which a loose form of council of five or six of the older men is reported. Each one of these is said by Mrs. Putnam to have some specific sphere of authority such as the regulation of hunting activities, settlement of interpersonal and other disputes, but further details are not given. No evidence is offered that they act in council rather than simply in their individual capacities. In the particular band to which Mrs. Putnam refers, however, five or six of the older men included the most experienced hunters in the whole band, so that only the aged and infirm, the children, and the younger and less experienced hunters would *not* be members of the [157] "council." According to Putnam, the Mbuti respect experience as well as age, so that an individual's experience in a particular field increases his authority in that field. Thus the "council"

[P 228-B]

[NET HUNTERS]
[P. 228-C]

is almost certainly informal, because special au- 623
thority within it is the result of individual 554
qualities rather than of hereditary title to any [159]
particular office. Nowhere is there mention of
any formal constitution of the council or heredi-
tary tenure of office. Mrs. Putnam's informa-
tion serves to confirm Putnam's assertion that
there is no formal leadership, that any question
that arises is settled by discussion, and that
there is no single leader in such discussion,
though respect is given to the older and more
experienced men.

Nowhere is there any mention of any repre- 621
sentative of the lineage or clan ancestors, or any 613
indication that the lineage as such is of any im- 614
portance in government. The net-hunting [184]
bands, it will be remembered, are larger than
those of the archers and are more often com-
prised of more than one lineage.

[NET HUNTERS]

Relationships Between Bands

There is no account of formal relationships 628
between different bands of net hunters. Infor- 574
mal relationships are created through inter-
band visits. These visits may be made by indi-
vidual Pygmies or by whole families and may be
occasioned by the desire (particularly among
womenfolk) to see relatives or to seek a spouse,
or by some dispute leading to ostracism, or by
trouble between the individual concerned and
his villager patron. The visits, according to
Putnam, may become permanent but normally
last only two or three months, which would
allow for one or two changes of camp. These vis- [584]
its are important with respect to the practice of [613]
exchange marriage and lineage exogamy (which [184]
may amount to exogamy of the hunting band,
though among the net hunters less frequently
than among the archers) as an important way
of allowing marriageable couples to meet and
become known to each other's families.

Occasionally two or even three bands join to 628
form a single hunting unit. Under these circum- 476
stances each sets up separate but adjoining 361
camps. If, as may happen though rarely, this
association continues, the camps are moved
closer to each other and finally become part of
the same camp. In one of the final stages of the
process of fusion, the two groups build their
huts in the same clearing, but each as a distinct
unit. Similarly, fission may be preceded by a [578]
gradual physical splitting of the camp. Each [621]

[P. 228-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

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628 [P.229-A]
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change of camp may thus reveal significant tendencies not only in interpersonal relations but also in the composition of the band itself.

Relationships Between Mbuti and Villagers

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Z
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P
Z
[628]

Putnam had the advantage of being able to observe the changes in composition of the Epulu hunting band and its ties with neighboring villagers for more than two decades. As is stated above, the relationship between the net hunters and their villager neighbors is an individual and strongly personal relationship, as described by Schebesta (p. 185). The effect is that of an inherited relationship, but inheritance is not the basis. The effect is maintained only by the closeness of the personal bonds of loyalty and affection. If these bonds are weakened through any cause, there is nothing to stop the Pygmy from changing his allegiance to another villager. It may cause bad feeling between him and his pa-

Z
[628]

tron, but it primarily affects the relationship between the two villagers concerned.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

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The villagers, says Putnam (1948, 324), regard the Mbuti as a class of beings somewhere between humans and animals. They take Pygmy wives, however, because they are prolific and good to sleep with, and the children of such unions are considered as full human beings and are brought up as such. Further, the villagers think of the Mbuti as barbaric and uncultured, but this attitude does not affect their mutual affection.

There is some evidence that respect for the Mbuti, in some form, is not lacking among the villagers. Geluwe (1956) mentions the Bira custom of offering first fruits from the plantations to the Pygmies. Anne Putnam says that the villagers agree with the Pygmies and that the latter have the right to take what food they want from the plantations following the killing of an elephant. Possoz (1954, 2575) suggests that there are linguistic grounds for assuming that the villagers originally referred to the Mbuti by a term denoting respect for them because of their closer connection with the forest spirits.

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[illegible]
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Putnam mentions trade and the *nkumbi* as two of the major factors, apart from personal relations at an inter-familial level, in maintaining the Mbuti-villager relationship.

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2
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177
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Another important factor in interaction is the dance. When the Mbuti stay near the vil-

[P 229-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

[P 229-C]

lage for any length of time, as when the villager P Z
needs help in the cutting of new plantations, 535
then the Pygmy dance is a spectacle eagerly 177
awaited by the villagers. 571

Finally, Putnam mentions the fact that, P
when there is a case of poaching by one band 628
within the territory of another, instead of one 648
lineage head or "elder" consulting the other Z
(the process described by Schebesta for the 648
archers), the bands probably just inform the villagers involved and leave it to them to settle.

In disputes between villagers and Mbuti, P
there is no question of any one Mbuti repre- 648
senting his lineage or band; such of the more Z
important hunters as are available, and 648
usually a number of the younger men and even 563
older boys, come in a body to argue their case together. The villager is always at a slight disadvantage. While the Mbuti can easily move and find another village patron, it is not so easy for a villager to find more Mbuti.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

Anne Putnam reports that Pygmy groups pay social visits to villagers when they feel like having a rest from forest life. They stay for as long as their patron is prepared to feed them, or until they decide to return to the forest. She states that while a Pygmy certainly can break his relationship at any time, such is not often done. She also reports groups of archers and of net hunters that are very much under the control of their villager patrons and can defy them only with the greatest difficulty. The effective mechanism by which any individual villager maintains his authority over the Mbuti is not clear, as the benefits the Mbuti receives he can receive from any villager. P 177 571 574 Z 563 571

Legal System

There are no data available on property law, and there is no clear distinction between collective and private property, as far as can be learned from the material that is available. Most items of personal possession, except used barkcloth, change hands at some time or another, temporarily or permanently, with or without any immediate exchange. There is certainly no scale of values by which any item of property may be assessed in relation to another. The question of whether personal goods, such as cooking utensils for the women or weapons and hunting nets for the men, are P 421 P 422

[P 229-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

(P. 230-A)

422 owned or merely possessed by the individual is not answerable at the moment. It would seem that utensils *are* in *fact* owned by the women and spears and bows and arrows by the men, but hunting nets appear to be subject to collective control, not only over their positioning during the hunts but also over their participation itself. Further, it is recorded in the notes that on occasion a hunting net that has not produced game for the community may be burned. All we know is that, when it is burned it is done with the approval of the community, though apparently on the initiative of the
428 "owning" family. There is no detailed information on inheritance, only the general observation that girls inherit from their mothers, men from their fathers.

421 [186] [321] It seems, first, that the forest and both its animal and vegetable produce are considered by the net hunters to be the property of the Mbuti as a whole, as opposed to the alien villagers. Second, it seems that any one section of the forest belongs to the band that hunts that section. But, although the band may be said to own a part of the forest and its members have an equal right to the produce, the equality is of opportunity rather than of division. A

[NET HUNTER] A

421 224 lazy hunter and his family go without meat; an idle woman goes without vegetables and has no roof to her hut. The division of game obtained during a net hunt is the only division that includes everyone in the band, whether or not they attended the hunt. Even then we do not know whether those who did not attend had any arrangement with any of the actual hunters. Nets are frequently lent, as are spears. It may well be that absentee members of the hunt participate by proxy and in this way entitle themselves to a share. The division itself, as is mentioned above, is said to be subject to complicated rules.

596 224 421 Apart from the net hunt, which is essentially collective and cooperative and concerns the band, other forms of food quest are familial. A woman is entitled to what she finds, for herself and her family. Similarly a man, hunting

594 224 421 individually with bow and arrow, may claim as his own anything that he may bring in, though in such a case there is some doubt. Using bow and arrow he would be likely to bring in only small game, and rarely, these Mbuti being very poor shots. If however, he killed or found large game, such as an okapi, on his own, it would be

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[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 230-C]

most unlikely that the collective rules of division would not apply. It seems therefore to be a question of surplus. Every *family* is entitled to a minimum insured by the collective hunt and is equally entitled to the maximum that it can acquire and consume itself. Any surplus is not used for trade but becomes the share of the rest of the community. Maximum here must imply a correlation of capacity and decency. Putnam says that a woman who does not share the products of her gathering expedition with her friends (regardless of the quantity) is looked on with scorn. Similarly, when a man is sitting among his fellow hunters and his wife brings him a meal, he eats most of it himself but shares at least some with his companions. There is a definite preference in such sharing, but whether the amount of the portion depends on kinship or friendship or both is not clear in the sources under consideration.

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[NET HUNTERS]

In the absence of any "elder," it is difficult at first to understand the legal system and how it functions. From the examples cited, however, it appears that one of the first rights of every Mbuti is the right of self help, but because of the nature of the band in which he lives it is unlikely that any serious dispute will remain restricted to the original participants and left to them to settle. Such can happen, and has, but usually the dispute is widened, involving more and more of the others and, finally, the whole band itself, until a settlement is reached. 627 578

627 684 Thus in a case of incest between members of the same lineage, the first act on the part of the girl's family was to pursue the boy, threatening him with knives and spears and driving him from the camp. There, they said, he could die. He would get no shelter and no food. Returning from this chase, they promptly tore down the house of the boy's "father" (actually his father's brother, with whom the boy was staying). As far as the offended family were concerned, the matter was finished, but the "father" thought otherwise and threatened to take counteraction. At this point, while the womenfolk on the girl's side were making the [152] usual demonstrations of grief (throwing themselves on the ground and beating themselves) and the men on both sides were brandishing spears, knives, and bows and arrows, the dispute degenerated into the practical consideration of where the houseless "father" was

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[NET HUNTERS]

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627 684 to sleep and how he was to rebuild his house. His wife, who would normally have undertaken this task, was sick. He was offered hospitality for the remainder of the night by other relatives, and early in the morning the offended family were themselves assisting him to rebuild his hut. During this dispute no mention was made of the fate of the transgressor.

621 627 684 [613] This particular band was composed of two major segments. The dispute was confined to one segment and almost exclusively, though not quite, to the two families concerned. Other members of that lineage came forward only to appease and compromise.

The other segment, separated by a few hundred feet (the band was in the process of fission), listened eagerly to the dispute, making comments among themselves, mainly to the effect that the boy was a fool to have allowed himself to be found out and deserved to be beaten. When the pursuit of the boy led through their part of the camp, they hid. The older men carefully shut themselves up and refused to take any part in the proceeding.

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621 Younger men, regardless of family or lineage
627 ties, brought food to the transgressor, who
684 stayed outside the camp for two days. His
reappearance on the third day caused no
excitement on either side. This must not be
taken as a full account of the incident. Undoubtedly
a great deal is not known about how
the settlement was effected, but it is useful to
show with what informality a serious transgression
can be dealt with.

571 The intimate nature of a Pygmy camp is
stressed by Putnam. Even in the middle of the
night, when people are inside their huts, a conversation
at one end of the camp can be clearly
578 heard at the opposite end. Thus, even a matrimonial
squabble may well become enlarged
627 until it involves the entire band. Matrimonial
[593] disagreements and allegations of flirtation and
of selfishness or dishonesty in the division of
the meat are frequent causes for dispute. Disputes
[626] may be resolved entirely by self help,
which may involve a fight or a beating, by
public abuse or ridicule during the group discussion,
578 by ostracism, or exile. The group discussion,
626 mainly among men but with comments
562 hurled at them by their wives, is the main
regulatory mechanism. Both Schebesta and
Putnam agreed that the part played by the
women, who do not participate directly in these

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[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 231-C]

gatherings of the men but sit outside their huts, 578
listening and making loud comments, is not 626
insignificant. In the early stages of a dispute 562
among the net hunters, a woman may take a leading part on behalf of whichever member of her family is involved, but not when the dispute becomes the topic of these evening discussions.

Apart from the driving of the incestuous 627
youth from the camp, there is no record of even [884].
temporary forcible exile from an Mbuti band. Individuals who offend the group are, however, ostracized and induced to go elsewhere.

Whatever the dispute, and at whatever level it takes place, the entire band is concerned in its settlement. If it is settled in its early stages, it may be assumed that it is with the approval of all. As long as a single voice is raised in disagreement, the dispute continues. Even over a question of hunting, or of moving camp, it may take several days, says Putnam, to reach a decision.

[NET HUNTERS]

There is no record of any form of execution, 761
though it has been known for the aged and 888
infirm, too sick to care for themselves, or for 734
those suspected of being possessed of super- 754
natural powers, to disappear or to die of some
strange sickness, under unusual circumstances.
It was Putnam's opinion that such deaths [114]
might have been occasioned deliberately, but
he had no means of verification.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

Exact Knowledge

COUNTING

Putnam mentions the use of finger signs in 802
counting and the Mbuti habit of counting in
pairs. Despite this simplicity, however, they 802
are able to assess quantity accurately and 525
speedily, as witnessed by their dexterity in
their favorite gambling game in which beans
are thrown onto a mat. The success of the throw
depends on whether or not a combination of
four results. The Pygmy knows at a glance
whether he has to throw in an extra bean or
slip one out in order to make the necessary
adjustment. If there is disagreement, the beans
are checked in pairs of pairs.

Medicine

Putnam frequently tried to copy the prepa- 278
ration of poisons used by the net hunters on 411

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[NET HUNTERS]

[P.232-A]

278 411 their arrows but seldom achieved the same effect. The ingredients were known to him, and he concluded some special skill was used in the actual preparation. There is no mention of antidotes to these poisons.

278 Putnam knew of the existence of effective medicine among the net hunters, but no details survive in the notes. Anne Putnam's notes, however, mention a number of cases in which she observed the use of indigenous medicines and treatment.

752 757 During a fight a boy was knocked unconscious by a blow from a piece of wood. He was immediately propped up; the main concern seemed to be to prevent him from lying flat on the ground. Even when semiconscious, the boy was not allowed to lie down. This possibility seemed to frighten the Pygmies more than anything else, and for a while no other treatment was given. Then some incisions were made on his chest, and a leaf was applied.

757 Against toothache a certain leaf (not identified) is chopped fine and mixed with water. This mixture is poured from a leaf cup down each nostril.

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854 Newborn infants are scarified on the stom-
304 ach, chest, and leg, and the wounds are
757 treated with herbs, often mixed with goat
manure if the net hunters are near a village.

757 The Mbuti in this area claim to have a method which they have practiced for a long time for the treatment of paralysis. Examples given, however, describe this treatment as being given to villager or Pygmy children by villagers. The treatment can also be given to an adult. For paralysis of the legs, it consists essentially of standing the patient in a pit, filling it, and stamping the earth down hard. Only the upper part of the patient's body, which is continually washed with warm water, is left above ground. The stem of the *atumba* (a small plant resembling a dandelion) is cut and cooked with manioc and rubbed into a light incision in the affected limb. The patient may be kept in the pit for four hours a day for a week; each time he is taken out he is washed with warm water. It is claimed that after this treatment the patient will be able to walk, however crippled he was beforehand.

A similar treatment is reported for sprained back or arm. The patient is laid flat in a shallow pit. He is covered from knees to chest with a mixture of earth and leaves, about one

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inch thick, packed tight. The top layer of dry 757
leaves and kindling are soaked with oil and set on fire. The fire is kept going for about four hours, then the patient is taken out and hot leaves are applied. This treatment may be followed by hot baths, scarification and insertion of herbal medicine into the wounds, and resting on a bed, but none of this is said to be absolutely necessary.

A young man, given to being seized with trembling fits, is calmed by having incisions on his stomach rubbed with a black powder. A liquid is poured down his nose from a leaf funnel.

A certain type of bark, *ikanya*, extremely 847
poisonous, is used to procure an abortion by 278
making a decoction from it and giving it to the 824
pregnant woman to inhale. It appears that even inhaling the dry bark might be effective, but is not certainly so.

[NET HUNTERS]

Mrs. Putnam mentions a villager chief who called in a Pygmy "doctor" who made an incision in the chief's knee from which he withdrew antelope bones and some bugs. Putnam (1948, 340), as does Schebesta (1941, 236), mentions Pygmies' going to villager doctors for treatment of ailments for which the Pygmies have no remedy. This is the only instance quoted of the reverse process, and the only mention of any Pygmy specialist. No further details are known as to how and where the Pygmy acquired his art and reputation. 759 177 171

The villagers recognize the Mbuti knowledge of forest lore. There is one incident known among the net hunters of Pygmies' being called to treat a village girl bitten by a Gaboon viper. The venom of this snake is both hemotoxic and neurotoxic and is normally fatal. The girl was bitten in the face, which was swollen like a balloon by the time she was treated. She was cured quickly and completely. Details of the snake-bite antidotes of these Mbuti are not known. 752

RATIONALIZATION

As in the parallel section for the archers, speculation on problems of life and death are considered under Religious Life (p. 235). A word of warning, however, should be offered. Mimicry is a widely attested Mbuti practice. Their great ability in the art is equally well confirmed on all sides. They are equally able to imitate speech as well as action and, with true 128 536 177 157 811

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536 artistic flair, even enter into the thought pro-
177 cesses of their subjects. They answer questions
157 in precisely the way they want to answer them,
811 without necessarily any regard for the truth. They will give a villager the answers that they think he wants, and similarly with the European. Even among themselves Pygmies may appear to be conducting a serious discussion in their own terms, but one or another will, in fact, be talking, consciously or unconsciously, as a villager or a European might talk. Single or even several instances of what individual Mbuti say therefore must be taken only with extreme caution merely as general indications of what they really mean, particularly when they are replying to questions. While we may be able to talk with some certainty about "rationalization among the Mbuti," we do not have nearly enough evidence to talk about "Mbuti rationalization."[1]

538 Putnam, despite his long sojourn among the
114 Mbuti of the Ituri, was always extremely cautious concerning questions of origin and was very alert to the difficulty presented by the Mbuti mastery of imitation. The problem, as he saw it, was concerned not in the least

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538 114 with origin, but rather with dissociating the insignificant from the significant, regardless of origin. A collection of legends as told by four men of the Epulu net hunters, then, is something of great value but to be used with care. Mrs. Putnam made such a collection, totaling some 200 legends. Its very size, coming from a single hunting band, adds to its value. To a person knowing the band and the men who told the legends, the significant can often be easily distinguished from the insignificant. But source material of this kind needs much fuller documentation than is available for use to be made of it for purposes of sociological analysis (see Turnbull, 1959).

538 [626] [1] Similar caution is needed with legends, which, as with the archers, are an important means of expression for the net hunters. The legends are also effective means of social control and illustrate attempts to rationalize the unknown. If we talk about "Mbuti legends," we not only open ourselves to questions as to whether particular legends are of villager or Pygmy origin, but we also imply that the legends necessarily have traditional significance for the Mbuti. The Mbuti like a good story; they will retell it whatever its source. A legend may have had some particular significance for the people to whom it originally belonged, but for the Mbuti its only importance may lie in the scope it offers their histrionic talent.

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The general observations that can be made from this collection of legends are: 538

1. The Mbuti of the Epulu are remarkably little concerned with matters relating to origin and tradition.

2. Their legends can be classified under three main sections: legends concerning their social life, legends relating to the animal and human kingdoms, and legends concerning the supernatural. In fact, the second section falls in part into social relations and in part into supernatural relations, but we mention it here to show the correspondence with Joset's (1948) classification for the archers.

While there are no professional storytellers among the Epulu net hunters, there are individuals who have a greater mastery of the art than others. They seem to hold an important position in the community, especially in relation to the activities of the *molimo* society. The storyteller and the clown seem to occupy a privileged position and to have a definite role to play in the men's society. Whether this also applies to the women of the *elima* is not known (p. 216). 538 564 [575] [522]

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In so far as the net hunters are much more 538
likely to tell a legend than they are to discuss a question or expound a theory, legends are a valuable source that should be tapped, with the necessary cautions, to give us some insight into Mbuti rationalization as opposed to rationalization among the Mbuti.

ART

As among the archers, graphic art is limited 302
to the decoration of the human body (notably 531
the buttocks, legs, and face) and also of barkcloth. As mentioned above, the juice of the [386]
gardenia fruit is used for painting body designs, [824]
which Putnam says are for pure esthetic effect and of no magical significance. He believes, [304]
however, that some of the facial scarifications may indicate clan membership. No details are given. He adds that sometimes women name their designs; for example, a spotted design may be called "leopard." The design rests in the hands of the artist rather than of the subject.

Sometimes even head shaving is performed in such a way as to leave simple designs.

Some carving is now being done (Fig. 49) in 532
imitation of village carvings. 177

As with the archers, music and dance are 533
vitally important means of expression to the 535

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1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 234-A]

535 [533] net hunters. They have not only social but also religious meaning. Schebesta's (1941, 252–253) classification of dances as sportive, mimetic, or erotic would also apply to the net hunters, with the addition of religious dances about which we know little. Also, like the archers, the net hunters separate the sexes in dance. There are circular and erotic dances which correspond almost exactly to Schebesta's (1941, 253–256) description of those of the archers.

53 If the band is near a village, they may borrow or steal drums, but the drum, resonant sticks, and handclaps are the only accompaniment (apart from song). A style of dance which uses an orchestra of eight or nine single-pitch bamboo pipes, much in vogue among the villagers, is sometimes copied by other Pygmies in the district. The players stand in a circle. Each player blows his pipe after his opposite number, forming a melodic line. The melodic line and the rhythm are altered by changing both the order of playing and the time lapse. The performers dance as they play and are joined in the dance by others. It is essentially the same style of dance as the *makata* (musical stick) dance seen at the time of *nkumbi*.

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534 Normally, however, and when drums are not available, short resonant sticks are used. These are either smooth, giving a sharp hollow sound, or else they are split and shaved at one end to provide a totally different accompaniment. These sticks, handclaps, and leg stampings provide the rhythmic background to the dance.[1]

535 224 825 Mrs. Putnam has seen a dance in which a mask made from a leopard skin was used by the Mbuti. She also describes fully (1954, 296 ff.) a dance performed by them following the killing of a leopard. The body of the leopard is strung up to a branch or a tall stake. All the men, armed with liana whips and whips made from plaited antelope hide, gather around it. The men who are responsible for killing the leopard dance by themselves, approaching the stake. As they do so, they are attacked by the others, and have to fight their way to the leopard's body and cut it down, at which everyone gives a shout of triumph. In the

[1] It is most notable that for religious song and dance such is the only form of accompaniment, even if drums are available.

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dance observed by Mrs. Putnam the man who 535
first speared the leopard was wounded but 224
nonetheless took part in the dance. The other 825
two men involved in the killing protected him as much as they could from their attackers and guarded him as he cut the leopard down. Onlookers said that he would not have been thought a coward if he had not taken part, because of his wounds, but he had chosen to do so.

Song, used in conjunction with dance, as 533
described by Schebesta, also has a separate function and operates as an art form in its own right. This, at first, Schebesta (1933, 301) denied, but later (1936b, 27; 1948, 259) he conceded the greater importance of song over dance. Among the net hunters there is a very clear division of song into four main categories, each of which can be distinguished by style and technique alone, and a fifth subsidiary category of play songs. The main categories are, as briefly mentioned above (p. 213), religious songs and secular songs, each subdivided according to sex, i.e., songs of the men's

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religious association (*molimo*) and of the women's religious association (*elima*); songs of the men's main economic activity (hunting) and of the women's (gathering). It is perhaps not quite justifiable to make the subdivision according to sex, as, in hunting and gathering among the net hunters, both sexes hunt. Most of the gathering songs concern honey gathering which is primarily a male occupation. Nor, in fact, does the classification into sacred and secular stand up to full scrutiny, as, in a sense, all songs are sacred as all are related to forest activities and the forest itself is sacred (pp. 258–259). 533 [178]

Unlike the archers, the net-hunting Mbuti make extremely little use of musical instruments of any kind, except for the resonant sticks used in accompaniment to their forest songs. For one thing, a truly nomadic group with only the most basic means of locomotion and transport, namely, the human body, can hardly afford to accumulate possessions beyond the absolute necessities—even less so with bulky nets as an additional item to be carried when camp is moved. Some net hunters know how to make and play notched end-blown flutes, with even greater skill and precision than the neighboring villagers, but they are rarely made. A *lukembi* (*sanza*) is the only instrument 534 [184] [48]

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[P.235-A]

534 that a Pygmy would think of carrying with him, as it is light, portable, and most easily concealed from the villagers from whom he probably stole it. There is no record that the net hunters make any instruments other than the flute and the resonant sticks, and possibly a special musical bow which is made just as is their hunting bow but larger and with a larger section of vine as the "string." Ordinary hunting bows are sometimes used as musical bows.

533 From the material on net hunters it seems that music is virtually exclusively vocal and that, apart from lullabies and some play songs, song involves chorus rather than solo work. Men and women join in song; sometimes they merely double each other's parts (as in the "secular" songs); at other times each takes different and complementary parts (*elima* songs). Certain *elima* songs and all *molimo* songs are sung only by adult women and men, respectively.

533 171 Merriam (1953), in an examination of music from the Congo and Rwanda, writes that Congo music has four main characteristics: (1) lack of emphasis on percussion; (2) variety of instruments and styles; (3) heavy Arabic influence; and (4) considerable change currently in process.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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531 This account of music among the villagers in
171 the Ituri Forest region is certainly accurate. In
contrast, the music of the Mbuti differs on each
533 one of these four points. Though the music of
171 the Mbuti of the Epulu District is here specifi-
cally considered, it appears from all the known
184 material, including Schebesta's work on the
archers and other Pygmy groups, that there is
remarkable uniformity of music among African
Pygmies, not confined to the Ituri or even the
533 Congo. Even in the absence of drums, extreme
534 percussive effects are obtained by resonant
sticks, handclaps, and foot stamps; some vocal
184 effects achieved by the Mbuti might also
properly be described as percussive. As noted,
[177] there is a lack of interest in instrumental
music, and styles are formalized; there is no
Arabic influence at all; there is no evidence
concerning change, except that up to now the
Mbuti have managed to preserve their distinctive
musical form in the face of strong
influences from all sides, which would seem to
indicate resistance to change.

53 As with the archers, song and dance both
overlap into the field of drama, and of the

[P. 235-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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latter little is known in detail. Song is sometimes used when legends are told and is frequently mentioned in them. Dance and mime are even more closely connected. 53

The subject matter of Mbuti drama seems to correspond, as might be expected, with our classification of the subject matter of legends, but the former places greater emphasis on events of the day, particularly hunting. In default of detailed and accurate accounts of dramatic art and all attendant circumstances, the only generalization that seems permissible is the evident lack of interest in personal problems and a preoccupation with the maintenance of the relative status of the human (Mbuti), animal (villager), and supernatural worlds. 536 [181]

With reference to specialists in song and dance, as with other art forms, some individuals who have greater skill than others achieve a measure of renown for their skill. A mediocre hunter who is a good singer or dancer or legend teller is a far more important person than a moderate hunter who is none of these things. 555 53

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Above all, the outstanding singer, however young (so long as he is a hunter, therefore qualified to participate, of course), plays one of the most important roles in the meeting of the *molimo* society. In the *molimo*, respect for skill in song and dance seem, from the material to hand, to surpass respect even for skill in hunting and for old age. 555 53

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religion of the net hunters is far less well documented than that of the archers, since little is known beyond what Schebesta (1950) writes of the "Sua" regarding their religious terminology, notions of God, and afterlife. On the other hand, the functioning of their men's religious association (*molimo*) is far better documented than that of the *tori* association of the archers, both in Mrs. Putnam's notes and my own (1960b). 114 [575]

As far as magical practices are concerned, little information is available beyond a few isolated descriptions of various ceremonies mainly concerned with the hunt or the weather. Many practices are certainly of village origin, and some practices that are shared by both groups have different functions. Thus the naturally distorted stick (Fig. 53), known as *amati a oni ganza* (the tortoise saw the circumcision), is for the villagers a magical protection against 789 789 177 824

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 236-B]

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P
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177
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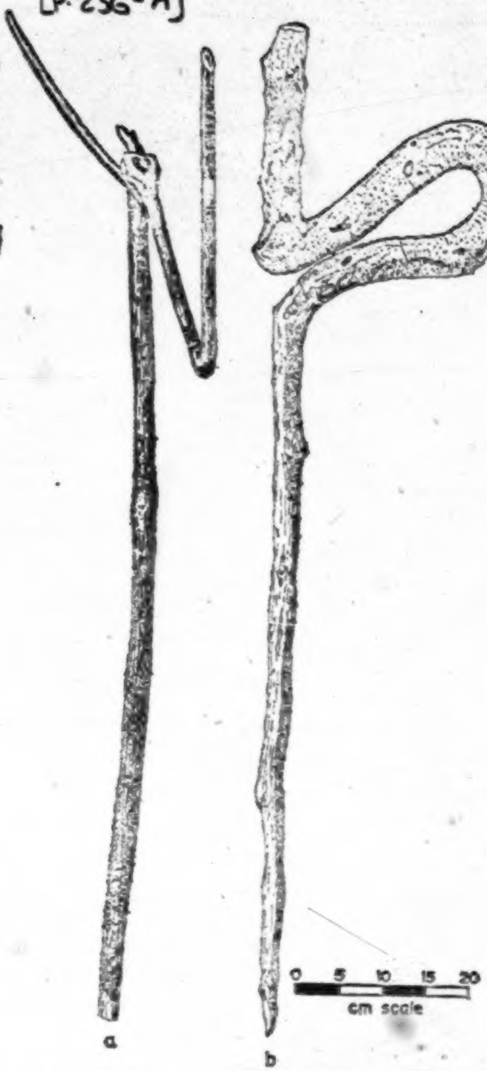

FIG. 53. a–b. Fetish sticks, *amati a oni ganza*, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. "The tortoise saw the circumcision" is the name of the stick, but neither villagers nor Mbuti can give a coherent explanation of either the stick or its name. The villagers use it for protection against theft; the Mbuti net hunters on rare occasions may idly place it in the ground near a *molimo* hearth as an indication of spiritual presence.

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789
177 theft, but among the Mbuti is used as indication
824 of spiritual presence during the *molimo* festival.
For this section we follow the same outline as
128 that for the archers, but a fuller account of the
net-hunters' magico-religious complex is given
in the final section (pp. 248–259). It is excluded
from the present survey because the lack of

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complete documentation places it in the realm of hypothesis rather than fact. 128

THE CHTHONIC GOD

Schebesta does not specify whether the particular Mbuti from whom he collected most of his Sua material are net hunters or archers. But, except for his remarks on the Kango and "village Sua" (1952, 49, footnote, 301) to the extreme west of the Ituri forest, he seems to have drawn largely on the southeastern Mbuti. His information (1950, 14–24) does not differ greatly from that for the archers. The names given to the divinity are Mu(n)gu, Keti, Kalisia, and So(n)ge. Epulu net hunters also loosely use the term Mungu, as do the neighboring villagers. According to Schebesta, Kalisia is the lord of the forest and game, and patron of the hunters, whom he loves. They owe everything to him. Above all, he is a benevolent God, helping the Mbuti in the hunt, guiding their weapons and assisting the beat, preceding the beaters and opening the trail. He is also the lord of dreams, making his wishes known to the elder, telling the hunter where to find game. 114 [184] 776 [224] [787]

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Kalisia, if displeased with the Mbuti, will 776
close the forest to them, until they make the 782
propitiatory sacrifice *sulia*. The Mbuti are ex- [778]
pected to make offerings to Kalisia from their
food-gathering and hunting expeditions, and
Schebesta (1952, 304) mentions a shrine for this
purpose (*ende kela*). The hunters may less ceremoniously throw offerings of food into the
forest. Schebesta says that no Mbuti in his right
mind would fail to make these propitiatory
sacrifices: "*à ce que m'a raconté un Nègre Bira*"
(Schebesta, 1952, 304). Unfortunately, Sche- 114
besta does not always identify his source of
information. However, from a number of ad- [124]
missions such as that noted above, we must
assume that his informants were frequently
villagers, not Pygmies, and that he also relied
on the question-and-answer technique among
both villagers and Mbuti (Schebesta, 1933,
171).

Both Schebesta and Putnam agree that the 776
forest God of the net hunters is feared by the [171]
villagers, who regard him in no way as benevolent, in contrast to the Mbuti.

Schebesta also mentions the celestial divinity Songe (the moon), with its own remote world, as the sky God of the archers; also Keti, a bush

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[P.237-A]

776 God and lord of the *ba-keti*, the dead. Schebesta (1950, 23) says that among the "Sua" he was not able to discover any association of the rainbow, lightning, thunder, or death, with the benevolent "*Jägergottheit*" (Kalisia).

The Putnam material does not attempt to interpret the Mbuti notion of a chthonic God. Among the Epulu net hunters, Kalisia is apparently unknown to the Mbuti, who use the term Mungu both among themselves and when talking with villagers. This God is benevolent, though in some mysterious way that does not detract from his benevolence he is associated with death.

776 775 Disaster, ill fortune, and lack of success in the chase are usually attributed to *satani* (also *sitani*, *shaitani*), forest sprites akin to the archer *befe* (Schebesta gives the Sua word as *beki*). It seems that Mbuti may become *satani* when they die, but it is not clear by any means that all *satani* were once Mbuti. They are never [761] referred to as though they had been Mbuti, though at death the word *satani* is sometimes used in connection with a vital force leaving

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

776 775 the body (p. 238). There is also some confusion among the net-hunter Mbuti between the terms *mungu* and *satani*, which at times appear to be interchangeable. Schebesta (1948, 493) says that the local Bira refer to these forest sprites as "*molimo*," the name they also give to their secret association of men.

776 As with the archers, abnormal conditions of the physical world denote the presence of the chthonic God. At such times the net hunters are careful not to expose themselves to his sight, which would bring death, nor to attract his attention by unseemly behavior. He is a benevolent God but one best kept at a distance. There is no evidence of any connection between God and the lineage through the elder, but each hunting band seems to regard Mungu, while God of all Mbuti everywhere, as being particularly concerned with them.[1]

CULT PRACTICES

788 182 In so far as ritual is a response to uncertainty or crisis, the net hunters have far less need of it than many other peoples. As we show above, their forest environment provides them with

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[1] In view of the extremely loose usage of the term *mungu*, I interpret net-hunter expressed attitudes as indicating a belief in a local deity, not necessarily named Mungu, somehow related to the over-all God.

[P 237-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 237-C]

the basic necessities of life. No seasonal change involves them in any significant change of activity (except possibly the honey season, when game hunting may be abandoned). The economy of the Mbuti further militates against elaborate ritual by preventing the easy manufacture of ritual trappings and by not allowing for any substantial form of sacrifice. Nor is it possible to provide time and men for ritual specialization. This much applies throughout the Ituri. However, the net hunters, by their hunting techniques, are assured of a larger and steadier supply of game than the archers. Nevertheless, crises occur. The Mbuti, for instance, are frequently beset with the tempestuous rainstorms that sweep the forest in the afternoons and, more rarely, during the night or early morning. Putnam (1948, 338) points out that these storms not only cause physical discomfort in the hunting camp, where huts may become flooded and the clearing so swamped in mud that the whole camp must be moved, but they also prevent hunting and bring death through lightning or through causing dead branches to fall on people. Putnam writes: "No other element in their life causes so much disturbance or upsets them so profoundly" (1948, 338).

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182

[224]
[184]

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[NET HUNTERS]

338). The Mbuti associate the storms with water, rain, thunder, lightning, rainbows, and snakes, and possibly fire. The net hunters have a particular fear of water and, as do the local villagers, seem to believe in water spirits, or, as they call them, "water animals." These are most frequently associated with death. A water animal is connected with the rainbow, perhaps the most dreaded of all natural phenomena. 731 821 [823]

As might be expected therefore, such ritual as exists is most often connected with the storm and its symbols. Putnam, who knew of Schebesta's account of ritual among the archers, did not disagree with it in so far as cult practices were described among the net hunters. However, cult practices are far less common, and he mentions no spirit huts or shrines such as were described by Schebesta (1950, 77). Food offerings may be thrown into the undergrowth, though specific information is lacking. I have met net hunters who stoutly deny that they would waste food in this way; certainly I never saw any offerings being made. But Putnam disagrees strongly that prayer or invocation is involved. The net hunters, he says (in unpublished works), do not invoke the storm god or 788 [821] [778] 788 782

[P.237-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 238-A]

788 any other god or spiritual being for protection [782] or aid. Mbuti ritual, such as it is, is simply "A number of symbolic actions performed as parts [224] of technological operations in order to smooth over the disturbance caused by some kind of change," e.g., the elephant-hunting ritual in which the youngest male descendant of the hunter ritually pierces the elephant's side and opens the operations dividing the meat for consumption (cf. p. 207).

771 Putnam, further, was never convinced that [776] the Mbuti had any notion similar to the European notion of God. He disagrees strongly with Schebesta's interpretation of Mbuti religious practice as indicating a belief in a personal god. [789] He suggests that the ritual practices described by Schebesta were, in fact, no more than sympathetic magic, and that a belief in the direct cause and effect in their magical practices is the only kind of "religious" belief that can safely be ascribed to the forest dwellers, Pygmy or villager.

[NET HUNTERS] 1

771 789 The dividing line between magic and religion, according to Putnam, is even more difficult to draw with the Mbuti than with other people. His notes, however, do not attempt any analysis. The only other available information on cult practices is a few isolated descriptions in Mrs. Putnam's notes. These, except for the description of burial, are given in the section on Magic (p. 239).

DEATH AND AFTERLIFE

775 There is hardly any information on the notions of the net hunters on life after death, except that they firmly believe that life continues in some form or another, in much the same way that it is lived by the living. There is [761] some indication, both from Mbuti informants and from the legends collected by Mrs. Putnam in the Epulu District, that the net hunters believe that when a body dies, a vital part of it, the personality or soul, leaves. It may become either a forest sprite (*satani*), or it may go to some other place where it will have nothing further to do with the living. In either case it will live much as it lived before—hunting and gathering, dancing and singing. *Satani*, however, can die, whereas there is no death in the more remote spirit world.

761 776 [821] [825] The net hunters believe that death is caused by the water animal that is the rainbow that is, sometimes, the python. It is not clear whether [P.238-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 238-C]

the water animal is the cause of all death or whether it causes only unexplained deaths. It seems that it may not be connected with "normal" deaths—deaths that do not, in fact, cause any particular crisis as far as the community as a whole is concerned. 761 776

According to Mrs. Putnam's notes,[1] the water animal that is the rainbow is also the *molimo*. She asked a direct question as to whether this was so or not and was given an affirmative answer by one of her most reliable informants. She says that his manner seemed to indicate further that she had asked the right question. According to the same informant the *molimo* comes out the day following the death of some important person, regardless of whether the death was by natural or other means. The informant also referred to a dance in which the men "chased" the *molimo*, but this evidently was not one of the serious *molimo* dances as it was not fatal for women to see it. It seems certain that the water animal and the rainbow are [535]

[NET HUNTERS]

two manifestations of the same spiritual being and that both this being and the *molimo* are in some way connected with death. The former causes death (whether in some or all cases is not known), but the latter seems to be different in that it appears only the day following death and can restore normality to the community in crisis (not only death) rather than cause crisis. The *molimo* association calls to the *molimo* "animal" in times of crisis and brings it physically into the camp, according to Mrs. Putnam's notes. It appears to be propitiated by offerings of food, which is consumed by members of the *molimo*, and by dance and song. 761 776 [782]

No information is given as to any belief in the origin of death, or of any human failings that might cause it other than violation of the *molimo* by a woman or of the *elima* by a man. Infringement of rules of exogamy and other taboos may or may not cause death; individual opinion among the net hunters varies considerably on such matters. 761 784

According to local informants, the only villagers that have the *molimo* are the Bira, Lese, Ndaka, and Bali. 776 171

Lightning is also a symbol of misfortune but not necessarily of death. When lightning comes at night, campfires may be covered so that the 821 [372]

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[1] In her notes, Mrs. Putnam invariably uses the term *esumba* or *esamba* for *lusumba*.

[P 238-0]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.239-A]

821 372 flames will not be seen, then the lightning will pass. Mrs. Putnam reports that on one occasion a particularly large and bright fire was built during the night because, according to the Mbuti, a Lese woman who had died recently was "tapping in the trees." Fire is reported to be extinguished in one of the *molimo* dances, among the net hunters as well as among the archers.

Totem and Taboo

614 825 Putnam distinguishes four kinds of taboo for the net hunters. The first is related to what he calls the clan totem.[1] Each clan, he says, has its own private totemic animal. This is believed to be not the clan ancestor but, rather, connected with that ancestor in mythology, as having rescued him from danger or helped him in some enterprise. Putnam mentions seven species of antelope and 12 species of monkey that appear as totemic animals among the Mbuti bands in his area. Other animals, not important as food to the Pygmy, are also totemic animals but, according to Putnam, less frequently. Slow game and vegetables, that is, food collected by women, are never used as totems.

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614 Rules concerning the clan totem vary, in theory and practice. Its flesh may never be eaten by members of the clan and, as far as possible, the animal is avoided—alive or dead. If the clan is dispersed, its seceding factions tend to forget their own totem and adopt the totems of the dominant clans in whose areas they settle, evidently, in fact, effectively changing clan affiliation.

784 562 [262] [825] [823] The second kind of taboo mentioned by Putnam is the sex taboo symbolizing the differences in male and female activities. Women and children eat frogs and toads; men refuse to touch them. As mentioned above (p. 211), this difference is probably connected with the association between these amphibians and both water (portending disaster) and land (the hunt).

784 The third type of taboo is the taboo applicable to times of crisis in the life cycle—puberty, pregnancy, and mourning. At such times certain taboos are observed, but they vary from band to band, and there is no detailed information.

262 Lastly, Putnam mentions the existence of

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[1] By "clan" Putnam means a patriclan or gens.

[P.239-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 239-C]

personal taboos, which simply involve the decision of individuals to abstain from eating certain foods. These may be the result of some near disaster involving the taboo animal, or the result of some physical allergy. Many personal taboos are acquired during puberty, but they can be acquired any time. During puberty a taboo may be "given" to the individual on the decision of his relatives who observe that he has an allergy to a certain food; or they may be, and at other times always are, acquired by personal volition. Porcupines, snakes, and slow game not used as clan totems are subject to personal taboo. 262

These forest animals that symbolize clans, sexes, and individual idiosyncracies, says Putnam, are personified by the Mbuti, who believe that they used to be able to talk and were on an equal footing with human beings. 784 614 825

Thus the totemism of the net hunters seems to be very different from that described by Schebesta for the archers, among whom there was neither sex nor individual totemism (p. 191). Further, Putnam denies that there is any belief, at least among the net hunters, in totemic ancestral spirits such as the *lodi* described by Schebesta. There are *genii loci*, *satani* who inhabit well-known caves, ravines, or hills, but Putnam says that these are not associated with clans. 184 784 184 776 825 [614]

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MAGIC

The Putnam material contains no information on any vital force corresponding to the *megbe* of the archer Mbuti, but the various practices of the net hunters indicate a belief in some form of force associated with the individual, which can be utilized by him during his life and which is released at death. It is by no means clear that this force can be acquired by magical means, such as by the use of bells and charms among the archers, or that it can be passed on from father to son by the latter's breathing in the breath from the dying man's mouth. There is mention in the Putnam material of this being done only once. 789 761

Putnam mentions magic in connection with the hunt and with the weather that might affect the hunt. Magical practices are not mentioned in other contexts, such as protection against one's enemies or, conversely, as aggressive action against them, or for the prevention of imminent disasters such as the falling of a 789

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[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 240-A]

789 [784] tree limb on top of a hut. Such contexts evoke a different response, it seems, among the archers who actively influence the outcome of any critical situation by the use of their *megbe*, often by their *segbe* pipes. The magic described by the Putnams is essentially sympathetic and does not involve any belief in spiritual assistance. 789 821 Thus stones may not be dropped in the water, or they will cause rain; a bright fire should be smothered until it is a mere glow during a storm, lest it attract the lightning (according to one informant) or in order to drive the lightning away (according to another, in the same discussion). All the magic that Putnam observed among the net hunters was connected with the weather and the prevention of rain, though he does not deny the possibility that magic might be used to stop the rain, once begun.

789 224 Mrs. Putnam describes a number of magical practices, most of which are connected with either rain or the hunt. The latter simply involve the use of villager witch doctors to perform a ceremony to improve the hunting. The ceremony is never conducted by a Pygmy, nor is it clear on whose initiative it is usually per-

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789 formed. Mrs. Putnam says that the Pygmies
224 may ask the villager to perform the ceremony,
but it is also certain that the villagers themselves, if they do not get enough meat from the
Pygmies, insist on performing it. The use of a
[534] *segbe* whistle is mentioned only once by Patrick
Putnam. It was incorporated in a hunting net
(Figs. 34–35) for the hunter to blow into to
attract the antelope. This hunter was the camp
joker. *Segbe* whistles and pipes may assume
many forms, being incorporated in fur headbands (Fig. 51a) or left loose (Fig. 51b). Other
[237] hunting magic found among the net hunters,
not mentioned by Putnam, is *anjo* (Fig. 51c),
an antelope horn in which is kept a paste made
of animal parts, rubbed over the eyes and head
of the hunter before the hunt.

789 *Segbe* are not to be confused with *madé* (Fig.
534 51d–e) pipes, which are used only during the
222 honey season.

Rain magic involves the covering of the
789 campfires with leaves but evidently without
821 much faith in the efficacy of this action, as all
practical precautions are taken as well, such as
372 putting hunting nets under cover, bringing fire
inside the huts, and taking in barkcloth that
has been left outside to dry. Further, the use of

[P.240-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 240-C]

leaves to cover fires is an effective way of keeping them burning during a rainstorm, is not always accompanied by the production of smoke (thought by some to be an offering), and is never described as being accompanied by any invocation. As far as the descriptions and my own observations go, it could be a simple precautionary measure taken to preserve the all-valuable fire. 789 82 372

Mrs. Putnam was told that barkcloth should not be beaten if it is going to rain, but this may also be for purely practical technological reasons. She once saw an old Pygmy blow a *segbe* pipe a number of times, looking at the sky, in an avowed attempt to avert the rain. When it rained the old man simply shrugged his shoulders and took shelter. 789 82 [287]

On another occasion, when it threatened to rain and spoil the dance one evening, the young men and boys all seized leaves and ran down to the stream and back, beating the leaves on the ground. They evidently did not wait to see if this magic would work, and all retired to their huts.

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There seems to be a very vague belief in a 761
malign force similar to the *uda* described by 754
Schebesta (1948, 527 ff.), and for which the net 888
hunters use the villager term, *ulozi*. It is gener- [192]
ally associated with very old people and with cripples who, not through any malevolence but rather because of their condition, may cause death. If someone is thought to be possessed of *ulozi*, he may be put to death. The Putnam material records the Mbuti as beating one old woman accused of being a *lozi*. She was prevented from being beaten to death by Putnam's putting forward an effective argument as to why she could not possess *ulozi*. This same old woman, however, died two years later following an epidemic in a camp where she was staying, and where two Pygmies died. The old woman died when the camp was broken, before they reached the new camp, and no explanation was given. She certainly had not contracted the disease. Putnam mentions other instances of the disappearance of people, particularly the aged and crippled.

In legend the *lozi* are accredited with being 761
the most gluttonous cannibals, devouring 754
corpses in the middle of the night. Apparently, 266
if a Pygmy wakes up and sees a *lozi* feasting on [193]
one of his comrades, that person will merely become sick. If the *lozi* is not seen at his (or her)

[P. 240-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 241 - A]

761 work, the victim dies. If the victim himself
754 awakes and recognizes the *lozi* who is killing
266 him, or if he is bewitched by unwittingly sharing his food with a *lozi*, he can save himself by calling on that person to come to him. If the *lozi* comes he will be saved, otherwise he will die. But there are no instances that such ever happened.

761 This belief seems associated with death and
754 with people who are near to that particular
177 crisis. There is a recorded instance of two men, a Pygmy and a villager, who were both accused of being *lozi*. Some time later the villager died in the arms of the Pygmy; since then the village family have held that particular Pygmy in great respect. Among the Mbuti of this area,
[538] however, the existence of *ulozi* seems to be of little, if any, practical significance, except as subject matter for storytellers.

THE GODHEAD

776 The Putnam material does not support any
114 theory of a celestial God such as that described
[184] by Schebesta for both the archers and the net hunters. Putnam denies that there is any evi-

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 241-8]

dence among the net hunters of a belief in a personal god. He asserts that all their ritual actions can be explained in terms of direct cause-and-effect belief, without any reference to spiritual beings. The Putnam material itself, however, indicates some notion of spiritual existence and power, although in nothing like the highly formalized system that Schebesta attributes to the archers. Coon, in his notes on an interview with Putnam (*in* Patrick Putnam, 1948), points out that the water animal is in a sense a personification of the storm, as is the belief that the neolithic axheads found throughout the forest are excreta dropped by lightning. 776 114 771 [788] [811] [776] [821] [172]

It is largely a question of degree. The material available is not sufficient for us to make any useful observations on the net-hunters' theology or cosmology. All that can be said is that there is a belief in a benevolent power associated with the forest (which may or may not be the *molimo*) and a power symbolized by the rainbow, or as a water animal, and associated with death. Whether these are two aspects of the same divinity, two distinct divinities, or unconnected with any notion of divinity cannot be said.

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EVALUATION

128 THE SURVEY that is given above of the available reliable material on the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest does not claim to be exhaustive. Every opportunity has been taken to follow up any references that promised to bring to light information, however slight, to a point where the quality of such information is so poor that further search becomes uneconomic, not justifying the further expenditure of either time or energy. It is possible, then, that isolated pieces of valuable information have escaped our scrutiny.

The survey as it stands, based on a careful selection of the most reliable information available, is in itself anything but satisfactory and falls short of the standards of authenticity and completeness of detail that are a *sine qua non* for proper anthropological analysis. The historical sources were, for the most part, not sufficiently well documented to be acceptable as fact; contemporary sources (with particular reference to the field of social anthropology) are virtually limited to Schebesta and the Putnam material.

000 material. These each have their drawbacks.
114 Schebesta gives a more complete picture than Putnam of the Ituri Mbuti but in such generalized terms as to be, in effect, no more than a disjointed anthropological gallimaufry. It is evident from his own statements concerning his field-work technique (Schebesta, 1932, 1936b) that the "facts" he presents are sometimes no more than hearsay, perhaps confirmed by "*flüchtigen Einblicke*" (1948, 475). In addition there is often no certainty as to which particular Mbuti he means. It is equally evident from his admittedly preconceived notions and avowed objective that his theoretical work is more than a little biased.

The Putnam material does not provide such over-all detail as Schebesta's account and is regrettably lacking in information on kinship systems (as is Schebesta's work), legal system, and even on the more observable manifestations of the relationship between the Mbuti and their villager neighbors. It is, however, localized. We know exactly to which Pygmies he refers. It is unbiased by any personal prejudices or preconceived theories. It is based on more than two decades of intimate contact with the Mbuti throughout the forest in the case of Patrick

[P. 242-B]

[P. 242-C]

Putnam, and nearly one decade in the case of Anne Putnam. 114

The vital gaps in this combined material, together with its general nature, render any attempt at systematization fruitless. As it is presented, however, it stands as a body of facts, more or less reliable, related to two specific types of Mbuti society—archers and net hunters. We can use it initially, then, to test the validity of this classification. Second, the survey suggests a new approach to the relationship between the Mbuti and their villager neighbors. Incidentally it throws a clearer light on Schebesta's notions as to the cultural unity of the Ituri Mbuti and on the irrelevance of his division of the Mbuti into linguistic groups which correspond only to villager groupings, and not directly to any significant structural differences among the Mbuti themselves. Here we concern ourselves with a brief comparison of our two major sources, section by section, with reference mainly to the classification of the Mbuti according to hunting technique. 128 121

ORIENTATION

There is little call for comment on this section. Despite their linguistic differences, it seems that the Ituri Mbuti form a broad cultural unit physically differentiated from other Pygmy or Pygmoid groups, notably the Twa of the Kivu area and the Tswa farther west. However, before any conclusion can be reached, we need more detailed studies, of the Pygmies of equatorial and western Africa in particular. 101

The hunting band appears to be the largest political unit, except in opposition to the villagers when, it seems, Pygmy bands may unite regardless of clan or lineage considerations. There is no evidence that, during the period when the Pygmies were used as mercenaries, they ever fought with one another at the behest of the villagers. 621 628 648

Despite Schebesta's assertion that *efe* is, in fact, the remnant of the original Mbuti language, linguists disagree on this point. Van Bulck (G. van Bulck, 1948, 1953; V. van Bulck, 1948, 1952) questions it. Professors Tucker and Meeussen (in conversation) indicate that the possibility of determining its correctness with any degree of certainty is remote. This attitude 197 114

[P.242-D]

197 [114] was also Putnam's, although he was keenly interested in the problem and spoke all the major villager languages of the area fluently. [197] All we can say is that the Ituri Mbuti now speak the same languages as the villager tribes with which they are or have been in closest contact.

114 Questions of origin and history can be answered only by speculation and do not concern us at the moment.

[128] [144] As stated, physical anthropology is too specialized a subject to be treated here, though the findings of detailed studies would be of great value not only in helping to answer questions of origin, but also in tracing affinities between different Pygmy and Pygmoid groups, estimating migratory movements, and determining the degree of miscegenation with villager tribes and the relative direction of such miscegenation. This last consideration is of particular importance with reference to the Mbuti-villager relationship.

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ENVIRONMENT

182 The importance of environment in this particular
184 study cannot be overestimated. The
forest environment throughout the Ituri is
much the same, so it cannot be held responsible
for such differences as we may find between one
Mbuti group and another. Such differences
seem more likely to be due to the human environment,
that is to say, varying degrees of
P Pygmy association with different villager tribes.

182 The forest environment is important, however,
in favoring the specific way of life followed
by the nomadic hunting-and-gathering Mbuti
Z communities. That it certainly does not compel
[182] this mode of existence is witnessed by the very
different and equally successful adjustment
P made to it by the other major group of forest
182 inhabitants—the villagers. But by enabling the
177 Mbuti to continue their nomadic way with
comparative ease and to their almost entire
satisfaction, the forest enables them to preserve
their independence in the face of technologically
superior and politically more organized
villager opposition. By virtue of their particular
response to the forest, the Mbuti retain their
individuality socially, economically, politically,
and intellectually.

P The environmental factor sharply divides the
Z forest people (Mbuti) from the non-forest
182 people (villagers)—the true forest hunting-and-

[P 243-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P. 243-C]

gathering economy of the former from the P
adapted forest cultivation of the latter. Perhaps, 182
above all, it distinguishes the values of the P
forest people from those of the villager invaders
from the plains. The Mbuti adapt themselves 181
to their environment; the villagers adapt the 182
environment to their own way of life in so far as
they can, compromising when they cannot. It is
not difficult to see the possible psychological
implications of this attitudinal difference and
the profound difference in religious and social
values that either rise from it or are strengthened
by it. In the opposition between forest
values and non-forest values we find the highest
degree of opposition between the Mbuti and
their villager neighbors.

THE SOCIAL UNIT P

At this elementary point in our survey of 184
Mbuti society, we begin to find significant
structural differences between one group and
another. These differences are not related to P
linguistic differences. Moreover, we find that, 184
with the possible exception of the archers de- 197
scribed by Schebesta, the Mbuti are polyglots.

While there may be one preferred "camp language," 184
most of the members of any one camp 197
speak three different languages with more or
less equal fluency. Each individual's linguistic
abilities depend to some extent on the direction
of his kinship ties and to some extent on his
attachment to one villager tribe or another.
The differences in social organization can be 184
related directly to differences in hunting technique. 224
Concerned as we are with the situation 621
as we find it, we need not deal here with the 182
alleged origin of these hunting techniques nor
the relative "purity" of the Pygmy groups
practicing them.

The immediate and most obvious difference found in a comparison of the accounts of the archers and the net hunters is in the size of their hunting bands which is related directly to the requirements of the particular technique. A distinct process of fission and fusion related to the economic size of the band is observable among the Epulu Pygmies. A successful net hunt cannot be carried out with fewer than seven nets, with an optimum of about 15. When a net-hunting band falls below 10 families (i.e., 10 married men with nets), hunting becomes difficult, because there is little allowance for sickness, or for the men and women required to

[P. 243-D]

[P.244-A]

184 remain in camp to guard it and perform other
224 duties. When the band falls below seven fami-
621 lies, it can no longer exist. Similarly, when it
182 rises above a certain number (between 20 and
30) it becomes too unwieldy to function as a single hunting unit and must, of necessity, split. Under these circumstances a compromise is reached, and very conveniently so, by the hunting from a forest camp by one section of the band, while the other section lives a more or less parasitical life near the village.

184 The composition of the bands of archers and
net hunters seems to be similar, though Putnam
621 lays more emphasis on the presence of visiting
families. The archers live in considerably smaller bands, some interconnected through kinship ties and also allegedly through common allegiance to a villager lineage. In the larger net-hunting band there may very likely be no single villager attachment.

182 With regard to material culture and technology,
184 there is far more uniformity than divergence.
The technology of the net hunters demonstrates a greater adaptation to the forest environment, and their material culture is consistent with the fact that they are more truly
[482] nomadic than the archers. Heavy objects such
as the mortars and drums mentioned by Schebesta could not be maintained by a nomadic band unless it was always within easy reach of the village.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224 In a comparison of the two major types of
184 hunt, according to which we classify the Mbuti
into archers and net hunters, three factors in particular are worth noting:

1. The net hunt, of all the hunting methods described (including the *begbe* beat of the archers), produces both the surest and the largest supply of meat. The inadequacy of archery
[411] among the Mbuti, owing partly to inaccuracy
[177] with their small bows and partly to the generally
[439] poor visibility, may account in part for
the greater economic dependence of the archer bands on their villager neighbors.

2. The net hunt is essentially a cooperative
224 activity, requiring the participation of the band
476 as a whole, including women and children. It
621 reinforces the strength of the band as such; it
562 does not differentiate between the relationships
184 of the men and the women toward the forest;
and it establishes for each sex a basic and

[p. 244-B]

[P. 244-C]

mutually dependent and equally important role 224
in this, the major activity of the Mbuti. Arch- 476
ery, on the other hand, may be conducted on a 621
familial basis or, as is described by Schebesta, 562
with the cooperation of two or three men. It is 184
not essentially cooperative, and it does not include women and children, so placing the sexes in different relationships with the forest. In so far as hunting is the "superior" economic activity (though economically perhaps less important than gathering), it emphasizes the disparity of status between the sexes.

3. The net hunt, demanding close coopera- 184
tion and lack of specialization, is associated 554
with a more egalitarian political system than 561
that of the archers. While Schebesta described 224
an embryonic chieftainship, with powerful line- 621
age heads, Putnam vigorously denies the exis- [114]
tence of even a council of elders. Further, according to Putnam, whereas an old man is treated with respect, he is so only if age is accompanied by wisdom. A great hunter is respected regardless of his age. An unmarried boy of 16 who kills a buffalo with a spear is entitled to have a net of his own and to take full part in the meetings of the men's religious association. Such leadership as exists among the net hunters is charismatic, with little emphasis on lineage—a position quite the reverse of that described by Schebesta for the archers.

A fourth factor might be added: While the 184
net hunt quickly scares animals away from the 182
area around the hunting camp, necessitating 224
frequent changes of site, the archery technique 361
neither depletes the game so quickly nor
frightens it away. An archer band can therefore
remain confined to a smaller area, near the
village, while the net hunters sometimes must
wander several days' march away from their
patrons. The more nomadic group also has [262]
constantly fresh supplies of vegetable growth at
its disposal, thus decreasing the need, which is
apparently felt by the more settled archers, for
plantation products.

Thus at once we can see the possible eco- 184
nomic, social, and political implications of the 182
difference in hunting technique and how these 121
implications follow in fact. 224

Gathering occupies a similar position of 222
social and economic importance in each type of 184
community. It is regarded primarily as the 462
work of women, though, wherever it calls for
tree climbing, it is undertaken by men. Among

[P 244-D]

[p. 245-A]

222 both groups it appears that food acquired by
184 gathering is more prominent in the Mbuti diet
462 than the product of hunting.

222 Honey gathering, a primarily male activity,
221 is the only major seasonal activity. There are
184 indications from both groups that the Mbuti
[462] regard this as a festive season and that it was
possibly once of greater social significance than
it is now, when recreation and variety are more
easily had through contact with the villagers.
Nonetheless it is still more important to both
groups than can be accounted for by its economic aspect alone.

27 There is not enough information on drinks,
262 narcotics, and stimulants, nor on food restric-
128 tions, to allow for these to be placed in a systematic framework.

439 With regard to trade, we have no details for
either the net hunters or the archers on this
extremely important point of contact between
the Mbuti and the villagers. Trade with villagers exists in both Mbuti groups, and both Schebesta and Putnam attach great importance to it. Neither, however, explains it satisfactorily.

439 torily. Schebesta (1952, 42–43) involves himself
114 in a blatant self-contradiction by saying at one
[181] point that the Pygmy culture is static and conservative
because the forest provides him with
an abundance from which he can satisfy all his
needs. Elsewhere (1933, 28; 1952, 100–101) he
writes that the Pygmy could not survive without
the villager plantations. Both Patrick and
Anne Putnam would reinforce the latter statement
from their experience of the Epulu Mbuti,
but only in so far as luxuries, such as plantains,
have become necessities. Putnam asserts that
439 the Pygmy could, when he wanted, support
433 himself from the forest alone, and sometimes
does. There can be little doubt about this latter
point, as a hunting group may be 10 days away
[182] from the village. Transportation of adequate
supplies of bananas over so great a distance
would be impossible, particularly among a net-hunting
community in which the women are
required for hunting as well as gathering. The
[462] archer woman, for whom gathering is a full-time
[222] occupation, might just as well gather in the villager
[184] plantation as in the forest, particularly as,
according to Schebesta (1952, 148), archer
bands are always situated close to villages.
439 More information is badly needed for an accurate
assessment of exactly how fundamental
this trade relationship is and how far it is a
[P. 245-B]

[p.245-c]
mere outward expression of an inevitable relationship brought about by territorial propinquity. It would certainly seem, from both accounts, that there is no question of necessity on either side. The Mbuti *can* gather all they need, and the villagers *can* hunt, without having to go far into the forest, by using traps, pits, spear falls, and other means. 439

SOCIAL LIFE

We indicate above some of the differences in social life that may be attributed to differences in hunting technique, notably because of the cooperative nature of the net hunt. In the material considered in the section on Social Life (pp. 211–223), these differences may be observed more directly. There is not only greater parity between the sexes among the net hunters, but also the father enters more fully into family life than among the archers. We would connect this difference with the lesser importance of the lineage among the net hunters. Schebesta (1948, 306–307) describes a "local group" (i.e., an economic hunting unit) as being primarily a lineage, under the authority of the 184 182 [562] [593] 184 613 621

lineage elder. Owing to the prevailing rules of 184
exogamy, this means that the "local group" is 613
in fact the adult male community, to which are 621
attached the wives and unmarried sisters or
daughters. The "family" is primarily a separate, [594]
if not opposed, unit consisting of mothers and
their children (including boys up to their
nkumbi initiation). Schebesta (1948, 320 ff.)
does not deny the authority of the father in the [593]
family. Indeed, he gives it as a frequent source
of conflict between husband and wife, but it is
authority as a member of the lineage to which
his wife is a stranger rather than authority as a
father. Further, Schebesta (1948, 313 ff.) makes
no mention of women's associations other than
individual friendship of neighbors who may
work and gather together.

The picture we get from Putnam's account is 554
quite different. Among net hunters the band is 184
primarily an economic unit. There is no such 621
highly developed lineage feeling. Authority is [613]
vested not in any representative of the lineage
but rather in the economically important and
valuable members of the group. He stresses the 184
part that women play in group discussions. Al- 621
though their position may appear to be periph- 562
eral, neither he nor Anne Putnam underestimates the weight they carry in any discussion,
[P. 245-D]

[P.246-A]

184 621 562 ostensibly between the group of males sitting together around a campfire. The net-hunting band, then, consists of men and women. There is no hint of any opposition between the individual family and the band.

601 That there is virtually a total absence of any data on kinship terminology is in itself significant. Apparently a classificatory system, if one exists, is in extremely simple form, reduced to generational levels (grandchildren and grandparents, children and parents, and siblings) for each sex. There is no evidence that special terms are used to distinguish between, say, a patrilineal and a matrilineal grandparent. Also, when referring to his wife's brother's child in KiNgwana, an Mbuti calls him, if he uses a term at all, *mutoto*, whereas an Ngwana uses the reciprocal term *muyomba*. But, more frequently, 551 the Mbuti use personal names, distinguished when there is possibility of confusion either by the addition of the name of the patrilineal grandfather (not the ancestor) or by the substitution of a name in another language.

551 Thus in the Epulu region most Mbuti have both
Ngwana and Bira names, not necessarily with
[613] the same meaning. The occasional use of a
grandfather's name is another indication of the
[602] lack of importance attached to lineal ties in this
group, and an indication of the size of the
largest group to which they conceive of themselves
[614] as belonging. Clan names (ancestor
names) exist, but these seem to have little
[103] social significance. Place names are used frequently
[101] to differentiate one hunting band from
another.

621 It is virtually impossible to distinguish any
563 of the alien families that have attached themselves
to a net-hunting band, so completely are
[832] they assimilated. Perhaps the easiest indication
would be open flirtation between members of
the opposite sex within a hunting band. And
621 finally (see below, p. 257, for a fuller treatment),
575 there is the *elima*, the women's religious
562 association which unites the women of the band
182 in opposition to the men (regardless of lineage),
and at the same time acknowledges the common
values of both, so unites them as a single group
in relation to the forest. It also unifies the total
[186] band in relationship to the worlds of spirits,
animals, villagers, and presumably of other
semi-human beings such as Europeans. It never
unifies the band in opposition to other hunting
bands or lineages.

[P 246-B]

[P. 246-C]

Another very striking difference between the 184
archers and the net hunters concerns the initia- 177
tion of boys. As this is treated more fully below 881
(p. 252), we only indicate here the fact of the 608
total absence of any *karé* brotherhood between Pygmy and villager initiates among the net
hunters. Schebesta, on the other hand, places [575]
great importance on this pact for his archers, probably because of his insistence (1952, 281) on the fact that the *nkumbi* initiation is an initiation into the religious association of *toré* for
both Mbuti and villagers. This is denied by [114]
Costermans (1938) for the archers and is contradicted by my own experience among the net hunters. In any case, if there is a difference between the two groups over the significance of *nkumbi* initiation (and it may well be only a difference of interpretation rather than of fact), it does not seem directly related to any difference in hunting technique.

Similarly, with marriage, separation, death, 184
funerals, childbirth, and other occasions with 796
ritual connections, such difference as exists in 177
the two accounts seems to be associated more directly with prevailing differences in villager custom rather than with any inherent differences in the Mbuti communities. This, and the nature and function of the closed associations, are more properly the subject of discussion of the Mbuti-villager relationship rather than the difference between net hunters and archers, which is our main concern here.

POLITICAL LIFE

The fact that authority is vested in the line- 184
age for the archers, and in the great hunters 554
among the net hunters, is mentioned above as
one of the major differences corresponding to
the difference in hunting technique. Also rela- [562]
tive to this difference is the greater emphasis
laid by Putnam on the participation of women
in public discussion among the net hunters. We 578
cannot go beyond this bare observation of fact, 621
however, as there is no recorded description of 627
authority in action beyond one or two isolated
records of conjugal disputes. From these it is
evident how even a private dispute enlarges its
bounds by being taken up by all within earshot
(which means in effect all in the camp), until
everyone is involved. If the dispute is settled be-
fore it reaches these proportions, it can be as-
sumed that it is with the approval of the entire
group, as they are all aware of it whether they

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[P.247-A]

578 have taken part or not. With Schebesta's arch-
621 ers it seems that the lineage elder is the final
627 [184] authority, below which rank the family heads.
[554] Whereas the status of men is related to hunt-
ing ability and to proficiency in the arts of
554 mime, dance, and song, the factors involved in
555 determining the status of women are not clear.
562 Fertility is probably one factor, and, almost
certainly, ability as a singer another, for a good
singer takes a leading part in the *elima* celebra-
554 tions. The *elima* itself may be connected with
881 adult male status, since one of its main features
is the battle between the young men seeking to
gain admission to the *elima* hut and the women
guarding it. Married men may and do take part
in this battle, but there comes a point when a
man has neither the incentive nor, possibly, the
necessary stamina. Anne Putnam writes of one
elderly Mbuti, still active as a hunter, who was
seen to cry during an *elima* festival. In response
to a question he answered: "I fought my way
into many an Alima hut when I was younger.
Now I have no desires. It saddens me" (Put-
[558] nam, 1954, 218). A young man who does not
take part in the *elima* is a subject for ridicule.

554 881 The fact that men go through the not inconsiderable beating inflicted on them by the women in order to gain admission, without ever taking advantage of the young maidens then available to them, is another indication of the function of the *elima* in determining male status.

555 224 Male status depends primarily on skill in the
hunt; this may be deliberately acquired by individual exploits such as elephant hunting.
[439] Among certain bands elephant hunting is a
specialized profession, the ivory being used for
trade. Among the Epulu net hunters it is not so.
It is an exceptional occurrence and, as described by Anne Putnam (1954, 143 ff.), may be
undertaken without any thought for the food or
ivory, at times when the band has no need of
extra meat or of trade with the villagers. On
this occasion the Pygmy hunter admits that he
was frightened. He describes how he killed the
elephant simply because he felt compelled to do
[825] so. This compulsion may have arisen in part by
virtue of his reputation as a great hunter, and
in part from constant opposition between the
human world and the animal world, and the
constant effort of the Mbuti to assert the superiority of the former.

224 825 This latter aspect was also witnessed in the ceremony described by Anne Putnam (1954,

[P. 247-B]

[P. 247-C]

296 ff.), following the killing of a leopard. The 224
dead leopard is tied to a stake, which is surrounded 825
by the men, armed with liana whips and plaited hide thongs. The hunters involved [535]
in the killing of the leopard perform a dance, in the course of which they have to fight their way through to the stake and cut down the carcass of the leopard they have already killed once. In the instance cited the most prominent of the three chief actors had been wounded by the leopard but insisted on taking part though his fellows said that none would call him a coward if he did not. The other two men protected him from the attackers and guarded him as he swung his spear and cut the leopard down. The cutting down is acclaimed by all with a shout of satisfaction. Unfortunately the information does not carry essential details such as which of the men or how many of the band held the leopard as their totem, or as to what relationship, kinship or otherwise, existed between participants in the dance. Possibly the ceremony is propitiatory, but from the information on totemism among these particular Mbuti it seems unlikely. It rather appears as a formal opposition between the human and the animal worlds.

Little can be said of inter-band relationships 628
as there are so few data. Neither type of band 476
has any need to cooperate with neighboring 224
bands for the hunt but may do so on rare occasions 184
when there is a particular profusion of game. Among the archers joint hunting would be necessary in order to make use of the *begbe* beating technique. Among net hunters two or more bands might combine either when the individual bands fall below economic level or when a particular profusion of game requires more nets than are possessed by the single band. With the net hunters such association could become permanent, whereas with the archers it would never be necessary as the band is of such small optimum size.

The difference between the archers and the 184
net hunters in their relationship with the vil- 182
lager tribes, as described by Schebesta and Put- 224
nam, is one of both degree and kind. We have 439
seen that with their less efficient hunting technique the archers must rely more on vegetable products, and how, with the women's sphere limited to gathering, the women have more time and opportunity for gathering from the villager plantations. The less exhaustive and less noisy

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[P 248-A]

184 nature of the hunt also makes possible a more
182 permanent settlement near the village. The
224 trade relationship among the archers, then, as-
439 sumes greater importance and is more formalized. Schebesta further understands it as being an inter-lineage relationship. Putnam, while acknowledging its importance also for the net hunters, says that it is interfamilial and can be broken by either side. The net-hunting technique makes more game available for trade, so there is less demand by villagers upon the net hunters than by the Lese of the archers. The necessity of a more strictly nomadic life also militates against permanent and continuous attachment between the net-hunting Mbuti and any one villager "master."

128 Of the legal system no more can be added to the section dealing with authority and leadership. There are simply not enough data even for comparison of the concepts of property and ownership between the two groups.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

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53 There seem to be no significant points of divergence between archers and net hunters under this heading, except in theory and interpretation of their rationale. In music the archers make much more use of instruments than do the net hunters. Schebesta does not give details of the types of archer song such as given for the net hunters, which does not mean, of course, that such a classification into sacred and secular, for men and for women, does not hold equally well among the archers. [121] It is simply one of the many points on which we need more field data, and it may prove to be an extremely important point when it comes to trying to unravel the contradictions, implicit and explicit, in the material on religious life.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

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114 Here, as in the previous section, the similarity of fact is far greater than the dissimilarity, though this may be obscured by the contradictory nature of various interpretations of the facts. It is here that Schebesta's work is more open to criticism, as it is here that his bias is strongest and here where the material most easily lends itself to interpretation in the light of bias. [575] [192] [776] Costermans (1938) raises an extremely important question when he questions Schebesta's assertion that the *toré* society is an integral part of the religious system of the archers and that Toré is applicable as a term for God.

[P.248-B]

[P. 248-C]

and that Toré is applicable as a term for God. 000

As there is confusion, even among the Mbuti, 771
on questions of religious terminology we can do 121
little by pointing to this or that context. We 181
must go a great deal further and try to discover something of the underlying system of values. In the light of such an inquiry we shall be able to assess better the significance behind the outward differences between the two groups; for instance, differences over the performance of ritual, differences in magical practice, and others. Here we cannot be content with a comparison of outward behavior, for we are dealing with a world of symbolism, and in that symbolic world we can fruitfully compare only the values that underlie the symbols. To do so leads us into the very much wider field of study that is broached in the succeeding and final two sections (pp. 249–272). By attempting to understand something of the Mbuti system of values we may not only hope to understand the significant differences between one type of hunting band and another, but also we may hope to get some idea of the real relationship between both kinds of band and their villager neighbors.

Schebesta (1950, 13) insists that there is a 184
cultural unity among the Ituri Mbuti, which 114
he believes is clearly visible in their magico-religious system. He may well be right. Probably he is, but his method of comparing terminological usage among a number of different Mbuti bands as though he were dealing with self-evident facts, while relying frequently on casual information, does little to support his theories. When dealing with cult practices, he is more concerned with the origin of a particular practice than with its sociological significance. He accepts statements and even legends at their face value and builds his elaborate theories on this flimsy foundation.

In trying to draw any useful comparison be- 184
tween the material on the archers and that for 121
the net hunters, we are constantly confronted with the question of origin. Is this or that cus-
tom or ritual of villager origin? If so, how far [177]
has it been adapted and what significance has it? The latter question is more important for the social anthropologist than the former and is precisely the question we must ask. We are concerned not with the origin of any particular ritual but rather with its significance and its relationship to other practices in a system of related
institutions. Thus when we deal with religious 000
[P. 248-D]

121 Thus when we deal with religious (or any other) institution common to both villager
177 and Pygmy, we necessarily deal with the relationship between these two people. Unless we understand this relationship we cannot possibly understand the institution. We can understand the relationship only by observing something more fundamental than the origin of a particular practice in a specific group, let alone the more obvious facts concerning the trade relationship. As indicated in the present survey, even the *nkumbi* initiation cannot be taken at its face value as far as the Mbuti are concerned.

No aspect of Mbuti life brings the people into more effective contact with their villager neighbors than the field of magic and religion. It seems that this is the field therefore in which we should attempt to understand the systems of values underlying the relationship between these two people.

[P 249-A]

THE MBUTI-VILLAGER RELATIONSHIP

121 177 439 [128] In the preceding sections we dealt with the survey briefly, mainly in order to test the validity of our classification of the Mbuti into net hunters and archers. We deliberately avoided, as far as possible, reference to the Mbuti-villager relationship, although in the final section on religious life it became particularly obvious that this relationship could not be ignored. In Mbuti society a number of institutions in one way or another are associated with or appear to be identical with villager institutions, and we must understand this connection. The only alternative is to assume that the relationship between the two peoples is one of straightforward symbiosis based on an exchange of meat for plantation products and that, in the course of this symbiosis, certain customs have been adopted and are practiced either separately or jointly. This often-drawn picture represents only the outward appearance of the facts. When one tries to understand it as part of a coherent system, however, it can be done only by creating a hypothetical Mbuti social system that is in fact a hodgepodge culled from all over the Ituri area, from which any offending portions are plucked with the excuse that they are of villager origin.

121 177 We must determine, then, the underlying facts, as opposed to the mere outward appearance: the extent to which various institutions have been adopted by the Mbuti; how far their underlying values have also been adopted, or

[P249-B]

[p. 249-c]

how far only the outward form of the custom 121 has been taken over and the values rejected. 177 The most we can do is to clear the ground for such a study. We do so with reference only to the Epulu net hunters (unless otherwise stated), as our information is fullest here.

In the first place, what are the major points of contact between these two poeple? They may be listed as follows:

Material culture
Trade
Magical practice
Dance and festivity
Intermarriage
Ceremonial attendant on birth, puberty, marriage, and death

MATERIAL CULTURE

177 439 The adoption by the Mbuti of various villager items of material culture or technological skill has only one significance for us, which is the extent to which it places the Mbuti in a dependent position. This is difficult to estimate. It is difficult to visualize the Mbuti without metal and hard, though quite possible, to visualize them without plantains. But, even among [178] the net hunters, luxuries tend to become necessities, and we must admit of the trend, if not the accomplished fact, toward economic dependency on the villagers.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

TRADE

The bare facts only are known. The Mbuti Z
supply the villagers with meat and with certain 439
forest products, such as roofing leaves or lianas, 433
in return for plantation products. The villager 177
invariably tries to enforce some service as well, P
with varying degrees of success. Either extreme 439
can be found: cases in which the relationship is 433
formal and binding in fact as well as theory, and 177
those in which the theory is held only by the villagers
and does not correspond to the fact, i.e.,
the Pygmy maintains his side of the trade relationship
only so long as it suits him. In my
experience the latter is the situation far more
often than otherwise.

Then again we must emphasize that trade is
not necessary on either side. The villagers could
perfectly well hunt if they had to, and the Pygmies
could equally well gather all their vegetable P
needs from the forest. Further, contrary [241]
to Schebesta's (1952, 112) assertion, the Mbuti
are perfectly capable of cultivating, given a

[P 249-D]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

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[p. 250-A]

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clear space. Some of the net hunters in the Epulu area have tried, and with success, but quickly lose interest and revert to their old nomadic ways.

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The fact that there is no attempt to equate the supply of meat and the supply of plantains is also significant. Either side gives what it feels like giving, except that the Mbuti believe themselves free to take what they want if it is not given. There is also the Bira custom mentioned by Joset (1947, 13) of giving the first fruits to the Pygmies. The Mbuti seem to have control of this situation. The villagers have no means of preventing the Mbuti from returning to the depths of the forest whenever they wish. When the Pygmy hunting camp is some distance from the village, the villagers may send in to ask for meat, or the chief may even come himself.

Sometimes the villagers try to gain control of the situation by supplying nets and claiming the appropriate share of a net owner. The Mbuti accept the nets, but see to it that only such game falls into them as they think fit. They eventually contest the ownership of the net, claiming to have added to it themselves and thrown away the damaged, village portion.

At most, it seems possible to regard the trade relationship only as one of mutual convenience. By itself, it is far too unformalized and unstable to provide the basis for the remarkably close relationship that does, in fact, exist between the two groups.

MAGICAL PRACTICE

P 177 789 It might be observed that the Pygmies have adopted a number of villager magical practices; certainly some individuals give the appearance of having done so. But we cannot accept this as significant, nor can we relate these practices to other practices in Pygmy society until we understand, for instance, the significance of the old Pygmy who blew his magic whistle vigorously at the sky to prevent rain and who, when it poured, simply shrugged his shoulders and P [829] retreated to the shelter of his hut. This incident may seem trivial, but there are many such incidents that indicate a lack of faith in the efficacy of such magical practices as the Pygmies attempt.

P 224 177 789 Also to be considered, and more important because it brings villager and Pygmy together more directly, is the reported resort to villager witch doctors to improve the hunting. Sche-

Z 789 177 563 [791] [P 250-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P.250-C]

besta (1950, 80) mentions ceremonies performed P 224
by the archers themselves to "open" the forest. 177
There is no evidence of such a practice among 789
the net hunters, but they may call in a villager Z
for the purpose. But here we should consider 789
Pygmy acumen. If he has not been supplying 563
the villagers with meat for some time, yet has 177
been drawing supplies of bananas, he gives as P
his excuse the fact that the hunting has been [439]
poor. Such an excuse is safe enough, as the villagers never accompany the Pygmies on a hunt. Even if the villagers wait for them in the hunting camp, the Pygmies see to it that they never know how much game was actually caught. But the Pygmy may seek to reinforce his position by inviting the villager to improve the hunting. In doing this, he is a step ahead of the villager, who will himself insist on performing the ceremony if hunting is persistently bad. As far as P
one can judge from casual conversation among 224
themselves after such a ceremony, the Mbuti 789
have little faith in it. Further, they have their 533
own method of dealing with any critical situation. If the hunting is really bad they convoke the *molimo*. In effect, they "sing" the hunting well: there is no supplication and no prayer. The song may or may not be accompanied by a dance re-enacting a successful hunt, but, even if so, the stress is laid on the song and the participation of all the hunters.

In so far as individual magic is concerned, it P
seems that its practice among the Mbuti, when 789
taken over from the villager, is of no more significance than our own superstitious crossing of the fingers, touching of wood, or avoidance of
walking under ladders. When Pygmies call in P
villager specialists to perform magic for them, [177]
mainly to improve hunting, we have at least to consider the possibility of a mere political maneuver.

DANCE AND FESTIVITY

Villagers and Pygmies associate frequently at P 527
festive seasons or occasions. Pygmies will at- 177
tend any village festival, and when they have Z
an occasion of their own (such as the killing of 527
an elephant) they first celebrate in their forest 177
camp, then break camp and continue their celebrations in the village. Z

Dance is an important feature of any celebra- P
tion, villager or Pygmy, but in this the two 535
never mix. They watch each other's dances with 177
enjoyment, but take part only in fun. One ex- [881]

[P. 250-D]

[P.251-A]

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ception is the ritual ***makata*** dance which is held only during the *nkumbi.*

Even in ordinary times, when a hunting band is visiting a village, it may come down to the main meeting place in the evening and dance. The villagers expect it and regard it as one of their forms of entertainment, though they say they consider the Pygmy dance barbaric. The Pygmy definitely fills the role of entertainer and is not infrequently called on by the villagers to dance.

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When the two groups meet on both festive and ordinary occasions they keep apart from each other. There is no leisure activity in which they participate together, only a few ritual activities (which are discussed below). The Mbuti camp beside the village, on the edge of the plantation where the forest begins. This physical disposition of the two communities, which seems to be invariable throughout the Ituri, and general Pygmy behavior in the village may well symbolize the contiguous nature of the relationship between the two peoples, as opposed to any close symbiosis such as was alleged by Schebesta.

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INTERMARRIAGE

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144 As pointed out above, this traffic is one-way.
582 There are no records of Pygmy men taking
Z villager wives, nor any acknowledged instances
144 of Pygmy men begetting children by villager
563 mistresses. Blood counts (Schebesta, 1938, 111),
582 however, reveal a small proportion of villager
influence in hunting communities, which may
or may not be accounted for by the return of
the half-breed offspring from the village to the
P forest. Normally the children of such unions are
Z brought up as villagers. The father will, to the
[851] best of his ability, prevent children by his
Pygmy wife from returning to the forest, and
apparently the Pygmies themselves regard such
children as villagers.

Z There are not enough data on individual
P intermarriage for us to determine how far this
582 one-way tendency is a form of hypergamy. It
may, in fact, simply be the result of the practical
consideration that no villager woman could
fulfill the requirements of a woman and wife in
a Pygmy hunting camp. Even if the latter is the
P case, it does not answer the question as to why
582 a Pygmy girl should marry a villager.
186 Unfortunately, there is no evidence that gives us even
the hint of an answer. There is certainly no

[P.251-B]

[P.251-C]

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general acceptance of villager superiority among the Mbuti, although some individuals may rarely seek to increase their status by emulating their villager neighbors. From general observation I would say that the hunting band tolerates an occasional marriage to a villager because of its economic and political advantages, to which they are very alive and of which they take full advantage when it suits them. They receive little payment for the girl they give (a fraction of what the villager would give another villager), but they consider that they then have a villager they can well and truly "eat."

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CEREMONIAL ATTENDANT ON BIRTH, INITIATION, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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All the areas of contact between the Mbuti and their villager neighbors so far mentioned have been in or near the village. This point is of no small importance. The Pygmies always make the move, make contact or break it, and they take care that, apart from occasional visits from villager individuals to their hunting camp, all contact takes place in the village. Also, the areas of contact so far described could all be explained away at a more or less superficial level. The degree to which trade and adoption of villager magical practices and beliefs actually affect the forest life of the Mbuti is bound to vary from band to band. But among the Epulu net hunters, at least, the points of contact described above have not affected their nomadic way of life unduly.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

These Mbuti, however, just as much as oth- Z
ers, *appear* to have adopted villager religious 563
beliefs and practices. This could be taken as 776
symptomatic of a much closer relationship in- P
volving a shared system of values. We cannot 177
help noticing, further, that by retaining a mo- 776
nopoly of ritual specialists the villagers effec-
tively seem to assert their superiority over the P
Mbuti. When birth or death takes place among Z
the Mbuti while they are in the vicinity of the [844]
village, the local villagers take a prominent part [764]
in the appropriate festivities, appropriate ac- [765]
cording to their custom, that is. Marriage be- P
tween Pygmies, while not always subject to 583
ceremonial "ratification" in the village, is usu- 585
ally performed twice: once according to the 177
simple Mbuti custom of arranging and effecting Z
an exchange of brides with the necessary cour- 563
tesies of prestation and feasting but with no 585
other ceremonial; and once according to the

[P.251-D]

P [P.252-A]
583 local villager custom. The latter ceremony is
585 conducted entirely by the villagers and at their
177 expense. On these occasions the villager takes
Z the leading part and carries out his own ritual,
563 but the Pygmy does not let this supplant his
585 own indigenous way of recognizing the event.
The villager ceremony is something the Pygmy
adds to his own.

P With initiation the situation may seem to be
177 different. The Mbuti have not only adopted the
881 villager custom of initiation accompanied by
575 circumcision, known as *nkumbi*, but they attend
Z the same initiation schools which are always
563 run by villagers, never by Pygmies. Initiation
881 is nothing if not entry into a very definite indig-
575 enous system of values, yet here we have the Mbuti placing themselves in a totally subordinate position. The *nkumbi*, according to Schebesta (1952, 281), initiates the youth, Pygmy or villager, into membership of the Lese *toré* association (for the archers) or its Bira equivalent, the *molimo* (for the net hunters). The function

P of this association is not clear from his various
177 accounts, but he is emphatic that it is closely
881 connected with religious belief and practice. If
575 so, then he would be perfectly justified in stating,
Z as he does (Schebesta, 1952, 278), that
563 nothing has made the Mbuti so dependent on
881 the villager as the *nkumbi*. It would all fall
575 neatly into the picture he gives, or tries to give,
of a clear-cut symbiotic relationship between
the two peoples.

P Schebesta (1952) describes initiation for the
177 net hunters. All that he says would be confirmed
881 by casual observation of the practice of *nkumbi*
Z 563 in the Epulu District, among the net hunters
881 and their Bira neighbors. As may be seen in the
P survey, however, there is one striking difference
Z between the account by Putnam and that
[114] by Schebesta, and that is the lack in Putnam's
[608] description of any institution such as *karé*
brotherhood. Apart from this, from Putnam's
detailed account of the 1935–1936 *nkumbi* at
Kokonyange and from my own observations of
the *nkumbi* at Effundi Somali's village (near
Epulu) in 1951, there would be nothing to contradict
Schebesta's fact or theory. The Pygmy
boys appear to go through the *nkumbi* on equal
terms with the villager boys, except that the
ceremony, instruction, and the camp itself are
run entirely by the villagers and according to a
custom that is generally acknowledged to be of
villager (probably Bira) origin.

[P 252-B]

[p. 252-C]

In the survey, in giving my own account of the next *nkumbi* (1954) that I witnessed in the Epulu District, I show how, under peculiar circumstances, when no villagers are present in the initiation camp, the Mbuti men and boys take the opportunity to mock both the villagers and their ceremony. This burlesque would not be enough in itself to indicate that the Mbuti completely rejected the *nkumbi* or, indeed, that they are doing any more than many individuals or groups do who occupy subordinate positions.[1] I suggest, however, in the survey, that there is such a rejection, and that the Mbuti undergo the *nkumbi* in order to acquire status in villager society; further, that the *nkumbi* for them is quite dissociated from initiation into the *molimo* association. 114 186 881 [554] (171)

In order to follow this important point further, as it is one of the most significant pieces of information we have on the villager-Mbuti relationship, I must refer to a full account of the 1954 *nkumbi*, compiled from my field notes (Turnbull, 1957). From this we get sufficient indications to justify a rejection of Schebesta's analysis of Mbuti participation in the *nkumbi*.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

This analysis, in any case, could stand only by isolating the ***nkumbi*** or by relating it only to other villager institutions in the villager society. When we try to relate the ***nkumbi*** to Pygmy institutions, Schebesta's interpretation cannot hold. P 174 186 881

In the 1954 ***nkumbi*** there was a very evident divorce between initiative and authority. The villagers took most of the initiative; they decided when the ***nkumbi*** should be held and made all the necessary arrangements. Villagers carried out the operations and gave all the instruction. But their authority over the Pygmy *ganza* (members of the ***nkumbi***) was far from complete. The Pygmies decided which boys should take part, without reference to the villagers; though they made use of Effundi Somali, a village chief, to reinforce their own demand that a certain boy should take part (Turnbull, 1957, 197). During and following the operation, the Mbuti fathers acted contrary to villager custom and in the face of villager disapproval by comforting their children. Both fathers and children ignored the various taboos imposed by the vil- Z 563 881 P 177 881 186

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[1] The burlesquing attitude of the Mbuti is significant but could possibly be interpreted merely as a psychological reaction to subordination. It is in the light of other facts that we think differently.

[P. 252-D]

[P.253-A]

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lagers when it suited them to do so. In the dispute over the visit of the *ganza* to the forest hunting camp, the villagers were quite unable to enforce their will or even to enforce the compromise they finally effected with the Mbuti. The villagers themselves made no major decisions concerning the arrangement or carrying out of the *nkumbi* without at least discussing the matter with the Pygmy fathers. No difference was observable in the preparations or the ceremony that could be attributed to the fact that Mbuti only were being initiated.

The account given shows not only the extent to which the villagers were unable to control the *ganza*, but also the thoroughness with which they attempted to dominate the initiation. Despite the fact that the *ganza* were entirely Pygmy, for the villagers the *nkumbi* was nonetheless sacred. They were interested in the *nkumbi* itself rather than in the individuals participating. Whether or not the villagers thought that by initiating the Mbuti they were subjecting them to tribal and supernatural authority is uncertain, though Schebesta (1952, 278; 1948, chap. 7) so suggests. The evidence considered here suggests that the villagers not only lacked control over the Pygmy *ganza*, but were not particularly rigorous in maintaining it, except in so far as any desecration of the initiation camp or the *nkumbi* itself was concerned. It seems that the villager was primarily interested in the *nkumbi* as a tribal festival; if any subordination of the Pygmies took place, it was incidental.

177 186 881 Similarly any subordination on the part of the Pygmies was incidental and insignificant, though they lost no opportunity for maintaining their individuality when their feelings clashed with those of the villagers. Unlike the latter, they had no interest in the ***nkumbi*** as such. This lack of interest was manifest from the outset, when the village was in a state of festive turmoil in preparation for the ceremony, and the Pygmy camp was unchanged. This lack of interest was frequently manifest as total disrespect. Apart from the breaking of such touch and food taboos as were imposed by villager custom, and the general burlesquing among the *ganza* as described in the account, there was the attitude of the rest of the Mbuti band—notably the women and children. The [857] young children in their forest camp found a new game to play. They were the ***ganza***, imitating all

[P 253-B]

the major aspects of life in the initiation camp, 177
including some of the ordeals. They not only 186
knew the initiation songs, but were taught them 881
by their mothers, who even more than their [857]
uninitiated male children were supposed to be
in complete ignorance of such matters.

When the *ganza* moved to the forest, the 177
instructors did not come with them, and the 881
ganza had only occasional visits from one villager
who stayed in the nearby Mbuti hunting
camp. There were no ordeals during this time,
no singing except when visited by the solitary
villager, and no other form of instruction by the
Pygmies to replace that of the villagers. The
boys did not accompany the hunt. It seemed to [527]
be, for both children and the adult members of
the *ganza*, a holiday camp, free from the rigors
of the initiation school.

But if the Mbuti showed no respect for the 177
ceremonial or ritual significance of the *nkumbi*, 861
they could scarcely avoid respecting the physical 881
discipline imposed by the various ordeals
they had to undergo. This was a frequent topic

of conversation. Both by their conversation and [177
their behavior they showed that they were well 86
aware of the benefit of this training for the
children. The older men talked of ordeals that 881]
their "fathers" had experienced (apparently without reference to any villager *nkumbi*) in order to make them into men and hunters (both terms were used). They were always critical of any sign of excessive harshness on the part of the villager instructors and protected their children from it. But, on the other hand, the fathers showed no sympathy for a boy who could not endure the normal rigors of camp life and accept the routine ordeals without complaint, and it will be remembered that the boy who became ill himself insisted on returning to his place among the other boys before he had completely recovered (Turnbull, 1957).

It is, at the moment, an open question [554]
whether the Mbuti respect the physical discipline of the *nkumbi* because of its effect on the boys, or because of the status it gives their children in the eyes of the villagers, under normal circumstances equating the Mbuti (at least in terms of manliness) with their fellow villager initiates. The fact that no ordeals were practiced in the forest camp is perhaps an indication that the Mbuti do not lay very much stress on the physical and mental training aspect of the *nkumbi*. These are, in any case, benefits that

[p. 253-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

P [P.254-A]
177 they could quite well achieve in their own way.
881 Such practical benefits as there may be do not
861 demonstrate why the Mbuti should participate
Z in the villager *nkumbi* any more than does the
[563] often alleged subordination of the Mbuti to
villager authority and custom. The obvious
rejection by the Mbuti of the significance attributed to the *nkumbi* by the villager and the relatively passive acceptance by the villager of this rejection serve only to emphasize the hiatus between the two people. They certainly do not demonstrate that the *nkumbi* serves to draw them closer together or to assert the authority of the villager over the Pygmy.

P This hiatus becomes even more evident when
Z we consider the religious aspect of the *nkumbi*,
181 as far as the Mbuti are concerned. It is a hiatus
182 not only between two ways of living but be-
881 tween two ways of thinking, and it shows that
we are dealing with two totally different sets of values. What the *nkumbi* achieves for the village boy bears little resemblance to what it achieves for the Pygmy. Ceremonial, ritual, and magic are ways of interpreting or influencing the supernatural in terms of the natural, and in his forest environment the Pygmy has relatively little need of either. It is not surprising then that his attitude to the ceremonial and ritual of the *nkumbi* differs from that of the villager. To

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

To
Z the villager the masked dancers described in the
182 account of the 1954 *nkumbi* (Turnbull, 1957,
881 193) represent the *ngosa* bird, indicating the
776 presence of a benevolent spirit. Similarly, the
778 bullroarer represents supernatural power. The
[825] various taboos applied to the *ganza* express
[532] village subordination to that power which is
[535] sufficiently strong to prevent the villagers from
staying in the camp over night even though it
meant allowing an already unruly *ganza* further
scope for getting out of control. The *nkumbi*
places the villager initiates in a definite rela-
Z tionship to the supernatural. It is closely con-
[769] nected with tribal lore and the ancestor cult.

P The Pygmies have no tribal lore and no an-
177 cestor cult. To them the masked dancers were
881 the villagers, André and Sabani, and the bull-
776 roarer was a piece of wood whirled around on
778 the end of a length of twine. The "*ngosa* bird"
829 and the "voice of the spirit," for the Mbuti,
were neither "real" nor did they represent any
reality. They were empty and rather ineffective
theatrical devices, an opinion evidenced both by
conversation among the ganza at
night and in their constant
burlesque.
[P. 254-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P. 254-C]

conversation among the *ganza* at night and in their constant burlesque. 000

Schebesta (1948, 508–510) says that, for the archers, the *toré* association has both social and religious functions and that membership is common to both villagers and Pygmies through the *nkumbi* initiation. Among the net hunters the term *molimo* is used instead of the term *toré*, and among the Bira villagers the word has apparently similar usage. Thus the *molimo* horn is an instrument that is sacred to both villagers and Mbuti. The villager *molimo* normally makes itself heard during the *nkumbi*, when the young initiates are introduced to it for the first time. It made no appearance at all during the all-Pygmy 1954 *nkumbi*. Evidently it was unable to appear as there were no villager boys among the *ganza*, and the villager *molimo* has a distinct totemic aspect that excludes the Mbuti. Yet for the Mbuti, in particular, the instrument is associated with their most profound magico-religious concepts, and it is inconceivable that they should regard the *nkumbi* as initiation into their own religious society without the inclusion of their version of the *molimo* horn.

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1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

"Initiation" in its broadest sense implies P
admission to some form of exclusive association 881
or adoption of a certain system of values. The 1954 *nkumbi* cannot be regarded as initiation for the Mbuti under this definition. Although the circumstances were unusual, in that no villager boys were available to share the *nkumbi* with the Pygmy boys, it is precisely this factor that throws a new light on the more usual joint participation of both groups. If it is not "initiation" for the Mbuti, what is it?

We seem to be in the presence of an attempt P
to maintain or establish some kind of common Z
ground between two neighboring peoples who 177
can find no common values, yet who inevitably 181
come into contact with each other. We have P
seen that the original point of contact was the Z
use of the Mbuti, by warring villagers, as mer- 17
cenary soldiers, spies, and scouts. While acting 439
in this capacity the Mbuti were necessarily dependent on the villagers for food supplies. The Mbuti were also used by the villagers to hunt elephant and to bring in tusks for the ivory trade. But, with the cessation of tribal warfare and the government control of ivory, these relationships came to an end. The villager no longer had any use for the Pygmy, who in

[P. 254-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P·255-A]

P turn was free to return to his nomadic existence.
Z We can suppose that the present relationship
17 between the villagers and the Mbuti originated
439 in this way and not in economic dependence or physical subjugation. Whereas it was once a clear patron-client relationship, it now seems to have no such clear basis, either economic or political.

P There is, among both the archer and the net-
439 hunter Mbuti, a trade relationship with the
184 villagers, but this now appears to be economically artificial rather than necessary. Particularly among the net hunters, who are more nomadic than the archers, this trade relationship is little more than one of mutual
P convenience. By itself, trade does not provide a
Z sufficiently stable basis for Pygmy-villager
177 interaction. The spasmodic nature of contact
648 between the two peoples complicates the issue
P further. Also, because of their nomadic exis-
B21 tence and the loose structure of band composition, any Pygmy net hunter establishes relationships with villagers in different villages, quite possibly of different tribes. It seems that greater stability is precisely one objective that Mbuti participation in the *nkumbi* achieves, for this festival is common to the majority of the tribes in the area.

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

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If we look at the situation in reverse, the fact that the Mbuti simultaneously participate in the *nkumbi* and reject its significance indicates the instability of their relationship with the villagers. The villagers would undoubtedly like to assert their superiority but are unable to maintain effective control over the nomadic Mbuti, either as individuals or in bands, during the *nkumbi* or at any other time. The *nkumbi,* however, does at least place the villagers in an overt position of dominance. On the other hand, the Mbuti would like to be completely free from subordination to the villagers, yet they find it as necessary to submit to initiation in villager society as the villagers find it necessary to accept them as candidates. The *nkumbi* undoubtedly gives the villagers an opportunity to drive the first blow in asserting their superiority over the Mbuti, but at the same time it gives the Pygmy status, as well as economic benefits, in any village throughout the region. It also strengthens his own identity as a Pygmy by enabling him to reject the villager system of values in mimetic burlesque. The 1954 *nkumbi* shows the extent to which these particular Mbuti preserve their "in-group" feeling.

[P 255-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P. 255-C]
shows the extent to which these particular 000
Mbuti preserve their "in-group" feeling.

A Pygmy net-hunting band is powerfully P
integrated yet fluid, and its contact with alien 621
societies is necessarily unformalized. Less well- 648
knit bands, such as may be found among the 170
archers described by Schebesta, may find it [184]
possible to enter into some kind of symbiotic Z
relationship with the villagers, but not so an [563]
active, nomadic, net-hunting band. Some kind
of relationship must be established because of
the inevitability of contact. As the smaller,
more powerfully integrated group, the Pygmies
must make the move to fit into the larger, looser
group. But there is no question of absorption;
the smaller group preserves its identity. The
nkumbi, and participation in or adoption of
other villager ceremonies, provide the Mbuti
with an opportunity both for establishing a
place in villager society and for asserting their
independent set of values by opposition. The P
antagonism that remains and is even heightened Z
by this opposition is smoothed over to some [439]
extent by the secondary mechanism by which
the two groups attempt to express their rela-
tionship-Mutal trade

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

tionship—mutual trade. Trade may be an initial step in the direction of the symbiosis described by Schebesta (1941, 263) for the archers and their Lese neighbors. Joint participation in the *nkumbi* indicates no more than a willingness on both sides to acknowledge an unavoidable relationship based, as much as anything, on mere territorial propinquity.

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What at first appears to be a conformity by the Mbuti to villager custom now appears as a superficial conformity at best and one that barely conceals a detachment of two ways of life. By his participation in the *nkumbi*, and, we may suspect, in other villager institutions, the Mbuti shows his willingness to accept an outwardly subordinate position in villager society. This acceptance is partly responsible for the popular notion that the relationship is one of master-servant or patron-client. His rejection of the inner significance of the ceremonial shows not only a superficiality in the process of acculturation and assimilation but a conscious effort on the part of the Pygmy to keep his two worlds apart—the sacred world of the forest, with one set of values, and the profane world of the villager, invader of the forest, with another set of values. The Epulu Mbuti, at least, have

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[P. 255-D]

[P. 256-A]

177 18 as yet assumed village values in name only, and only for the duration of their contact outside the forest where their own values do not apply.

177 18 121 [881] This interpretation of the function of the *nkumbi* initiation ceremony as providing an outward symbol of the association of two neighboring peoples that, for one reason or another, come into contact and cooperate is very similar to the interpretation by Peristiany (1951, 299) of initiation among the Pokot and Karamajong: "The recognition of a common system of age ranks by these two neighbouring peoples permits them to move with ease in each other's society and allows, during peace-time, the extension of social bonds and the obliteration of cultural frontiers."

[771] In the Ituri such a statement could also apply to relationships not only between Mbuti and villagers but between neighboring village tribes themselves, such as the Ndaka, Bira, and Lese.

177 881 18 We indicate above that the *nkumbi* could not be considered as "initiation" by the Mbuti who practice it, as it does not admit them to any exclusive (villager) association or to any exclusive system of values, except possibly on a superficial level. We also suggest that the

177 *nkumbi* offers the Mbuti an opportunity for as-
881 serting their individuality at the same time
18 that they are subordinating themselves to the
villagers, by asserting an independent system of values. In the *nkumbi*, as in other villager ceremonies practiced by the Mbuti, there is an opposition between the pygmaean forest world and the non-forest world of the villagers. This subject is dealt with in the final section; here a word should be said about the forest values themselves.

575 In the survey we mention two exclusive associations to which the net-hunting Mbuti are admitted—the *molimo* for the men, and the *elima* for the women. As far as our observations go, there is no reason at all for connecting the Mbuti *molimo* association with the *lusumba* or the *molimo* of the neighboring Bira and Ndaka. They may or may not have similar origins, but in the present situation they seem entirely dissociated. We may well suspect that this is also
575 true of the archers' *toré* society. It is certain, at
881 all events, that the *nkumbi* by itself does not
initiate Mbuti boys into membership of the *molimo* (by this term I always refer to the Mbuti institution unless otherwise stated). At the end of the 1954 *nkumbi* the boys all reverted

[P 256-B]

[P.256-C]

to their previous status in the Pygmy camp and 575
even returned to the care and authority of their 881
mothers. None of these boys was allowed to 882
take part in subsequent meetings of the *molimo*. 885
The reason—they were not "hunters," they had 224
not killed "real animals" (i.e., animals large [575]
enough to be worth distributing among the
band, as opposed to the small animals caught
by children and that are not worth dividing
except within the family). To kill "real animals,"
usually antelope, a boy must be old enough to
be allowed to wander away from his father
during the hunt and to try his luck at either
end of the semicircle of nets, where animals
might escape and be shot with bow and arrow,
speared, or caught with the hands.

Entry into the *molimo* therefore depends on 575
a combination of physical growth and prowess. 885
Boys seem to qualify by the time they reach
the age of 14. Once a member, one is a full member; there is no hierarchy within the *molimo*; like the *elima* it is a religious association without priests. There is no ritual to be performed; all members play the same part in the meetings of the association with the exception of one who is delegated to play the *molimo* horn. The choice invariably falls on the best performer present, without regard for age or other qualifications.

The primary purpose of the *molimo* for the 575
Pygmies is to maintain and to restore normality 796
in the forest. (We must ignore its possible social 182
function at the moment because of insufficient 533
information.) It fulfills its purpose through song 534
and by the use of the *molimo* horn. The association [778]
may meet informally any evening as the
men sit around the main campfire. They may
sing *molimo* songs as well as hunting songs, but
the horn will not be heard. Women and children [562]
are not excluded from the group, though, as is [858]
their normal habit, they usually keep to their
own individual firesides. The association meets
formally following any crisis such as death,
serious illness, or exceptionally poor hunting.
Women and children are then rigidly excluded, [562]
and the *molimo* horn is used. These formal occasions [858]
compel the attendance of all members.
Adult members of the hunting band who are
away come back; adult male visitors to the
camp take part.

There is no formal body of magical belief and 789
practice among the net hunters, nor, according
to Schebesta (1952, 337), among the archers.
[P. 256-D]

[P. 257-A]

789 For the net hunters, the *molimo* is their only
575 means of dealing with the unknown, with situa-
796 tions for which they have no practical, immedi-
ately effective remedy. Individuals may and do
indulge in the spontaneous practice of sympa-
thetic magic, but this is informal and unsys-
tematized. The *molimo* (and the *elima* to a
lesser extent) may be considered "magical" in
that the meeting of the association in proper
circumstances is believed to restore normality
to a situation that has in some way deviated.
[562] The "proper circumstances" to which I refer
(858) seem to be the non-participation of women and
[865] children, the attendance of all adult male mem-
(533) bers of the band, the use of special songs and
the *molimo* horn, persistence in nocturnal meet-
ings of the association, and constant reiteration
of the songs until normality is restored. As far
[784] as is known, although certainty is lacking, the
meeting of the association, which may last for
a month, is not accompanied by any taboos on
hunting or gathering, eating, or sexual activity.
[562] Some doubt exists also as to the position of
women with regard to the *molimo*.

796 If this is magic, it is totally different from the
776 kind of magic practiced by the villagers, for
778 which the Mbuti reserve an attitude of skeptical
amusement. Whatever it is, it shows a very
782 different attitude to the forest from that of the
575 villagers. My interpretation of the *molimo*,
[829] from the meetings I have attended and the conversations
I have overheard, is that it is an
association of hunters that has the power of
making itself heard by the God of the Forest.
This God is referred to by many different
names, even within the same band, and, as
frequently as not, is simply referred to as "The
Forest," also, though less often, as "Father"
and "Grandfather." The association must fulfill
[533] the conditions listed above in order to make
[534] itself heard; the *molimo* horn used in conjunction
with song is the focal point of the meetings.
[562] Women and children are presumably excluded,
because hunting, the most important of all
[858] activities to the Mbuti and regarded by him as
such, is primarily the province of men, and the
God of the Forest is also God of the Hunt.[1] The
dominant note of the meetings is unanimity
and insistence. All hunters must attend. They
sit in a tight group around the fire as if by this

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[1] It might be expected that, as the net hunt involves cooperation between both sexes, the women would have some part to play in the *molimo* among net hunters, at least.

[D 257-B)

[p. 257-c]

physical disposition they are emphasizing their 796
unity. Their means of communication are spe- 776
cial songs, as mentioned in the survey, sacred to 778
the *molimo*. These songs are not phrased in 782
terms of explicit supplication. They merely call 575
on the God of the Forest by constant repetition 796
of his name (frequently changing from one 776
name to another, it seems for the sake of variety 778
and euphony), and an occasional recitation of 782
his qualities as the source of all good in the 533
Mbuti life is given. This song is echoed by the 575
molimo horn, which is far off in the forest, though it may, in the course of the meeting, visit the camp. The song is picked up by the lone performer who follows it, singing it into the horn, passing it on still farther into the forest, finally letting it die away into the distance.

In this way the Mbuti make sure that their song is heard. Sung in this way, the song itself rouses their God from an apparent state of sleep or detachment, bringing him to a consciousness of the plight of his children. This, for the Mbuti, is sufficient. There is no attempt to ask for favors. The God of the Forest is the source of all that is good and bad, so that, as long as he is conscious of what is happening, the Mbuti are content. But they say that sometimes he sleeps, and when he is asleep things come to pass that might have been prevented had he been awake. The *molimo* makes sure he is awake.

With the *elima* it is similar. All adult women 575
are members, and participation is compulsory 796
in one's own camp or when visiting another. [885]
Communication with the forest God is again
established by means of songs, special and sacred [533]
to the *elima*. However, the men take part. [776]
The *elima* meets on occasions of major concern [778]
to womenfolk—birth, arrival at the age of puberty,
marriage, and death. Thus at birth and
death, both the *elima* and the *molimo* are concerned.
(As mentioned, however, the occasion
of birth is little marked by ritual of any kind.)
Both associations meet in the forest camp but
out of sight of each other. The *elima* meets in
the large *elima* hut or in a cluster of neighboring
huts. Young children may be present. The exception, [858]
when the men take part in the meeting
of the *elima*, is during the initiation of a girl.

In the survey we give an account of *elima* 881
initiation (p. 216). If the *nkumbi* is not the initiation 885
into the *molimo*, we must look elsewhere 224
for this. When a boy kills his first "real animal,"
he is immediately acclaimed as a hunter, and 575
[P. 257-D]

[P. 258-A]

881 hunters are *de facto* members of the *molimo*. I
885 have never witnessed nor been told of any formal
224 rite introducing the new hunter to the association,
575 and I do not believe that there is any
such rite. The boy already knows all the *molimo*
songs and has probably been allowed, for the
past year or so, to sit with the men during the
informal meetings of the association. The only
881 act that might be regarded as a formal token of
885 initiation is the cutting of three sets of three
304 vertical slits in the flesh of the forehead, each
575 side of the eyes or above the eyebrows, and
above the nose. The flesh is gouged out with an
arrow, and a black paste is rubbed in. The
wound heals smoothly, leaving black streaks
under the skin. The operation is performed
without any formality by one of the "great
hunters," that is, one who has killed buffalo or
elephant. The initiate, if he can be called such,
becomes the immediate object of interest to the
womenfolk, as he is now considered marriageable.
But the marks themselves do not qualify
him for membership in the *molimo*, nor does
their absence debar him from taking part. All
that seems to be required is public recognition
of his having killed "real game," marked by the
kind of feasting and dancing that always follows
a particularly successful hunt.

881 The contrast between the more formal *elima* initiation and this informal initiation into the *molimo* requires explanation, and more needs to be known about the function of these associations before any such explanation can be offered. It may be, in part, a consequence of the participation of Pygmy boys in the *nkumbi*; it may be that, as Schebesta (1957, 78) suggests, the *elima* (*elimo*) is of villager origin and has been adopted by the Pygmies. Or it may be that we have underestimated the part played by the young men in the *elima* festival described (p. 216). It is for both girls and boys, equally, a formal occasion recognizing their physical maturity and their prowess—the girls as proficient in womanly art and the boys as proficient in physical strength and endurance.

575 [881] Until further material is available it is impossible to elaborate on initiation among the Mbuti. It is sufficient to show that, among the net hunters at least, religious associations there exist for men and women, each with some form of initiation practiced without the aid or presence of villagers, whatever the origin of the actual ceremonies. The function of these asso-

[P 258-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

The function of these associations[1] is to regulate the relationship of these 575
Mbuti with their forest world, to maintain the 182
normality of that relationship and to restore it 796
when disturbed, by rousing the God of the For- 778
est from his sleep by song, echoed into the forest 776
by means of the *molimo* horn in the case of 553
formal meetings of the men's association. This god is the source of good and bad, and it is therefore sufficient to waken him. There is no [782]
formal supplication phrased in words as such.

The *molimo* and *elima* are distinct from vil- 575
lage association with similar names and from 177
whatever association it is into which the *nkumbi* initiates the villagers. Mbuti participation in the *nkumbi*, as in other village ceremonies, is part of the mutual attempt of two peoples forced together by historical reasons and present territorial juxtaposition to regularize their relationship, each to his own satisfaction. Trade [439]
is another such expression of their relationship; it is not the basis of it. Further, participation in [881]
the *nkumbi* involves an opposition between two [554]
sets of values (those of the villagers and those [171]
of the Mbuti taking part), as *nkumbi* initiation [181]
does not qualify the Mbuti for entry into his own religious association nor accord him any status in his own society. It enables him to move as an adult in villager society and gives the two peoples some common ground involving a superficially subordinate position for the Mbuti.

[1] [Molimo and Elima associations --Analyst]

[p. 258-C]

Finally, it is worth taking very brief note of the function of music among the net-hunting Mbuti in so far as it throws light on their participation in the *nkumbi* and village society in general. 533 182

Music in the forest is almost entirely vocal. Drums may be used if within easy reach of the village, from which they are borrowed or stolen. [534] But drums are never used for formal meetings of the *molimo* and *elima*; rhythm is given out by wooden clappers. None of this song can be said to be secular, as it is all related to the forest. The extreme importance attached to song is most plainly seen in its usage for the *molimo* and *elima*. It is mentioned above in the survey how the Mbuti consecrate a marriage ceremony that is performed in the village according to villager custom, by singing the songs of the *elima*, welcoming the bride to the women's religious association in her new home. We also see how the *elima* songs mark the arrival of Mbuti girls at the age of puberty. *Molimo* songs mark

[P 258-D]

533 any major crisis affecting the community as a
182 whole. But, as well as these religious activities,
both major economic activities, hunting and
gathering, are also consecrated by special types
of song. It is inconceivable that the Mbuti, who
accompany every important event in their lives
with song, should not consecrate the initiation
533 of their boys in this same way. But for the
881 *nkumbi* they have no music at all. As we have
182 said, in 1954 the *molimo* horn was not heard,
and no *molimo* songs were sung. I suggest that
other initiations, in which the horn and songs
are heard, are in connection with villager institutions
to which the village boys are being initiated.
The only conclusion we can draw is that
for the Mbuti the *nkumbi* is not sufficiently significant
in their forest life to merit consecration
by forest song.

533 This is closely paralleled by the absence of
182 forest music (songs of the *molimo* and *elima*,
hunting-and-gathering songs) when the Mbuti
181 are camped on the edge of a village. When they
do, the Mbuti themselves behave as different
people. In the forest they feel and observe a
[778] certain restraint. Their songs are related to and
emphasize their supreme value—the forest.
Their daily activities are dominated by the forest
and the hunt and the need for close cooperation.

533 tion. Once in the village, however, forest values
are cast off. Interpersonal relationships become
177 looser; the hunting band as such disintegrates
178 into so many individual families; forest norms
18 of behavior are cast to the winds; forest song is
[621] abandoned. Drum-dance replaces forest music
entirely. This is the type of dance and music described by Schebesta (1941, 245). It is never heard in a forest hunting camp among the net hunters, only in the neighborhood of the village. It seems that the Mbuti regard the village primarily as a place for eating, drinking, and making merry, free from the rigors, however pleasurable, of forest life. These rigors demand periods of relaxation. I have suggested that the honey season was once a major holiday season for the Mbuti but that visits to the village are now taking its place.

177 Through their relationship with the villagers,
18 the Mbuti find an opportunity for relaxation,
an excursion into the profane world, a period of
533 license which ends, however, in a re-alignment
and re-affirmation of the values of their own sacred world of the forest, all quite dramatically seen in the way in which a visit to the vil-

[P. 259-B]

[P. 259-C]

lage often comes to an end. After a few days or weeks of drinking and dancing, one evening the drum-dance is replaced by song, probably a subdued hunting song sung by a group of dejected-looking Pygmies sitting around a fire in their village camp. They get increasingly melancholy until one evening, probably a day or two after they have stopped drum-dancing, they start singing *molimo* songs. The next morning they are suddenly full of life again, and, despite all protests from the villagers, they pack their few belongings and return to the forest, singing loudly as they go. 177 18 533 [152]

The evidence considered suggests that there is a dissociation of two sets of values for the Mbuti—those that apply to the village and those that apply to the forest. The two sets of values, corresponding to two worlds, are accompanied by two modes of behavior. It is a case of culture contact without acculturation; such villager institutions as the Mbuti seem to adopt are adopted and are significant only with reference to their village life. The relationship between the two people is, on the one hand, characterized by various attempts to formalize it through trade, participation in various ceremonies and activities, and, on the other hand, it is characterized by a sharp opposition of two different sets of values. This opposition is an opposition of the forest to the non-forest; the humans, to the animals; the Mbuti, to the villagers. 177 18 121

In the final section we consider some legends collected by Anne Putnam among these same Mbuti, and observe in them more of the Mbuti attitude to the villagers and how they equate themselves, as humans, with the forest and with "good" animals, as opposed to the villagers who are associated with destructive animals and *satani*. 128 186 539

MBUTI VALUES AS SEEN IN LEGEND

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In order to understand the Pygmy values more clearly, and to assess how far the Mbuti rejection of villager values is effectively valid and how far it is merely the psychological reaction of a subordinate people, it is worth considering a collection of nearly 200 legends noted down by Anne Putnam during the last years of her stay in the Ituri. These were all related by four of the more important hunters belonging to an Epulu net-hunting band. I myself have heard many of them told by these same hunters [181] [186] [177] 539 114

[P.259-D]

[P. 260-A]

539 114 and by others. Although only a limited though representative selection of the legends is presented, a word should be said about the way the legends are told and the way these particular examples were collected and translated (Turnbull, 1959).

539 114 126 The original manuscripts were prepared under extremely difficult conditions by Mrs. Putnam while living in one of the Mbuti hunting camps. No typewriter was available. Apart from the physical difficulty of making a longhand rendition of the legends, as they were told, was the problem of translation. Mrs. Putnam did the only thing anyone except a proficient linguist could do, she translated the legend as it was told and wrote it down in English. This [91] procedure was further necessitated by the habit of these Mbuti, who speak three languages, of changing in the telling of a single legend from one to another as the mood seizes them.

539 114 Certainly, the ideal would have been to record the original texts, but these we do not have and could hardly expect to have under the circumstances. But we can be sure of the content and the general form of expression. I myself worked on the original manuscripts shortly af-

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114 ter their completion and had the opportunity of hearing many of the tales retold, sometimes spontaneously but more often with a little prompting given with the aid of the manuscripts. The only legends that were retold in recognizable form were those concerning creation myth, origin, and tradition, and a few of the more popular ones concerning the *satani*, or forest spirits.

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128 In transcribing from the manuscripts I have not altered the content, but I have attempted to reproduce the legends in a way that will convey something of the manner in which they are told, and I have omitted the often endless repetition. For the present purpose I have divided the legends into three groups: (1) creation myths, legends of origin and tradition; (2) legends dealing with social relations; and (3) legends dealing with relationships to the supernatural.

The bulk of the collection is divided equally between the second and third categories. Only three of the total of 200 legends concern the creation of the world, the stars, and the sky. Fewer than a dozen may be said to deal with the origin and traditional history of the Mbuti. The creation legends are very curtailed versions

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[P. 260-C]

of villager legends. The legends of tradition are somewhat more original and are told in a slightly less summary way but still without any great show of interest or enthusiasm. 539 128

Most of the tales concern the Mbuti and their relationship with the three planes of existence that they acknowledge: the human, animal, and supernatural worlds. By various notable omissions and commissions they add to our understanding of their social and religious life. Whether the tales are villager in origin or not is for the present purpose not particularly significant. In practice they are never told the same way twice. They are often spontaneous creations arising from a certain set of circumstances, or they may be adaptations of dimly remembered tales, or of traditional villager tales, again made to fit certain sets of circumstances. One of the weaknesses of the present collection is the absence of such surrounding details. 539 [82] [772]

A full analysis of legends and the circumstances under which they are told, together with a similar analysis of other Mbuti arts, such as music and drama (all vitally important means of expression to the Pygmy), would give 539 121 us a body of facts on which we could draw in a study of the Mbuti system of values, joining such an analysis to a more formal anthropological study. It is not intended to attempt such an analysis here; there is insufficient detail and further field work is needed. However, a study of the legends we have at our disposal, if it cannot provide the detailed systematization we would like, does at least give us a clearer picture of Mbuti values than could be had by merely observing their behavior. 539 121

1. CREATION MYTHS: LEGENDS OF ORIGIN AND TRADITION

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As mentioned, for the Pygmy these subjects seem barely worth mention in legend. I give all three legends that deal with creation and with the sun and moon. None concerned the stars.

THE WATER AND THE EARTH

539 821

Many, many moons ago the Water was down below, and the Earth was way up in the sky. When it rained it rained dirt, and the dirt ruined all the water vegetables and spoiled all the water food, so that it had to be thrown away. The Water said to the Earth: "You are spoiling my water gardens by raining dirt. You come down here and I'll go up there."

The Earth agreed, and so the Water moved up and the Earth came down. When they had changed

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539 821 places, the Water said: "Now I'm going to rain on *you*, but *I'm* going to rain water." And the Water rained on the Earth. The earth vegetables flourished and the earth gardens grew. The Water said: "See, when I rain I don't spoil your food like you spoiled mine. It is good like this."

And from then onward the Water stayed up in the sky and the Earth stayed down below.

Basi

THE SUN AND THE MOON

The Sun and the Moon, who were close friends, had a big discussion. The Sun said to the Moon: "Come on up, high, high up; you and I will be higher than anything else—but now we should part. I will be high up over there in the east, and you will be high up over there in the west."

The Moon said: "Yes, I would like that, and it is good that we should stay apart because you are bright and shine like I do."

And so they divided the Heavens between them. When the Sun disappeared in the hours of the night, then the Moon passed by, all by itself. The Sun said: "This is very good. Your path is there, and mine is over here, but we must never cross at the same time; that would be very, very bad."

So they parted forever. That is why the Sun always shines in the daytime, and the Moon at night.

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1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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821

THE PYGMY AND THE SUN

There was a Pygmy who saw the sun in the middle of one afternoon. He thought it was a pigskin, so of course he tried to chase it and catch it. The Pygmy kept following, but the sun would not stay still. Still, the Pygmy followed until the sun disappeared from sight and night arrived. The Pygmy couldn't understand what had happened to the pigskin. He went to sleep.

When dawn came, the sun was way off in another direction. The Pygmy woke up and said to himself: "How did the pigskin get way over there?" He went toward the east and the sun kept coming toward him. They got nearer and nearer . . . then suddenly the sun passed the Pygmy. The Pygmy said: "Now, how did I pass the pigskin?" He turned and chased after the sun. He walked to the west. He walked and walked and walked, until the sun disappeared from sight and night arrived. The Pygmy couldn't understand what had happened to the pigskin. He went to sleep.

Basi

539 The first beginnings of the Pygmies receive scant attention. The single legend in the collection referring to them runs as follows:

Way, way back, when the Great Forest was young, there were two Pygmy men and one Pygmy woman.

[P. 261- B]

[P. 261-C]

They went off into the Forest together. The one man lived with his wife, but time went by and still they had no children. The other Pygmy saw this and decided that he would go to the main hunting camp. There he found another woman. He lived with her, and in due course a child was born. The Pygmy ran to his friend in the Forest in great joy, and told him the news. His friend immediately left the Forest and also lived with the woman in the hunting camp. They too had a child. And that is how Pygmies began, and how they became so plentiful. 539

Basi

Another legend tells how two brothers fought over an ax.

One was killed, so the other said to his nephews and nieces: "See, I have killed your father. From now on, your family and mine are enemies. We will live apart; you will live over there and I will live here." And they parted forever.

That, a social anthropologist might say, was the beginning of fission and fusion.

But apart from this, and one legend telling how a great dreamer dreamed and was told how the Pygmies should make nets out of *nkusa* vine and hunt with nets, the remainder of legends dealing with the traditional past refer to relationship with the villagers, a subject of much more interest to the Mbuti. 539 177 789

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

There is a particularly nice contrast in the way the villagers tell how the relationship began and the way the Pygmies tell the same story. Here is the villager version:

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In the old days the Pygmies lived in holes in the trees, and nobody ever saw them. But one day a real man and his wife were walking through the forest and heard a strange sound. It was very loud and noisy. "What is this strange noise?" said the man to his wife, who replied, "I have no idea." "Well," said the man, "we will have to find that noise and see what it is. I'll go home and think what we should do." So he went home and thought, and he prepared a trap. He baited it with a banana, so that when the animal or whatever was making the noise grabbed the banana, an arrow would come down and pierce it.

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The next morning the man and his wife set out with the trap and fixed it at the entrance to the hole in the tree from where the noise was coming. Then they went off a little way and waited to see what would happen. In a little while one of the Pygmies came to the mouth of the hole and saw the banana. He said to himself, "What is this?" Finally, his curiosity got the better of him and he made a grab for the banana. But as he touched it, the trap came down, and his hand was pierced by the arrow. He let

[P. 261-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[p.262-A]

Z
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out an awful scream. The man and his wife came rushing to the trap and seized him. They released him. The wife said, "What is this?" They stared at him and examined him carefully, and the wife admired his barkcloth. They took him back to their home and gave him lots of good things to eat.

One day the Pygmy said, "I have many relations in that hole." So the man fixed his trap and went back to the hole and put down his trap with a banana as bait. In a little while a hand came out of the hole and reached for the banana. The trap fell and the arrow pierced the flesh and the Pygmy let out an awful scream. The man and his wife rushed to the trap and took the Pygmy home. The first Pygmy saw them coming and shouted for joy, because they had caught his wife.

The next day the man and his wife went back with the trap, but all the other Pygmies refused to be tempted out of their hole, so they waited and waited in vain. The Pygmies in the hole said: "See, the other two grabbed the banana and were taken away. They must have been eaten up."

In the meantime the two Pygmies who lived in the village were having a very good time, and the real people gave them lots and lots of food. In due course they had a child, and then another child. When those children grew up they had children, and their children had children, and that is why there are so many Pygmies in the forest today.

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1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

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The Mbuti, as might be imagined, tell it differently.

The Mbuti were out hunting termites because, as you know, termites are good to eat. They built their houses. When night arrived the wives cooked food for their husbands. Then they all went to sleep. But in the middle of the night they heard a cry, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" "What is that?" said one Pygmy. "It is coming from over there!" cried another, pointing into the Forest. "Yes, it is a great noise coming from the old *libeyo* tree!" shouted a third. "We should go and see what it is!" They took their spears and crept up to the old *libeyo* tree. There they found a large hole in the ground, and they thought they could see faces peering up at them. But it was very dark, and they were afraid to go too close, so they returned to their camp.

"Tomorrow we shall go and see what it is all about," they said. "We shall go and we shall smoke it out of the hole, whatever it is."

The next morning they went back to the *libeyo* tree, carrying bundles of sticks and some fire wrapped up in *mongongo* leaves. They put the fire to the wood and started filling the hole with smoke. Then they heard voices calling out from the hole: "I'm dying, I'm dying! Oh, let me out, Brother, I'm dying!"

The Pygmies stopped the smoke and hurried to

[P. 262-8]

[p. 262-c]

help whatever it was out of the hole, and out came P
people—Real People—much bigger than themselves, 539
holding their heads and crying. They were villagers. 177
"Where do you come from?" asked the Pygmies. 186
"We don't know!" answered the Real People. "We Z
fell into the hole by the old *liboyo* tree and then you 539
started filling it with smoke. We should have died if 177
you had not helped us out."

The Pygmies took the Real People with them, back to their termite camp, saying: "Come back with us to our termite camp. Now we shall all live together; there will be no fighting between us. You will be the Real People, truly, truly; you will be the Real People, truly."

Bari

But the Mbuti have their own notions as to P
the origin of the "Real People." This legend 539
characterizes their attitude to the villager—an 186
attitude they never express in the presence of the villager, finding it more profitable to let the villagers continue to think that even the Mbuti themselves recognize the great superiority of the "Real People."

How the Real People Began[1]

In the old days there was a Savage. This Savage had a big house. She was a strange-looking woman. Not only was she tall and skinny and bony, but she had a mouth like a hippopotamus, and her stomach was enormous and her body covered with arrows. In the even older days she had had two husbands, but now both were dead. She said: "Now I'm all alone; everyone has left my village. But I'll get even. Anyone that comes by, I'll eat them."

And that is how the trouble started. She had a medicine that she put out to attract people, and when they came by she would say: "This is my house." If they became frightened and went away, her medicine brought them back. And always, she ate them. She ate them whole. She ate them one after another. Her stomach got larger and larger.

Then all the people she had eaten whole had babies and she soon had a flourishing village. She did not eat these people. They built lots of houses.

Basi

The remaining three legends in this section explain how the Pygmies got fire, how the "Real People" tricked them out of the plantains they discovered (which is why the Pygmies have none), and, finally, how war began between Pygmies and villagers. Again the villagers are at fault. A Pygmy is tapping away in a tree, chopping out some honey, and some villagers

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[1] As told by a Pygmy.

[P 262-D]

539 passing by hear the noise and shoot at it with
186 an arrow. But even though wounded, the clever Pygmy remains very still, so the villagers think they must have been mistaken and go on. Then the Pygmy cuts them off and lies in wait and kills one of them as they come to him. And that began the war.

2. LEGENDS DEALING WITH SOCIAL RELATIONS

539 In this group we have a few legends telling
593 of the good mother (who protects her daughter
577 against nasty villagers) and the good father (who looks after his son when out hunting); the good sister (who protects her baby brother against a *satani*, a forest spirit); and the good brother (who does not quarrel with his brothers).

539 Social behavior is extolled in a similarly pos-
577 itive vein. Marriage and divorce, cooperative effort in the food quest, war and feud, hospitality to strangers—these are common topics, treated by telling how the reasonable Pygmy behaves in any of these situations. The remainder of the legends in this group deal with virtue and vice.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

539 Among the few legends commending the good
577 mother and father, the good brother and sister,
593 only one takes the opposite approach and tells
776 of the bad mother. I include it in this section because the emphasis seems to be on the thoughtlessness of the mother rather than the trickery of the *satani*.

A Pygmy, his wife, and his child, were all asleep. In the middle of the night the child woke up and began crying. He cried and he cried. He was crying from hunger, because his mother had not fed him. At last the mother got up and gave the child a plantain. Then she went back to lie down and they all fell asleep again. A little while later the child woke up again and started crying again because he was still hungry. He cried and he cried, but his father and his mother went on sleeping.

A *satani* arrived. "Why are you crying, my child?" he asked. "I am crying because I am hungry!" replied the child. "My mother hasn't given me enough to eat and she won't wake up."

So the *satani* fixed two pots of plantains, and lots of meat. He put them on the fire to cook. When it was all ready he put the food in front of the child and the child ate, and ate, and ate. "Oh! This is good!" said the child, and he ate still more. When he finished there was still a pot of plaintains and lots more meat, so the *satani* said, "Eat some more, my child, then

[P.263-8]

[P. 263-C]

you will not wake up hungry again." So the child 539
ate some more. 577

At last the child had finished all but a few plantains 593
and a little meat. "Oh! How full I am!" he said, 776
holding his little stomach. "I have had enough, really." But the *satani* pointed to the plantains and the meat that still remained and said, "You must eat some more, or you will surely wake up hungry!" "But I have eaten all I can, really!" said the child. "Eat!" said the *satani*.

The child took a plantain and slowly began to eat it, then suddenly BAM! He burst. The *satani* vanished. The mother and father woke with a start and saw the dead body of their little child. "Oh, what can have happened?" cried the mother. And there was much grief.

But the father knew what had happened, the mother had let the child go to bed hungry. So the next night when they lay down to sleep, the father slept only with his eyes. In the middle of the night the *satani* arrived to see if there were any more children who had been allowed to go to bed hungry, so that he could feed them until they burst. The father leapt out of his bed and seized the *satani* and cried, "You devil! You killed our son because his mother allowed him to go to bed hungry!"

And the father killed the *satani* completely.

Basi

Most of the legends extolling social behavior 539
are told in a matter-of-fact way and are not 231
infrequently related to incidents in the lives of 577
members of the community. Again, only one legend in the collection deals directly with antisocial behavior. It concerns a man who constantly maltreated his hunting dog. In net-hunting groups, such as the one in which these legends were collected, anything that concerns hunting concerns the entire society. This particular individual fed his dog only on the genitals of other animals. The dog saw that other dogs were being fed on more dainty morsels, such as liver; so one night when his master was sleeping he got his knife and killed the Pygmy. The Pygmy's wife woke up so the dog killed her also. The dog then disappeared.

Even a brief glance at the legends reveals 539
that the one quality to which these Mbuti 577
attach the greatest importance is cleverness, a term that in certain circumstances also means trickery. Conversely, while selfishness, greed, laziness, and gossiping women are mildly condemned in a number of legends, the sin of sins is stupidity. These two qualities are so overriding that cleverness can make crime pay, whereas stupidity can bring death and disaster to the

[P 263-D]

539 best-intentioned of Pygmies. It is worth noting
577 here that we find an almost exact parallel in the
way these legends deal with the animal world,
539 in which cleverness is the supreme virtue. Legends
577 extolling cleverness among Pygmies must
825 not, then, necessarily be taken as supplying a
model for behavior in Pygmy society, but
rather as showing how satisfactory relationships
can best be established with the animal
world. This has much wider implications, as we
shall see below.

One of the tales of cleverness tells how a young Pygmy becomes a great hunter, not by killing game by himself, simply, but by killing it with trickery. In such legends the great ideal of the Mbuti seems to be to match the animal world in its own terms. But in other Mbuti legends they rely on aid from the animals to help them in their trickery.

539 577 825 Two men went to their camp. While they were walking through the forest they came across a tree called *pusia,* which bears delicious nuts. One of the men gathered nuts from this tree, but the second man gathered from another tree, bearing very bitter nuts. When they reached their camp they roasted their nuts over the fire. The man with the bitter nuts offered them to his friend, who tasted them and said, "Oh! These are terrible, I can't eat them." The two of them shared the sweet nuts.

Later on, the man with the bitter nuts went back to the tree and stole the rest of the sweet nuts and roasted them over the fire. When they were ready he offered them to his friend. His friend tasted them and said, "These are sweet; they must be my nuts. You have stolen my nuts." "I wouldn't steal your nuts!" "Well, tomorrow I'll go and see."

At first light, the man who had found the sweet nuts went to his tree and saw that all the nuts were gone. He returned to the camp and told his friend what he had found. "You see, you did steal all my nuts. You can stay here no longer."

So the man who stole the nuts left the camp and went through the forest until he came to a *konga* bird. When he saw the *konga* bird, he explained what had happened and said, "Please don't kill me." The *konga* bird said, "All right, you can stay here and look after us." In the meantime, the other Pygmy, his nuts all eaten, decided to follow his friend. When he finally arrived his friend said to the *konga* bird, "There is my brother whose sweet nuts I stole. You can kill him if you like." So together, they killed the Pygmy who had allowed himself to be tricked.

Basi

000 As might be expected, cleverness is frequently

[p 264-B]

[P.264-C]

As might be expected, cleverness is frequently associated with smallness. In several legends the whole purport is the superiority (in this respect) of small animals over large. It is not difficult to identify the smaller, clever animal as the Pygmy, nor the larger, more clumsy, and stupid animal as the villager. Already we are on the fringe of a borderline world. The animal and the human worlds are related with regard to this quality of cleverness, or trickery, a quality that seems to be essentially animal rather than Pygmy. By cultivating this quality, by imitation, the Pygmy is able to establish a relatively satisfactory relationship between the two worlds. But "cleverness" also brings the Pygmy into relationship with the spiritual world. It is through cleverness, for instance, that he is able to thwart the trickery of the forest *satani*. 539 828 825 [186]

Old age, with its greater store of experience, connotes cleverness to the Pygmy. Old people are regarded as possessing a special abundance of this quality, which automatically associates them more closely with the animal and spiritual 539 828 577 888

worlds. A number of legends deal with the clev- 539
erness of old people. There are old aunts and 829
old grandmothers who eat children left in their
care, and old men and women are frequently 577
deserted by the Pygmies when they move camp 888
(in their legends). Yet these old people can use
their powers for good, if so inclined, as in the
legend of the old woman with yaws who tried
to save three young Pygmies from being killed
and eaten by a tricky old man. Also, of course,
it is the old people who have the most success
in dealing with the *satani*. But (discussion of 539
this aspect of old age is given in the next sec- 829
tion) the legends do reveal quite clearly that old 577
age, when accompanied by disability, is re- 888
garded with loathing by the Pygmies as, indeed, 732
is disability by itself. In the legends, old people
and cripples are given every chance to prove
that they are still useful members of society.
The old cripple who is deserted but who can kill [776]
a *satani* and rejoin his hunting group is wel-
comed back. But another old cripple who can-
not move at all when he is deserted, although
he kills two *satani* who attack him, is left to die.
Old women seem particularly suspect, and I cite [682]
here an example of sanctioned matricide. I 539
might add that I have never known this to oc- 577
cur and that, in my experience, the Mbuti take 888
great care of their old people. At the same time 732
I must admit to having seen no complete crip-
ples and to having heard disquieting stories

[P 264-D]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
MButi

(p.265-A)

539 about cripples that just happened to disappear
577 or who suddenly just "died completely."

888 There was once a Pygmy named Butuwa. He was
732 in the forest, and was sleeping with his wife, children, and old mother. His mother had no legs. In the middle of the night Butuwa said to his wife: "Mother is sleeping soundly; get the children together and let's go away." So they quietly picked up their belongings, and, together with their children, they crept away. They walked and walked and walked.

Early in the morning the old woman woke up. She said: "Where is everybody? Oh! They are a bad family, they have gone off and left their legless old mother to die. I will *follow* them." So saying, she stood on her head and walked and walked and walked until she caught up with them, walking on her head. She was very angry with them for having deserted her, and told them how bad they were to have left her alone in the forest. That night they all went to sleep together.

In the middle of the night the Pygmy said to his wife: "Now mother is really asleep; get the children together and let's go away." So they collected the children, picked up their belongings, and stole away. They walked and walked and walked.

539 571 888 732 Early in the morning the old woman woke up, and she was very, very angry to find that her family had deserted her again. So she stood on her head and she walked and walked and walked, until she caught up with them, walking on her head. She told her son how bad he was. She was very cross indeed. Her son went off into the forest and gathered some honey. And then he got a very bad worm and put it in the honey. He returned to the camp, and said: "Don't be angry with me, mother. Look, I have brought you some fine honey." And the legless old mother ate up the honey, worm and all. And the worm ate up the legless old mother's stomach, and the legless old mother died.

Butuwa left and went to another camp where they had relations. When they got to the camp, their relations asked: "What news; where is your mother?" "Oh! She died," said Butuwa. "That's too bad," said the others.

Basi

539 825

3. LEGENDS DEALING WITH RELATIONSHIPS TO THE SUPERNATURAL

Above, we see animals appearing in connection with the quality of cleverness and how an excess of this quality can break through the flimsy barrier between the natural and the supernatural world. Here we consider the large number of legends in the collection in which animals appear with almost exclusive reference to their supernatural quality. Some legends

[P.265-C]

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seem to deal with relationships between animals as animals. But, even with these, we can suspect that there is some hidden meaning that is not clear to us, until we know more about these Mbuti or, indeed, that may not even be clear to the Mbuti themselves. Here is such a tale:

> There was once a chimpanzee and an elephant. The chimpanzee took bugs out of the elephant's hair. When he had finished he said to the elephant, "Now, you take the bugs out of my hair." So the elephant took out bug after bug after bug. He pulled harder and harder, and finally he pulled so hard that he pulled the chimpanzee's head right off. When the elephant saw what had happened he ran away. He went to his cousins in their hole. He said: "I have done something awful; I have killed a chimpanzee." His cousins said: "Really? Tomorrow we shall go and see."
>
> The next morning they all left the hole. They saw the dead chimpanzee and said, "What shall we do with the body?" They decided the best thing was to let it rot there. So they let it rot, and they went back to their hole.
>
> *Bari*

Most of the tales, however, deal with relationships between the animal and the human worlds. Some of these relate how Pygmies and animals become friends—almost. This corresponds to a mutual sympathy that the Pygmies seem to believe exists between them and the animals that share the forest with them, but, however much they may both try to meet, it can never quite be done. 539 825

An elephant and a Pygmy were friends. The Pygmy was called Mbali. He went to visit his friend, the elephant. When he arrived at the elephant's village, the elephant was delighted and said to his wife, "My friend, Mbali, has come; make us a nice dish of mashed plantains." So his wife pounded the plantains, added salt, and put the dish over the fire. When it was ready the elephant took some red-hot embers and held them to his feet, and the elephant fat ran into the food. When there was enough he turned to his friend, Mbali, and said, "Eat well." The two of them sat down and ate up all the food. The Pygmy said, "This is delicious." He went back to his camp.

The next day the elephant said to his wife, "Now I will go and visit my friend, Mbali." So he cleaned himself up and set off. When he arrived at Mbali's camp, Mbali saw him and called, "Welcome, friend! Come and sit down." He told his wife that his friend had come, and that she should prepare some mashed plantains for him. When it was cooked the Pygmy took some red-hot embers and started putting them

[P 265-D]

[P. 266-A]

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to his foot. The elephant said, "Don't do that, it will kill you. My feet are big and heavy, let me do it." "Don't be silly," replied the Pygmy, and put the embers to his feet. He screamed with pain and almost died. The elephant took hold of him and brought him back to life, then said, "See, I told you it would kill you." The elephant then took the hot embers and put them to his feet so that the oil ran out into the plantains, and they all sat down and ate.

When the meal was finished the elephant returned to his home. His wife greeted him and asked if he had had a good time. He said: "It was terrible. My friend, Mbali, took red-hot embers and put them to his feet and almost killed himself. I shall never go back there again, never."

Bali

Relationships with chimpanzees are less happy. The Pygmy and the chimpanzee seem to be just about equally matched in cleverness, and they are continually killing each other. Typical is the tale of the Pygmy who sat down to watch a group of chimpanzees playing.

One of the chimpanzees noticed the Pygmy and came over to him. He said, "What are you doing here?" He called to his brother chimpanzees, "Come and see this Pygmy." They came over and said,

539 "We'll fight him." One of the chimpanzees grabbed
825 at the Pygmy, but meanwhile the Pygmy had taken
up his spear. The Pygmy killed the chimpanzee. The others said, "What did the Pygmy kill our brother with?" And one answered, "It seemed to be with the root of a tree." So another of the chimpanzees gathered up the roots of the trees and threw them at the Pygmy. The Pygmy killed him with his spear. The remaining chimpanzees sat down and tried to puzzle this out. One of them searched all round and found the spear. He took it and killed the Pygmy. The chimpanzees then gathered some leaves and put them over the Pygmy. They all left.

The Pygmy's brother went to look for him. He found him dead, covered with leaves. He said, "What could have happened? Who killed my brother?"

Basi

539 Leopards and turtles are tricky animals that
825 teach the Pygmy much of his cleverness in leg-
828 end. They appear frequently, and it is always
their cleverness and trickery that are stressed.
But here we consider another aspect of these
539 animal tales. Not only is it always their clever-
825 ness and trickery that are stressed, thus auto-
828 matically associating them with the supernatu-
186 ral, if only indirectly, but they are often
identified with villagers. In talking of villagers,
in legend, more often than not the Pygmy gives
them animal form. The villager is very defi-
[p. 266-7]

[p. 266-c]

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[828]

nitely not included on the human side of the opposition between the animal and human worlds (the villager is often associated with an excess of cleverness). A frequently heard motif is for a Pygmy to wound an animal with a spear or an arrow. The animal escapes, carrying away the weapon. Later, the Pygmy discovers that weapon, covered with blood, hidden in the house of some Bira villager. The Pygmy then knows that he had, in fact, wounded a villager who had changed into an animal.

The collection includes one very similar legend in which exactly the same motif is used, accounting for enmity between two Pygmy hunting groups. A Pygmy wounds an elephant with a spear, and the elephant escapes, carrying away the spear. The Pygmy's father sends his son off to look for the lost spear. On his way through a village, he meets a Bira who says he has seen the spear in the hut of the Pygmy's best friend, another Pygmy. The Bira helps to conceal the unfortunate hunter in his friend's hut; at night, when his friend is sleeping, he searches and finds his spear. But, as he is escaping, he is seen by other Pygmies who say, "Oh! So it was you who tried to kill our brother; we will kill you."

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In the ensuing fight the elephant hunter kills all the other Pygmies and returns to his father who is well satisfied.

The Bira villagers frequently turn into elephants and take advantage of their great size to make war on the Pygmies, destroying the forest as they do so. They are bad enough at the best of times, in Pygmy estimation, but apparently they become elephants when they are particularly bad.

A Bira and his wife had a terrible fight. The wife decided to leave and go to her mother's village, but her husband followed her. And as he followed, he turned into an elephant. He crashed through the forest and destroyed everything in sight. His wife heard the great noise and climbed a tree. The elephant tracked her down and started to knock the tree down. He charged at it and tore at it, but try as he might he could not pull it down. His wife held on tightly. Then she called to the Pygmies. The Pygmies heard her and came to her rescue. When she saw them she told them to kill the elephant. They attacked it with spears. They speared it again and again, but it would not die. It charged at the Pygmies and drove them back, right back to the Bira village. There the elephant spoke and said, "You have tried to kill me, your friend, a Bira." The Pygmies replied:

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[P.267-A]

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"But you have turned into an elephant and tried to kill your wife. Because of that you must cross over to the other side of the river and die." The elephant said, "You want to kill me?" "Yes," said the Pygmies. "You have become a very bad elephant." So the elephant went across to the other side of the river. The Pygmies went back and took his wife to her mother.

Bali

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We next examine some of the legends that very definitely attach supernatural attributes to certain animals and birds. There is a legend that warns against annoying porcupines. A Pygmy that tries to smoke some porcupines out of their hole is attacked, driven into another hole, and turned into an animal. Similarly a pangolin, if annoyed, has the power to drag its tormentor down into the world of the ancestors, through a great hole in the ground.

But some of the strangest tales concern birds. Above is an account of the *konga* bird that helped the Pygmy who stole the sweet nuts to kill his brother. Another, unidentified bird is popular in legend—the Bird with the Beautiful Song. It sings the most Beautiful Song that the Great Forest has ever heard.

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One day, a Pygmy child heard this Beautiful Song and searched for the Bird that could sing so wonderfully. He found it and praised its Song. The Bird flew down and perched on the boy's head, and the boy brought it back to the Pygmy camp. His father saw the Bird and praised it. When it sang he told the boy to give it some food. The Bird then flew off. The next day the boy heard the Song and searched until he found the Bird again. Once again he brought it back to the camp. This happens three times, and the last time the father takes the Bird from the boy and says, "Now you go off and leave me. Leave this camp and go away to another; go! go!" The young Pygmy left his father and went to another camp. When he was alone, the father took the Bird, the Bird that sang the most Beautiful Song that the Great Forest had ever heard, and he killed the Bird. And he killed the Song.

And no sooner had he killed the Bird than he himself dropped down dead, completely dead, dead forever.

Bari

Another curious bird is *fifi*. Like the legend of the Bird with the Beautiful Song, the legend

[P. 267-B]

[P. 267-C]

of the *fifi* is told with great awe by the Mbuti; it is reproduced here in full. 539 825

There was once a poor Pygmy girl. She was crippled, and her skin was full of disease. She was only about eight years old. The Pygmies were breaking camp. Nobody was willing to carry the little cripple for fear of catching the disease. So when all the Pygmies had left the camp, the little girl was all alone, by herself. She cried and she cried and she cried. And when night fell she crawled into her empty hut and she cried herself to sleep.

At daybreak she heard a sound like: "Pip! Pip! Pip!" It was the bird called the *fifi* bird. It had fastened a long rattan vine between two trees, and it was sitting on the vine swinging back and forth, back and forth. The little girl went to look more closely, and the bird flew away.

In the distance there was a Bira villager with his hunting trap. Seeing the diseased cripple he came up and said: "My poor child, you have been left here all by yourself . . . I must kill you." And he took his knife and lifted it to kill the girl. But the knife caught his nose and cut it. It killed him and he fell down dead. The girl caught hold of the rattan vine, and she swung herself back and forth, back and forth. 539 825 186

As she was swinging on the vine, another Bira villager, seeing the movement, came slowly into the clearing. "What is this?" he said to himself. "Why, it is a crippled little Pygmy girl. Get off your vine swing, my child, and come over here to me."

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The girl got down from her swing and made her way over to where the Bira was standing. Then she sat down on the ground and held her withered little legs. "Come nearer, my child," said the Bira, reaching forward. "No! No! I can't come any nearer," cried the girl. "My legs hurt so much, and I am all diseased." "Very well, I shall kill you," replied the Bira. "Oh, please don't do that, I'm only a poor deserted child." "But why did your father leave you all alone?" asked the Bira. "No, I must certainly kill you."

And he took a piece of wood and tried to strike the little crippled Pygmy girl. But the wood flew back in his face and hit him on the nose, and the blood streamed down. With the blood still streaming down he ran back to his village and told everyone: "There is a poor deserted Pygmy girl in the Pygmy camp. She is crippled and diseased, and she has the evil eye. She will surely kill us all." And with some friends and relations he hurried to the deserted camp.

There was the little girl, sitting on the swing, swinging herself back and forth, back and forth. The Bira called to her: "Come here, my poor child. You have killed one of our relatives, and you have wounded me. You are crippled and diseased, and you have been deserted. I am going to kill you."

The little girl got down from her swing and slowly

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539 came over to where the Bira was standing. "Come
825 nearer, little one!" said the Bira. "Oh, please don't
186 kill me," said the Pygmy girl, "I am only a deserted
cripple, and I haven't run away." But she came
closer still. The Bira raised his knife. "Now!" he
said," "Now, I am going to kill you!" But the knife
caught in his stomach, and he fell down, he fell down
dead.

The girl went back to her swing, dragging her withered little legs along the ground. And she climbed on the swing and swung herself back and forth, back and forth. The remaining Bira all hurried back to their village.

"Come! Come! Come, all of you!" they cried. "There is a crippled little Pygmy girl in the deserted camp, and she will surely kill us all unless we kill her. Get your spears, and come!" And all the Bira villagers seized their spears and came running to the deserted camp. They all came to take their revenge and kill the deserted little Pygmy girl.

But the girl had gone.

The only sign of life was the *fifi* bird, and the *fifi* bird was sitting on the rattan vine, swinging itself back and forth, back and forth, back and forth.

Basi

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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There is another link between the animal and the supernatural worlds in the alleged existence of "water animals." These water animals are not particularly dangerous spirits; they appear rather as vehicles to transport the Pygmy from the natural world to the supernatural. There is a legend told by the Epulu Pygmies of a man who was known, they say, to their fathers.

> There was once a man called Ngoyi. He was tired of all his relatives and said: "I can't live with you any longer. I'm going to live on my own." And off he went to the river named Tato, where he disappeared into the water. He called out, "I'm going to stay here in the water, and you won't be able to see me any more."
>
> His family had all followed him to the river and asked: "Are you really going to stay there in the water?" He replied, "Yes." He called his children and took them into the water with him. They all disappeared.
>
> Now Ngoyi was a clever worker of wood, and, if you go to the river today and throw in a piece of wood, he will make it into whatever you want. His children are there also, and during the day time they come out to play. And even though they disappear when you come near, you can always hear them talking.
>
> *Bari*

Another legend tells how two brothers were crossing a stream, and one fell in. The other

[P. 268-B]

[P. 268-c]

thought his brother had been drowned, and returned to camp with the news, but actually he had become a water animal. Some weeks later the land brother saw his water brother and tried to tempt him home, so glad was he to see him still alive. But the water brother caught hold of him and pulled him into the water, so the land brother also became a water animal. 539 776

And the two Water Brothers stayed in the stream; they stayed in the stream and never came out again.

A third legend connects the rainbow with these water animals.

Some girls were off cutting wood. They crossed a stream by a fallen tree. But really the tree was the "bad water animal, called *klima*, the Rainbow." When returning they all crossed, except the slowest of the girls, and a man who waited for her. As these two were halfway across, the dead tree, which was really the rainbow which was really a water animal, suddenly dived down into the water, carrying them with it. Later on, the couple was seen sitting on a rock in the middle of the stream, but never again after that.

Quite distinct from the water animals are the forest spirits which these Pygmies call *satani*. They are, unlike the water animals, capable of being dealt with. Their outstanding characteristic is an excess of cleverness amounting to the grossest trickery. They molest the Pygmies on every possible occasion, stealing their food, devouring them in anthropophagous orgies. The Pygmies resort to cleverness of the same order. It is perfectly possible, though difficult, for a Pygmy to outwit a *satani*, even to kill one. But one of the legends warns against imitating a *satani's* ways too closely. 539 116

One day a Pygmy and his child went for a walk. They collected some *eseli* nuts. On the way they met a *satani*. The *satani* put a nut on the child's head and split the nut with a machete. "Oh!" said the Pygmy, "that's like the *nkumbi* circumcision school. Tomorrow, I'll collect some more nuts and try that."

The next day he went with his child to the same place and collected some more *eseli* nuts. He put one of the nuts on his child's head and hit it with his machete. He killed his child dead. The *satani*, who had been watching, said, "See! You have killed your child."

The Pygmy left his child's body there and went down to the river. The *satani* went with him. The *satani* threw his spear into the water. The Pygmy said, "I'd like to do that!" But, when he tried, the

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[P.269-A]

539 spear went all over the place, everywhere except into the water. He said: "When you do it, *satani*, it goes straight, yet when I do it it goes all over the place." They left each other.

Basi

Pygmies become *satani* far less frequently than they become water animals, but it can happen. The woman who gossiped became a *satani*. The following tale tells how a certain Pygmy was driven to the same fate by his relatives.

There was once a young Pygmy whose name was Mambalia. His relations kept whipping and whipping him until at last he could bear it no more and ran away into the forest. His family followed him, but he built a huge fire and said: "I am not going back—never!" And he ran even farther away. His relations returned to their camp.

After that, whenever Mambalia heard voices he ran farther away still, until finally, he said: "Now this is my part of the forest, and nobody must come here. I'm going to stay here all by myself."

He lived in a hole in a tree where no one could find him. He became very, very powerful. He became a *satani*. And now he is an old, old man.

Basi

538 776 *Satani* are very popular with the Mbuti as subject matter for their legends, and they let their imaginations run riot. A *satani* can do almost anything except kill a really clever Pygmy. They are used frequently as excuses for failure in the hunt or in honey gathering. When a Pygmy has found a good honey tree and has managed to consume most of the honey himself, his excuse to the camp for not bringing back more will be that he was waylaid by a *satani* who was so tricky that he turned into the Pygmy's grandmother, so he had to hand over all his honey, or something to that effect. (This excuse I heard myself.) Rather than examine more *satani* legends, we now briefly review the collection as here presented and draw such conclusions as we can.

538 128 Any conclusions are necessarily general and tentative and are of course based not only on a knowledge of the entire collection of legends, only a bare tenth of which is reproduced here, but of the Mbuti themselves. Also it must be emphasized that we are dealing with only one particular band of Pygmies, a net-hunting group in the Epulu District of the Ituri Forest.

My classification of the legends into three groups, which is quite arbitrary and satisfactory

only *for* certain purposes, reveals at once a lack 538
of interest in the past which is in accord with 128
the apparent shortness of memory among these Pygmies, particularly noticeable when an investigator tries to construct some sort of genealogy. For me it heightens my suspicion of such genealogies given by a people who at times are only too willing to please by inventing totally fictitious names. The legends prove singularly unrewarding to anyone seeking some evidence of a [181]
lineage system. If they represent anything, they represent a people who are wholly absorbed in the present. If we accept this evidence, we can look for its consequences in the magico-religious life of the Mbuti as well as in other spheres.

Also with reference to the Mbuti magico-re- 538
ligious system, there is possibly some signifi- 183
cance in the tendency to emphasize the natural order of events in the legends relating to social life. The ideal represented in the legend is the normal; consequently, these particular legends seem singularly unimaginative. They read like reports of actual occurrences. A certain amount of cleverness is normal, but an excess of it (when the term becomes best translated as "trickery") is abnormal and leads us, as we have seen, into

the world of the supernatural. The Pygmy is anxious to preserve the normal, the *status quo*. Although one could hardly determine this with any certainty from the legends alone, they certainly confirm the notion, which is of particular significance with reference to Mbuti religious thought. We return briefly to this point below. 538 183

The second section dealing with social relations also reveals a center of interest on food, the importance of the food quest being implied repeatedly. Also emphasized is the importance of cooperation, not only between members of the same family, but between all members of the hunting band. These legends tell us that vice and virtue are scarcely understood as such, that the dominating quality is cleverness, with its converse, stupidity. But, as pointed out, this is a borderline world. Whereas cleverness may be of use to a Pygmy in his normal everyday life, it is really a quality associated with his dealings with the animal and supernatural worlds. In fact, one legend, not mentioned, quite distinctly tells us that in everyday life it is not good to be too clever, but better to be normal. An elephant hunter who loses his normality (by failing to accept food offered to him, and failing to join in the conversation) is 538 181 [476] [577] 538 181 183

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[P.270-A]

538 promptly deserted as being unsafe company. So
181 we might gather that in daily life normality is
183 the ideal, and, when the supernatural (including animals, regarded as possessed of supernatural powers), is dealt with, cleverness is dominant.

538 From the second section of legends we can
888 finally glean some information from the treatment of old age. Two things emerge: first, old age is associated with extra cleverness, approaching trickery; second, we find Pygmy realism emerging again when old age is accompanied by disability. Either way, old age is a dangerous condition. In this particular band it is perhaps significant that the leaders of the group are not old, but are the active—the "great hunters."

538 Animals, like food, enter into the majority of
825 legends, and in some cases they seem to be regarded merely as animals. But more often the trickery of the animal is emphasized and, consequently, its association with the supernatural. In the third kind of legends, those dealing with the supernatural, we find animals in almost every one.

538 almost every one. We also find villagers.
186 Throughout, the legends are interesting in their
825 revelation of the Pygmy attitude to his villager neighbors, but nowhere more so than when the villagers appear as elephants, profane elephants desecrating the sacred forest. At times the Pygmy regards the villager as stupid (in matters concerning everyday forest life), but at others the villager is associated with the excess of cleverness that we call "trickery," and then he belongs in either the animal or the supernatural worlds—certainly not in the Pygmy (human) world. This notion is one that we might usefully transpose from the legendary world to the world of reality. Just what is the Pygmy's relationship with the villager?

538 Here I wish to draw attention, at the risk of
181 appearing repetitious, to the constant opposi-
771 tion we find in the legends between the natural
772 (Pygmy) world and the supernatural, the normal (reasonable) world and the world of trickery. In his everyday life the Pygmy is also faced with an opposition between two real (in our sense) worlds—his forest world and the world of the villager. No two worlds could be more dissimilar. The villager is afraid of the forest; he believes it to be full of darkness and evil. One of the most striking points brought out by a study of these legends is the absence of any concept of evil (in the sense of conscious

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[P.270-C]

malevolence) in the forest world of the Pygmy. 538
In his daily life the Pygmy regards the forest as 181
a kind, good, protective home. At the risk of 771
being accused of begging the question, I would
like to say that other evidence (song, dance, and 772
the practices of the Mbuti religious associations) also suggests that the Pygmy opposes these two worlds as we would oppose the sacred to the profane. Our understanding of his relationship with the villager tribes that surround him is, I think, considerably increased if we bear this fact in mind and realize its full implications.

I deliberately use the term "supernatural" 538
loosely in order to allow the fact to appear that 771
very few of these legends deal with the supernatural as we generally understand the term. Situations that would, to us, be supernatural—such as villagers turning into elephants or even *satani* changing form at will and luring innocent Pygmies to their doom—to the Pygmy are, in a sense, natural. Like the difference between the sphere of magic and that of religion, and in a way corresponding to them, the dividing line is

difficult to define. Perhaps the nearest approach 538
is to say that, while trickery is not a human 771
quality, it is one that the human (i.e., the [828]
Pygmy) can cultivate and use to deal with
those to whom it properly belongs—animals,
satani, and in certain circumstances the villagers.

Another significant feature in this collection 538
of legends is the total absence of reference to 789
witchcraft and sorcery. This is also reflected in 182
daily life, where magical practices are almost [1154]
non-existent. We are here considering the legends, so shall not digress with a discussion of Mbuti magic, but it seems appropriate to mention the coincidence of two deficiencies—a lack of any real body of traditional folklore, on the one hand, and a lack of traditional magical belief and practice, on the other.[1] Legends are invented *ad hoc* or altered and adapted to suit varying circumstances. Even when answering questions, the Mbuti often invents a myth and tells it as though it were fact. The recounting of an incident during a hunt or while honey gathering often appears in the form of a legend. There

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[1] The possible correlation of these two was suggested during a discussion with Dr. Michael Smith at the University of the West Indies. Though he cannot be held responsible for the exact interpretation given here, I am grateful to him for the stimulus.

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[P.271-A]

538 is no standard body of folklore; it is rather a
182 matter for individual, spontaneous invention or
789 adaptation. Now it is reasonable to suppose
that a standard folklore is associated with
magical belief, for magical belief is no more than
a socially accepted way of explaining the otherwise
inexplicable. If the reason cannot be clearly
seen, it is invented and at least clearly understood.
With the Mbuti such is not the case.
[761] There is no common explanation of death or
[154] illness in terms of witchcraft or sorcery. A man
invents his own legends; he invents his own
(154) explanations for abnormal occurrences. The
538 nearest approach to standard mythological
776 rationalization is perhaps the popularly accepted
myth concerning *satani*. Yet *satani* are
not malevolent (they do not wish disease and
death on people). Though it is their nature to
be dangerous, they are dangerous only when
seen. They are essentially tangible. They work
in a perfectly understandable way and can be
counteracted in an equally intelligible manner.

538 776 Whatever their nature, the essential thing is that, in counteracting *satani* danger the Pygmy in his behavior is absolutely pragmatic. He uses his spear or his bow and arrow and his cleverness. At most the Pygmy will use the common belief in *satani* as an explanation of some minor mishap, the real explanation of which he probably knows but is not willing to admit (carelessness during the hunt, failure while looking for honey, and so on). The belief in *satani* is never used to explain anything more. Yet it is the only common belief of this kind. We are undoubtedly faced, as the legends themselves indicate, with a people with no standard body of [789] magical belief and practice.

It will need further field work and analysis to determine the connection here between myth and magic.

533 771 772 I mention one further factor, which in a way may be said to be magical, and that is the power of song. Yet it is so unlike magic in the accepted sense of that term (with connotations of witchcraft and sorcery) that I do not feel it affects the foregoing hypothesis. Here we enter another world, mentioned again and again in the legends. Unlike the world of animals and *satani*, with which the Pygmy can cope by cultivating cleverness, this world is one in which at first it seems that he has no such weapon. This is perhaps more truly the "supernatural." This is the world of water animals and

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rainbows, of dreams where strange things happen, of birds and beautiful songs. (It is also, oddly enough, a world of vine swings.) 533 771 772

However one might quibble about the meaning of the term "evil" and its applicability to animals and villagers, it most assuredly seems to have no place at all in this last world, any more than cleverness or trickery. We return again to the value of normality. We have a fusion of the normal and the supernatural that is difficult to grasp, but in which, I believe, lies the key to the magico-religious system of these Mbuti. [C-5] It is difficult to determine the exact significance of the part birds play in the legends in the last section, but there is no doubt that the Mbuti associate them in some way with what I am now forced to call the "supernormal" world, that unknown world that lies beyond death. To conclude, I would like to refer to the legend of the Bird with the Beautiful Song, which I mention above. 533 538 789

The curious thing about this legend, and the many variant forms in which the theme is repeated, is the emphasis on the song. Sometimes the narrator sings; these are rare moments that are not easily forgotten and far less easily ex-

plained. But there is a feeling, and I cannot say 533
that it is more than that, that song has power. 538
The song may have no words; it may be a mix- 789
ture of meaningless sounds; but plainly it is esthetically satisfying to the Mbuti. These wordless songs are among the most powerful. When the father killed the bird, he killed the song, and he dropped down dead, completely dead, dead forever. In real life, also, song is powerful. Membership in the religious associations of the women and the men gives the Pygmy the right to take part in the singing of songs peculiar to those associations. In fact, it imposes a duty to do so. The songs are distinguished not by their content but by their musical style and the technique of performance. It is the *sound*, rather than the word content, that matters. These songs are sung, in their most powerful form, only on occasions of the greatest distress, such as sickness or death of one of the great hunters, or failure in the chase. These are departures from normality. It has been my contention from an analysis of the function of music among the Mbuti that song is believed to restore that normality.

As well as several more obvious differences 538
from villager values, such as emphasis by the 171
[P 271-D] 181

[p. 272-A]
538 Mbuti on the food quest, their lack of interest
171 in the past, with a corresponding lack of interest
181 in lineage or tribal ancestry, and an opposition
typical of forest people between the animal
and the human worlds, more significant differences
[186] appear in the legends. One such difference
is, of course, the way the Mbuti tend to class
the villagers with the animals, in association
with the spiritual world, the world of trickery,
[178] in opposition to the human world. Then there
is the contrast between the Pygmy attitude to
the forest as the provider of all that is good as
well as bad, and the attitude of the villagers
who regard the forest as a place to be feared,
the abode of evil. This contrast is heightened by
the different magical and religious approaches
538 of the two people. The legends tend to confirm
182 the validity of my suggestion that the prime
771 function of the Mbuti magico-religious system
171 is to maintain normality in the relationship between
the people and the forest. The villagers
seem more concerned with disorders and abnormalities
and appear to have no such use of
song as that I have described for the Mbuti,
making greater use of witchcraft and sorcery.

538 To understand the meaning fully in each type
121 of legend, we need to know who told it, to
whom, with what accompanying mime, to what
effect, and under what circumstances. Given
such surrounding details, we could use legends
and allied arts to analyze that extremely diffi-

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cult subject of sociological study, the magico-religious system. In the absence of such details we can do only as we have done above and indicate some of the general tendencies in the legends, where emphasis is given and where it is lacking, without being able to attempt any formal systematization. 538 121 Even so, from this collection of legends there seems to be ample justification for supposing that the rejection of villager values which we saw in the *nkumbi* is real and not a mere psychological reaction. It is in fact an integral theme running through the legends. If the opposition is such as we suppose, it accounts for the lack of responsibility manifest by the Mbuti toward their villager hosts at all points where the two people come into contact. 538 186 121

The legends further emphasize the sanctity of the forest. This emphasis is one of the main ways in which the Pygmy maintains his distinctness from the villager. 538 778 771 171 But the importance of the forest is not confined to the Mbuti-villager relationship. It is the central theme of the Mbuti magico-religious system, a glimmering of which we get in the legends relating to the supernatural, a system that is evidently quite distinct from that of the villagers, despite the common usage of certain names and practices. At this point perhaps, the two people are farthest apart.

CONCLUSIONS

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121 128 WE SET OUT TO MAKE an ethnographic survey of material on the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, to evaluate that material, and to see what problems it raised and which direction further field work should take. Rather than attempt to record the material from all sources, we used only the material that added to our knowledge of two specific groups of Mbuti—the archers of the southeastern Ituri Forest and the net hunters of the Epulu District. The rest of the material consists largely of isolated descriptive remarks which cannot always be accurately associated with any one particular region, let alone any particular group or band of hunters. Its inclusion would have added nothing to the sociological value of this work.

114 The material on the two groups to which we limited ourselves is by no means adequate either. Schebesta's information for the archers is to be regarded with caution because of his admittedly preconceived notions and his faulty methodology and field-work technique. The

114 Putnam material is drawn not from a single coherent account, but from a number of isolated manuscript notes and from the written observations of Anne Putnam, put together by myself in the light of my own partial knowledge at the time of writing, of the particular Pygmies of whom the Putnams write.

128 The survey must be taken as a survey of source material and not as an ethnographic description of two types of Mbuti society. Though I have tried to draw from the material as much description as possible, obvious gaps are revealed, particularly in our knowledge of the social structure of the Mbuti. We have virtually no information, for instance, on the kinship, legal, or political systems of either group. Undoubtedly, the social structure is simple, but it is all the more regrettable that we do not have any detailed description of it. Our ethnographic description, in so far as it is such, gives an account of various institutions but with no hint as to their interrelationship. The account itself is never sufficiently detailed to permit speculation with any accuracy. In one sense it is virgin ground for the field worker, but not completely so. The survey reveals that
128 the Mbuti should be studied with regard to
101 their economic classification as archers and net

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[P.273-C]

hunters rather than as Efe, Aka, or Sua—the 128
linguistic division made by Schebesta which 101
does not correspond to any sociological division. It may well emerge that there is a better classification, according to structural principles rather than purely economic differences, but at the moment this cannot be seen.

The survey also reveals a strange contrast 182
between an apparently simple social structure 53
and primitive material culture and a highly developed artistic sense. It seems worth while for the future field worker to pay particular attention to myth and mime, noting all the surrounding circumstances and not only the subject of representation. Similarly music is of obvious social importance and should be fully treated, with special attention to the social context. We might in this way gain some insight into the Mbuti system of values, which not only would be of significance itself but would immeasurably help our understanding of the relationship between the Mbuti and the villagers.

In treating the Mbuti art forms, we must 182
determine both their function and their meaning, 53
to see how far they form part of the social structure, possibly as regulative mechanisms, and the values they express, maintain, or enforce. In so doing we can reach the heart of the Mbuti magico-religious system which promises, from the material presented here, to be of particular interest and to provide useful material for comparison with the magico-religious systems of other forest peoples, hunters and gatherers.

The Mbuti-villager relationship is probably 177
the major problem that arises from the survey. 439
We try to show, particularly by citing the 1954 *nkumbi* initiation, that this relationship is not a straightforward symbiosis based on necessary trade amounting to a division of labor between the two people. Such a division of labor exists, but it is an outward symbol of the relationship rather than its inner core. In studying this problem we are studying social change which is likely to assume a different form for each hunting band we consider. There are practical 177
grounds for the difference between the relationship 439
of the archers to their villager neighbors 184
and that of the more nomadic net hunters to

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177 439 184 theirs. There is also evidence, but in regrettably little detail, that certain hunting bands maintain a client-patron relationship by specializing in elephant hunting, bringing the tusks to the villagers, on whom they rely for all vegetable products and on the edge of whose villages they live in permanent camps.

177 However, no matter how great or little the degree of dependence on the villagers, the Mbuti for whom we have any information all seem to maintain a distinct individuality in opposition to the villagers, despite their apparent adoption of villager institutions and even of [881] villager language. With regard to the adoption of villager customs, the 1954 ***nkumbi*** shows the degree to which this adoption may be a mere superficial conformity and may indeed conceal a formal rejection of villager values. A very careful study should be made of all such institutions held in common, if not practiced jointly.

177 184 It is indeed at this level that we seem to find some excuse for referring to the Ituri Mbuti as a single people rather than as consisting of a number of widely scattered, semi-independent

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

P hunting bands. We seem to have, throughout,
177 this clear opposition between the forest and the
184 outer world, the Pygmies and the villagers, the
human and the non-human worlds. As far as we
can see, both the archer communities and the
net hunters maintain their separateness, however
close their symbiosis with the villagers
may appear to be. They maintain not only a
physical distance between themselves and their
villager neighbors, but also a spiritual one,
emphasizing their own indigenous system of
values in opposition to that of the villagers. It
remains for further field work to tell us whether
the system of values held by each group is the
P same, common to all Mbuti, or not. Despite the
difference between Schebesta's account of the
[575] archer *toré* association and my own account of
[114] the *molimo*, a re-interpretation of the material
published by Schebesta could easily suggest
that there is a remarkable degree of unity here.
But as presented, the facts could be interpreted
in any number of ways.

P The Mbuti is always conscious of his relationship
829 with the villager and of the subordi-
648 nate position he is forced to accept. It is a major
186 consideration, it seems, that must be taken into
Z account in every aspect of his life when he is in
563 the village (here I refer mainly to the net

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1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[P. 274-C]

hunters). Even in situations that do not di- P 829
rectly associate the two groups, the Mbuti 648
thinks in terms of his ethnic status. Thus, when 186
the villagers were taxed by the administration Z
and exemption was granted to all Mbuti, the 563
point at issue among the Pygmy hunters when [648]
they discussed the matter was whether or not [651]
such exemption was a slight on the Mbuti, placing them somehow on a lower level than the tax-paying villagers. At least one Mbuti felt so strongly that he secured the necessary money and insisted on paying. The majority, however, compromised by saying that they were different people, so why should the same law be expected to apply to all?

The villager himself opposes the two worlds Z
just as does the Pygmy. While he always tries 829
to include the Pygmy in social, economic, and 563
political fields, there is a rejection at the magico-religious level. In the *nkumbi*, the villagers Z
seemed to be both aware of and unconcerned [881]
with the formal rejection by the Mbuti of villager values associated with initiation; the villagers failed to introduce their *molimo* into the ceremony, presumably because there were no villager boys present.

no villager boys present. But even more obvi- P
ous, and ever manifesting itself, is the difference 178
between the two people in their attitude to the 181
forest. In the legends as told by the Mbuti we Z
see something of the Mbuti attitude to the 776
forest as the provider of all that is good and
bad, as the source of the essentially good life of 186
the Mbuti people. The forest is a place to be
trusted (witness the *molimo* invocation to the
God of the Forest) and loved. The villagers, on
the other hand, fear the forest and people it
with malevolent spirits. In their fear of the
forest, there is necessarily an element of fear of
the Mbuti, whom they recognize as its original
inhabitants, as forest people. It is perhaps P
worth mentioning that Possoz (1954, 257) Z
claims that the term "*Batwa*," derived from [101]
"*Batoa*," was originally applied by the Bantu- Z
speaking tribes to the Pygmies, denoting that [829]
the latter were of older stock, closer to the
ancestors and so worthy of veneration. The
more recent term "*Batswa*," however, means
"those in the course of disappearing." It would Z
be difficult to prove or disprove such etymologi- 186
cal deductions, but there is other evidence that 829
the villager inhabitants of the Ituri Forest do
not entirely lack respect for the Mbuti. There

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[P.275-A]

Z is even the formalized manifestation of this
186 respect mentioned by Joset (1947, 13) when the
829 Bira villagers offer first fruits to the Mbuti.

P The Mbuti, on the other hand, when they are
186 in the presence of the villagers, do not openly
181 assert their own attitudes and values but,
Z rather, reinforce those of the villagers, telling
181 stories of the terrible things that can happen in
the forest and of the difficult and dangerous life there. The Mbuti regard the villagers as uninitiated foreigners, alien if not actually hostile, to their own forest world. They therefore tolerate, it would appear, the fanciful beliefs of these outsiders, effectively preventing the villagers from entering the forest, either physically or spiritually. The villager is afraid to enter the forest, and his belief in the evil nature of the forest erects an effective spiritual barrier between himself and the Mbuti. The taboos and magical practices that he observes are in accord with his religious beliefs and his system of

P values. To the Pygmy, however, these same
186 practices are meaningless, as they do not conform with his own notions of the forest world.
181 There is, consequently, a hiatus in the relation-
Z ship between the two people or rather a hiatus
181 between their relative systems of values and their structural relationship. For a proper understanding of the situation we need a great deal more data, the gathering of which should be one of the foremost tasks of any field-work project.

P
121 With reference to such a project, there appear to be two main needs. First, there is a need for detailed studies of representative hunting bands, both archer and net hunter, and of their relationships with their villager neighbors. Second, we need as large a number of such studies as possible for purposes of comparison, not only according to economic technique, but according to other possible systems of classification by structural principles or by degrees of affiliation to different villager tribes. The second need will be fulfilled simply by an extension of the first project. This initial project must necessarily cover not only a single band but other hunting bands with which it is associated through bonds of marriage or for any other reason that may become apparent. At the moment, the single hunting band appears to be the major effective political unit. Such single hunting bands are loosely associated only through

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marriage or very rarely through cooperation in the hunt, this latter sometimes accompanying a process of fission or fusion. In the course of such a study it should appear how far all these bands unite in terms of values in opposition to the villagers. This question will be further extended when we come to study another such loose association of hunting bands, that which utilizes one or other of the alternative hunting techniques. 121

Thus we shall be studying the social structure of individual hunting bands and the structural relationship between different bands (presumably but not necessarily utilizing the same hunting technique). The structural differences and relationships between one type of hunting band and another should then appear and the identity or difference in their systems of values. In the course of the study we shall probably accumulate material for a comparison of the relationships of these different groups to their villager neighbors and will learn what generalizations, if any, can be made about this relationship.

It would seem advisable to begin by working in the communities already covered in the survey, checking and verifying the known information and filling in the numerous gaps. It should be possible by an eastward extension of the study of the Epulu net hunters to reach the point where they come in contact with a westward extension of the archers in the southeast of the area. The Pygmies ("Aka") in the north, [101] of whom little is known at present, should certainly be included in the study, in so far as they can be fruitfully compared with the net hunters and archers. We should then at least know whether or not we are justified in using the term "Mbuti" to include all the Ituri Pygmies as a single cultural entity. It may prove that we are no more justified in studying them together on account of their outward physical similarity than we would be in regarding the Dinka and the Nuer as a single people simply because they both have long legs.

It seems unnecessary even to consider the question of origin or of "purity." We are interested in the situation as it is. We can consider the past only in so far as we know it with certainty (which is not very far), or in so far as it plays a part in the beliefs, attitudes, or values of the people we are studying, in which case it is

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121 part of the present situation. Nor need we be concerned whether any one group is more "acculturated" than another. In any case, the adoption, or otherwise, of villager institutions or language seems to be a poor index to the degree of assimilation involved. Nor can we assume that the simpler society is necessarily the purer, as parasitic organisms are usually simpler in structure than their hosts, who take over the function of certain parts of the parasite. The parasite community, while maintaining an outward separateness from the host, loses much of its own vitality and originality. On the other hand, the community that is taken over

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quickly and fully integrated, say, on a definite basis of division of labor, may well retain much of its original structure because it is still a fully live organism living a complementary rather than a dependent, or even partial, existence. 121

Eventually, then, the study should include such well-integrated groups of Pygmies, or Pygmoids, as the Kango, on the western edge of the Ituri; the Twa and the Tswa; and other Pygmy groups toward the west coast. We should then have some opportunity for seeing how far the term "Pygmy" has any anthropological meaning, but first we have to discover the same truth about the Ituri Mbuti.

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TEXT FIGURES

0004. Household utensils carved from wood, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    a. Stool (90.2-2862)
    b. Mortar (90.2-2861a)
    c. Pestle (90.2-2861b)
    d. Stirrer (90.2-2903)
5. Household utensils made from clay, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    a. Pipestem and clay bowl (90.2-2921)
    b. Cooking vessel (90.2-4962)
6. Hunting equipment, archers, Kilo District, East Ituri
    a. Bow (90.2-2851)
    b–h. Arrows (90.2-2852d, a, c, b, f, e, g)
7. Hunting equipment of a western archer from Nduye District, Central Ituri
    a. Bow (90.2-2848)
    b–h. Arrows (90.2-2849a–g)
    i. Dog bell (90.2-2899)
8. Hunting equipment, archers, Oysha District, Central Ituri
    a. Bow (90.2-2847)
    b–c. Arrows (90.2-2850c, f)
    d. Wrist protector (90.2-2856)

9. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri
    - a. Skin quiver (90.1-8913a)
    - b–i. Arrows (90.1–8913c–d; 90.2–2368a, g)
10. Hunting equipment, archers, Central Ituri
    - a–b. Spear, Bira (90.2-2837)
    - c. Spear, Bira, hafted by MButi (90.2–2936)
11. Fruit press, archers, Kilo District, East Ituri (90.2-3691)
13. Adze, Bira villages, rehafted by Mbuti archers, Central Ituri (90.2–2933)
14. Household utensils of metal, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    - a. Axblade (90.2-2916)
    - b. Ax (90.2-2928)
15. Miscellaneous items, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    - a. Comb (90.2-2907)
    - b. Flute, notched (90.2–2876)
    - c. Flute, notched (90.2-2877)
18. Broom, *edia*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2943)
19. Chair, *ngbanga*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2949)
20. Household furniture, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. Bench, *mbakati* (90.2-2951)
    - b. Bench, *mbakati* (90.2-2950)
21. Household utensils of metal, Bira villagers, Central Ituri

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[P·281-C] 000

- a. Machete (90.2-2929)
- b. Vessel, cooking (90.2-2866)
- c. Comb (90.2-2906)
- d. Vessel, cooking (90.2-2867)
- e. Knife (90.2-2935)
- f. Knife (90.2-2926)

22. Bark beater, *kolea*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2343)
24. Block and scraper of wood, *nkula* (also *ngula*), net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2942a–b)
25. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. *epo'u* vine (90.2-2814)
    - b. *esele* vine (90.2-3692)
26. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. *akoko* vine (90.2-2815)
    - b. *esele* vine (90.2-2920)
27. Barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. *le'engbe* vine (90.2-2818)
    - b. *akbanda* vine (90.2-2816)
28. Belts, *mokaba*, for barkcloth, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. (90.2-2810)
    - b. (90.2-2372)
    - c. (90.2-2812)

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29. Basketry hat, *ngala*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2808)
30. Personal adornment
    a. Seed, gardenia, *kangay*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2900)
    b. Hair decoration, *mongele* antelope hair, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2901)
    c. Bracelet, Bira, Central Ituri (90.2-2904)
    d. Bracelet, Bira, Central Ituri (90.2-2902)
    e. Nose and/or lip plug, *bobu*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2911)
    f. Comb, *kisanoa*, Bira, Central Ituri (90.2-2909)
    g. Comb, *kisanoa*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
31. Miscellaneous items, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    a. Resin flare, *kasuku*, (90.2-2939)
    b. Bark pipe, *mbende* (90.2-2919)
33. Prepared antelope hide, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2859)
34. Hunting net, *kuya*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2802)
35. Magic whistle, *mamambamamba*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2895)

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000 37. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
  a. Skin quiver, *baba* (90.2-2858)
  b. Bow, *mangé* (90.2-2366)
  c. Arrow, *api* (90.2-2367i)
  d. Arrow, *api* (90.2-2846c)
  e. Arrow, *api* (90.2-2846a)
  f. Wrist protector, *asuba* (90.2-2857)
38. Hunting equipment, net hunters
  a. Bow, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2842)
  b. Quiver, Central Ituri (90.1-7968b)
  c–e. Arrows, Central Ituri (90.1-7958o, e, i)
39. Hunting equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
  a. Bow (90.2-2361)
  b–k. Arrows (90.2-2367d, a, e, m, k, j, f, c, l, b)
40. Spear, *ekonga*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2376)

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

00041. Gathering equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
  a. Basket, *so* (90.2-2804)
42. Gathering equipment, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
  a. Basket, *so* (90.2-2803)
  b. Basket, *so* (90.2-2805)
43. Gathering equipment, net hunters
  a. Honey container, *ebimba*, bark, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2944)
  b. Honey container, *apayabisi*, vine and leaf, West Nduye District, Central Ituri (90.2-2945)
  c–d. Clappers, *ngbengbe*, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2873a–b)
44. Baby-carrying sling, *koko*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-2822)
45. Toys, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
  a. Spear, *ekonga* (90.2-2840)
  b. Fire spear, *iswakamaboki* (90.2-2839)
  c. Castanets, *kolokbenje* (90.2-2869)
  d. Top, *tokiya* (90.2-2887)

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- e. Baby sling, *koko* (90.2-4964)
- f. Bark beater, *kolea* (90.2-2937)
- g. Seed whistle, *pho'u* (90.2-2882)
- h. Seed whistle, *pho'u* (90.2-2883)
- i. Wrist protector, *asuba* (90.2-2855)
- j. Basket, *so* (90.2-2806)
- k. Bow, *mangé* (90.2-2354), and arrow, *api* (90.2-2844e)

46. Initiation whip, *mbaka*, Bira villagers, Central Ituri (90.2-2833)
47. Initiation items, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    - a. Armbands, raffia (90.2-2355, 90.2-2356, 90.2-2357)
    - b. Skirt, grass (90.1-226)
48. Initiation masks, Bira villagers, Central Ituri
    - a. Mask, bark (90.2-2356)
    - b. Mouth mask, leaf (90.2-2830)
49. Wood carvings, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri
    - a. Male, standing (90.2-4686)
    - b. Tree (90.2-4687)

50. Headdresses, ***salakuku*****, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri** 000
    a. (90.2-2827)
    b. (90.2-2828)
51. Magical **paraphernalia, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri**
    a. Pipe, ***akbelea*****, attached to fur headband** (90.2-2890)
    b. Whistle, ***angbelu*****, wood (90.2-2896)**
    c. Antelope horn, ***anjo*** **(90.2-2893b)**
    d. Honey whistle, ***madé*** (90.2-2889)
    e. Honey whistle, ***madé*** (90.2-2888)
    f. Hunting whistle, ***manyongé*** **(90.2-2892)**
52. Split clappers, ***banja*****, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri (90.2-3693a–b)**
53. Fetish sticks, ***amati a oni ganza*****, Bira villagers,** Central Ituri
    a. (90.2-2952)
    b. (90.2-2953)

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PLATES 26–38

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PLATE 26 [1]

PYGMY PHYSICAL TYPES, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

888 a. An Mbuti elder. Too old to be a successful hunter, he can be sure of food and shelter,
142 provided by the younger generation of hunters, for as long as he lives. The genet skin hat
[292] is not a formal indication of status, but, effectively, only elders are likely to wear hats of
any kind.

142 b. An Mbuti hunter, upon whom, together with his wife, falls the main burden of pro-
885 viding for young and old. He will address the elders as "mother" and "father," regardless
576 of actual kinship considerations, and he will have toward them all the same obligations that
[604] he has toward his biological parents. The hand gesture, a snapping of the fingers onto the
[201] palm, is used in conversation as an indication of speed or sudden activity.

[1] /Plate 26 appears on page 285--Analyst/

[P 284]

888
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/Plate 26-A/

/Caption appears on p. 284/

[P. 285-A]

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/Plate 26-B/

/Caption appears on p. 284/

[P 285-B]

PLATE 27 1/

PYGMY PHYSICAL TYPES, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

888 301 177 a. An old Mbuti woman, probably around 60 years of age. She enjoys the respect and affection of her entire band. The pendant charm around her neck is of village origin, a gift from the Arabisé tribe of Ngwana cultivators. For them it is magic; for her it is purely decorative.

854 b. An Mbuti mother and child are close throughout life, but never more so than during the infancy of the child. Wrapped in a specially prepared piece of barkcloth, symbolic of the protection afforded the Mbuti by the forest, the infant is seldom out of its mother's arms. When it is, however, any woman or older girl may take the mother's place, holding, fondling, and even nursing the child.

1/Plate 27 appears on page 287--Analyst/

[P. 286]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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/Plate 27-A/

/Caption appears on p.286/

[P.287-A]

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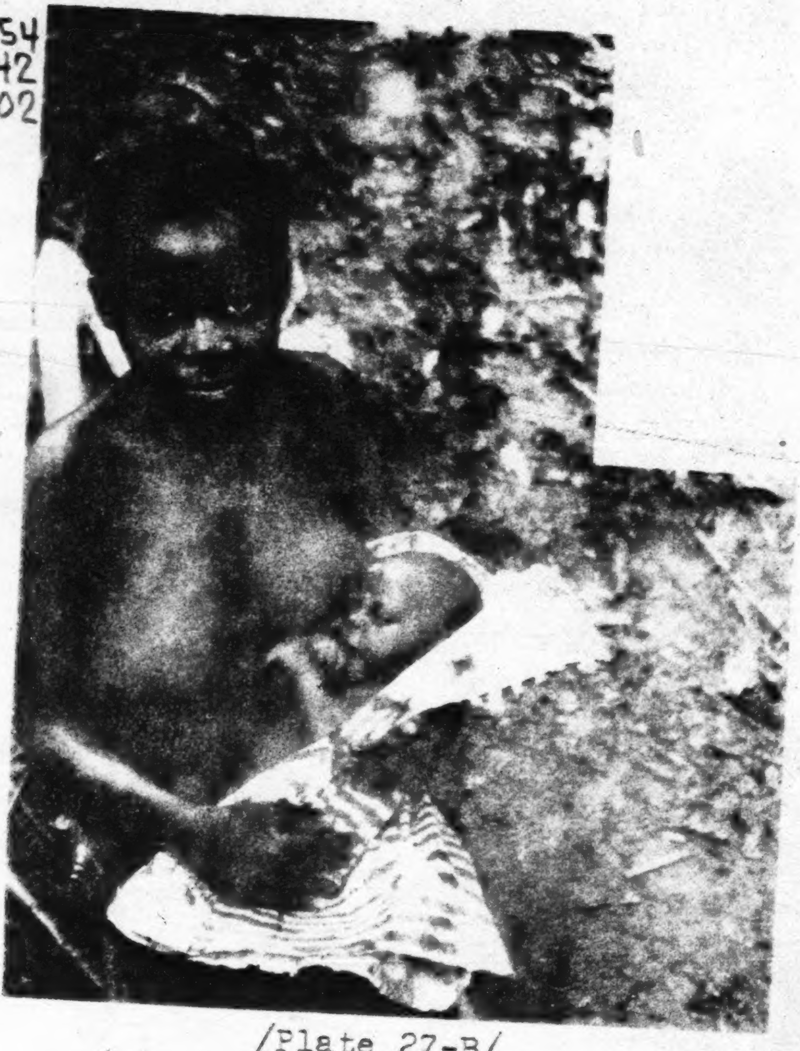
302



/Plate 27-B/

/Caption appears on p. 286/

PLATE 28[1]

855 PYGMY PHYSICAL TYPES, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

851 a. An Mbuti hunter and child. Every child has a father in every hunter, even in such a case as this, in which the child's mother was a member of the band until she married a villager, who fathered the boy. Such children are brought up in the village, as villagers, and never become members of an Mbuti band, however much affection they might receive when the hunters visit the village.

882 885 202 b. A youth, shortly to become a hunter. He will already be assuming the responsibilities of adulthood, though he is unlikely to own a hunting net of his own until he is married. Elbow clapping is a major means of signaling through the forest. By flexing the elbow against the side of the chest the sound box is enlarged or compressed, causing a variation in pitch, which, when combined with rhythmic variations, allows for the sending of reasonably complex messages. The result of a hunt can be quickly relayed back to the camp in this way.

[1],/Plate 28 appears on page 289--Analyst/

[P.288]

142
302
855
851

/Plate 28-A/

/Caption appears on p. 288/

[P.289-A]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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/Plate 28-B/

/Caption appears on p.288/

[P.289-B]

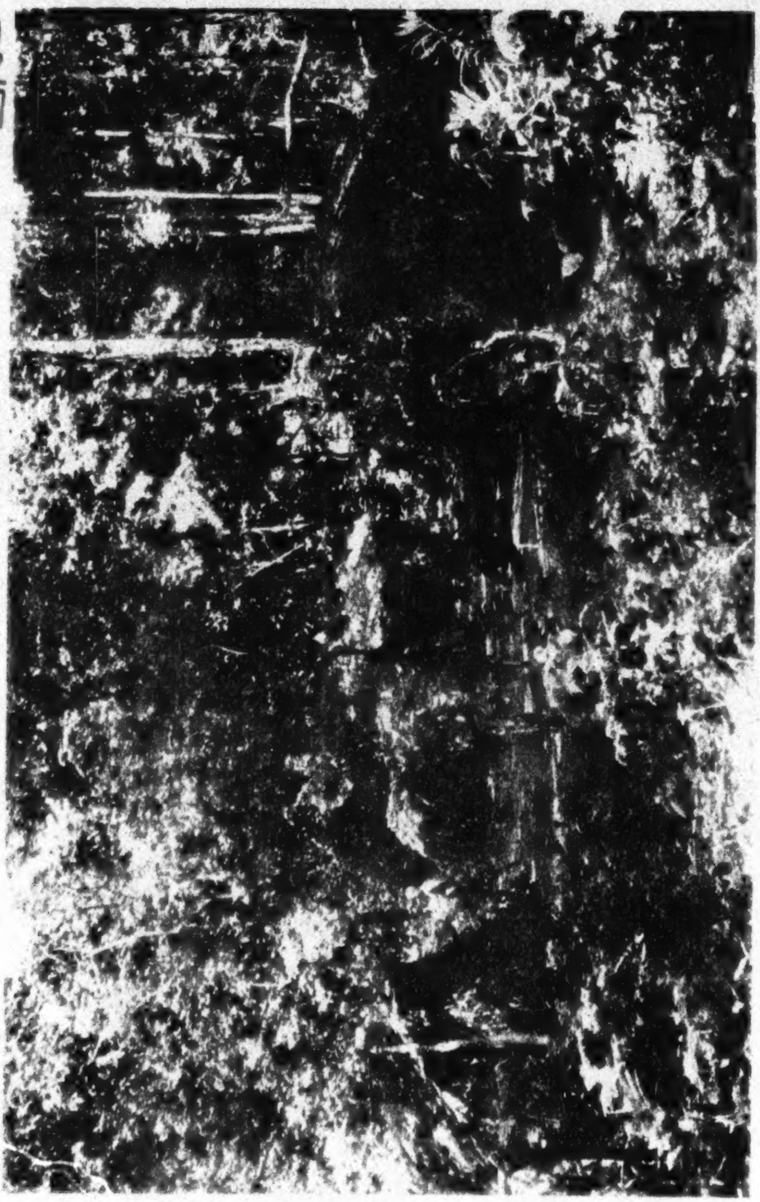
PLATE 29[1]

361
A Hunting Camp, Epulu District, Central Ituri

184 a. A hunting camp is always near a stream, usually in a natural clearing. A small archer
571 camp is often circular, but larger camps, such as those of the net hunters or of archers during
communal hunts, are more often irregular, reflecting not clan or lineage divisions so much as personal preferences, friendships, and hostilities that have little to do with kinship considerations.

621 b. A family group, such as this considered itself to be, may well consist, as this does, of
602 people linked not only by affinal connections but by the strongest bonds of friendship. The
887 elder in the center is a widower, living with the hunter to his right, whose child he holds.
Their relationship is that of distant affines, as is the elder's relationship with the other hunter, to his left (with wife and child) with whom he also sometimes lived. He thus formed a link between these two families, forming an effective subunit within the camp.

[1], /Plate 29 appears on page 291--Analyst/



/Plate 29-A/

/Caption appears on p.290/

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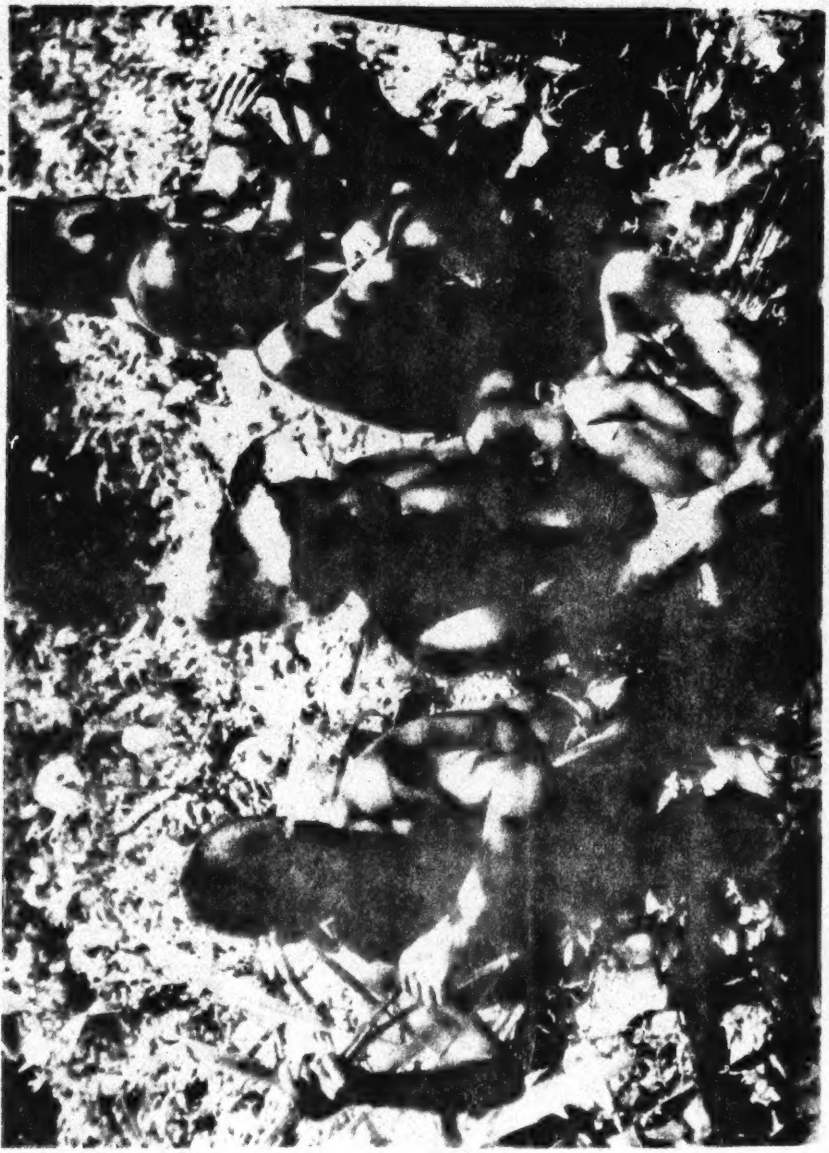

/Plate 29-B/

/Caption appears on p.290/

[P. 291-B]

PLATE 30[1]

Hut Building, Epulu District, Central Ituri

462 a. Hut building is one of the few activities reserved exclusively for women, who also have
593 the right to tear the hut down as a sign of conjugal distress. Here a woman is slitting the
342 stalks of the phrynium leaves that will form the roof, being hung like tiles.

824 b. Hut building. The frame is made of young saplings, collected by men and women,
but erected by the women in a matter of minutes. The leaf "tiles" are usually hung by
462 starting at the top and working downward. The entrance to the hut is changed, often
342 several times, as the camp grows, reflecting relationships between neighbors. At lower right
824 is an Mbuti stick seat.

591
352 [1],/Plate 30 appears on page 293--Analyst/

[P292]

142
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824

/Plate 30-A/

/Caption appears on p. 292/

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824
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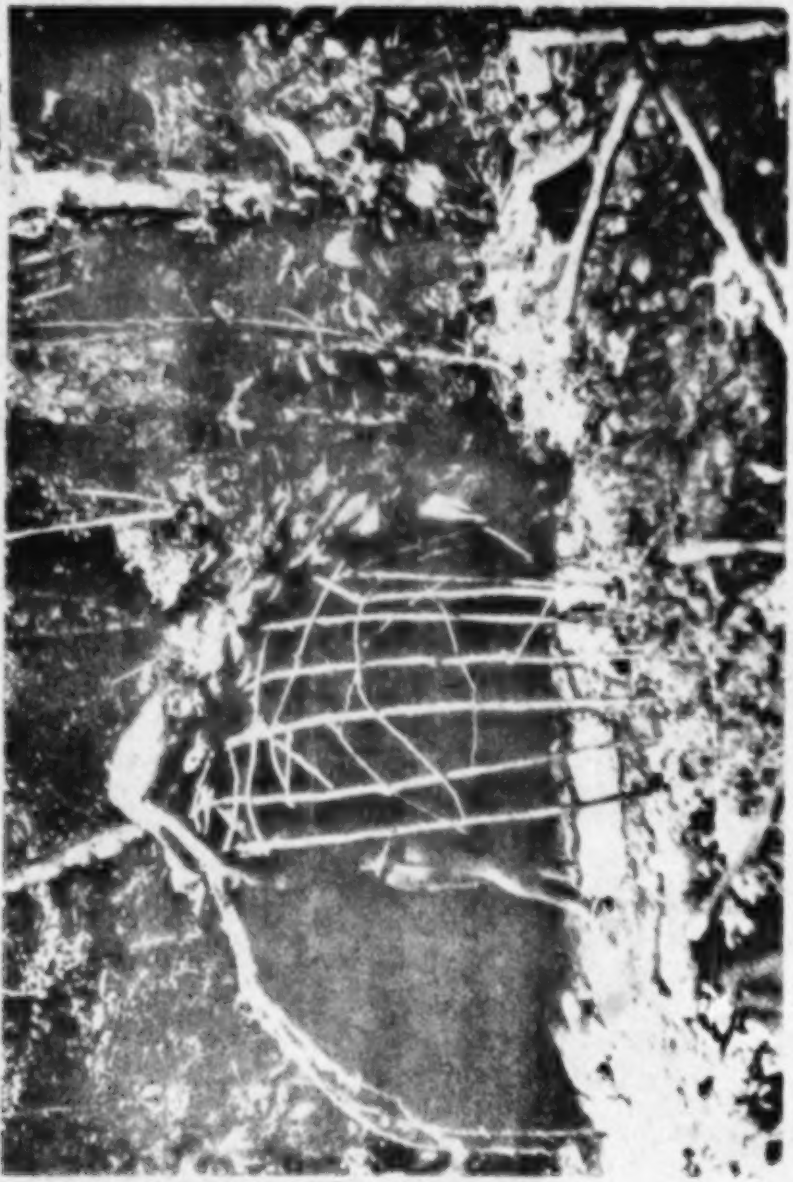

/Plate 30-B/

/Caption appears on p. 292/

[P 293-B]

PLATE 31[1]

516 MANUFACTURE OF BARKCLOTH, STRIPPING,
287 EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

Barkcloth manufacture is predominantly the work of youths or young hunters. The
412 first step, after the strip of bark is cut from a vine, is the stripping of the outer bark. Here a
883 youth uses his leg as a platform for support and works with a village-made machete. In the
177 absence of a metal blade, it is said by the Mbuti that they use slivers of bamboo or sharp
stones as knives.

[1] /Plate 31 appears on page 295--Analyst/

[P.294]

142
302
287
412
883
516
177

/Plate 31/
/Caption appears on p. 294/

PLATE 32[1]

MANUFACTURE OF BARKCLOTH, HAMMERING AND DECORATION, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

287 a. The stripped lengths of bark are softened in water or over a fire and then hammered
412 out with the end of an ivory tusk. Usually such hammers are hafted, though sometimes they
237 are used, as is the more rare wooden hammer, without being hafted. The tin can, the grass,
171 and the banana leaves indicate that this camp is in the near vicinity of a village.
b. Decoration. Women do all the decorating of barkcloth. They smear red *nkula* paste
287 onto the cloth with their fingers, or use small twigs to trace outlines in the black juice of
462 the gardenia fruit or the blue dye obtained from certain citrus fruits.
531
386 1, /Plate 32 appears on page 297--Analyst/

[P. 296]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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302
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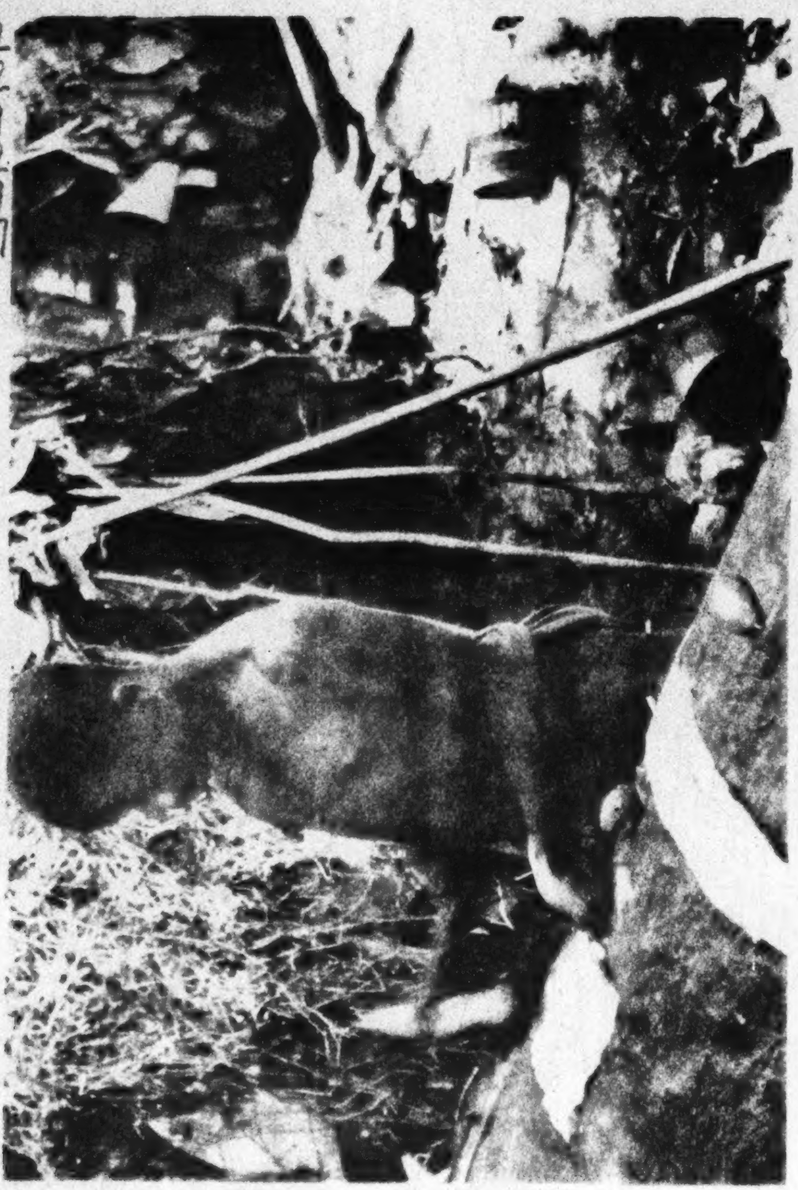
177



/Plate 32-A/

/Caption appears on p.296/

[P.297-A]

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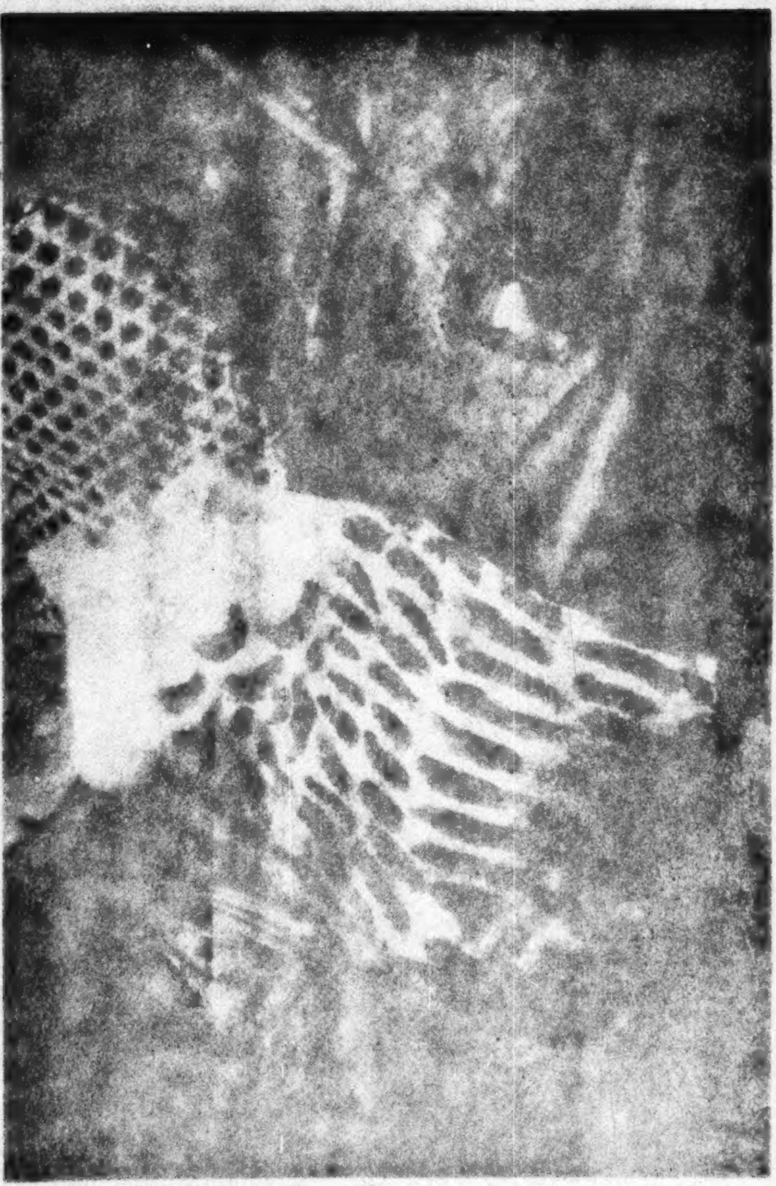

/Plate 32-B/

/Caption appears on p. 296/

[P.297-B]

PLATE 33[1]

AN MBUTI GATHERER WITH HER TYPICAL BASKET AND TUMP LINE, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

462 Women and girls do nearly all the gathering, though a man may pick any mushrooms or
482 fruits he happens across on the trail. Women are also responsible for the maintenance of
222 fire. Not knowing how to make fire, women always carry a smoldering ember, as does this
372 woman, wrapped in fire-resistant leaves.

[1] /Plate 33 appears on page 299--Analyst/

[P. 298]

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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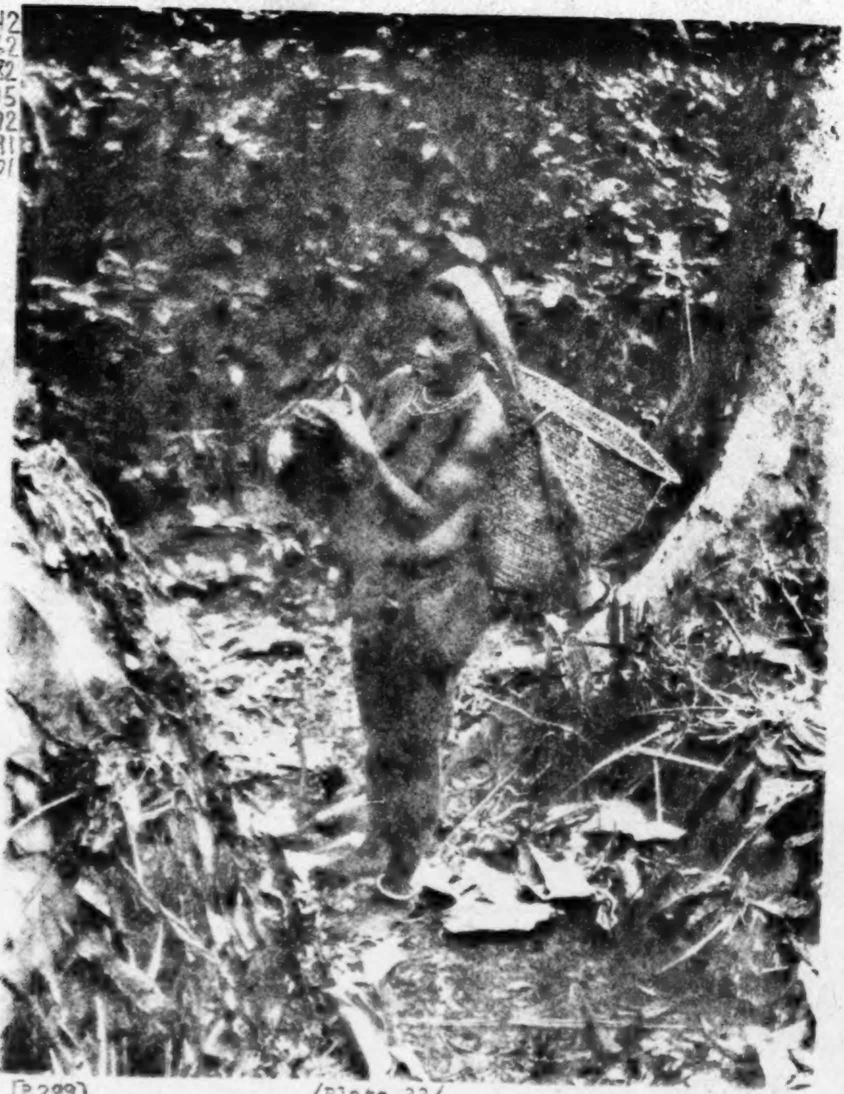
415
392
291
301



[P.299]

/Plate 33/
/Caption appears on p. 298/

[NET HUNTERS]

PLATE 34 [1]

Net Hunting, Epulu District, Central Ituri

224
484
a. Net hunters on the trail. The Mbuti are naturally well camouflaged and can conceal themselves with ease against the foliage. Although net hunting demands cooperation between men, women, and children, the men and youths generally set off by themselves. Spears are carried for protection and for killing large game that might fall into the nets.

b. Net hunters setting up the net. Youths help their older brothers, or sons their fathers, as the net is stretched through the undergrowth for up to 300 feet, joined end to end with the nets of other hunters to form a vast semicircle into which the women and children drive the game.

[1], /Plate 34 appears on page 301--Analyst/

[P. 300]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

224
484
137

/Plate 34-A/

/Caption appears on p. 300/

[P. 301-A]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

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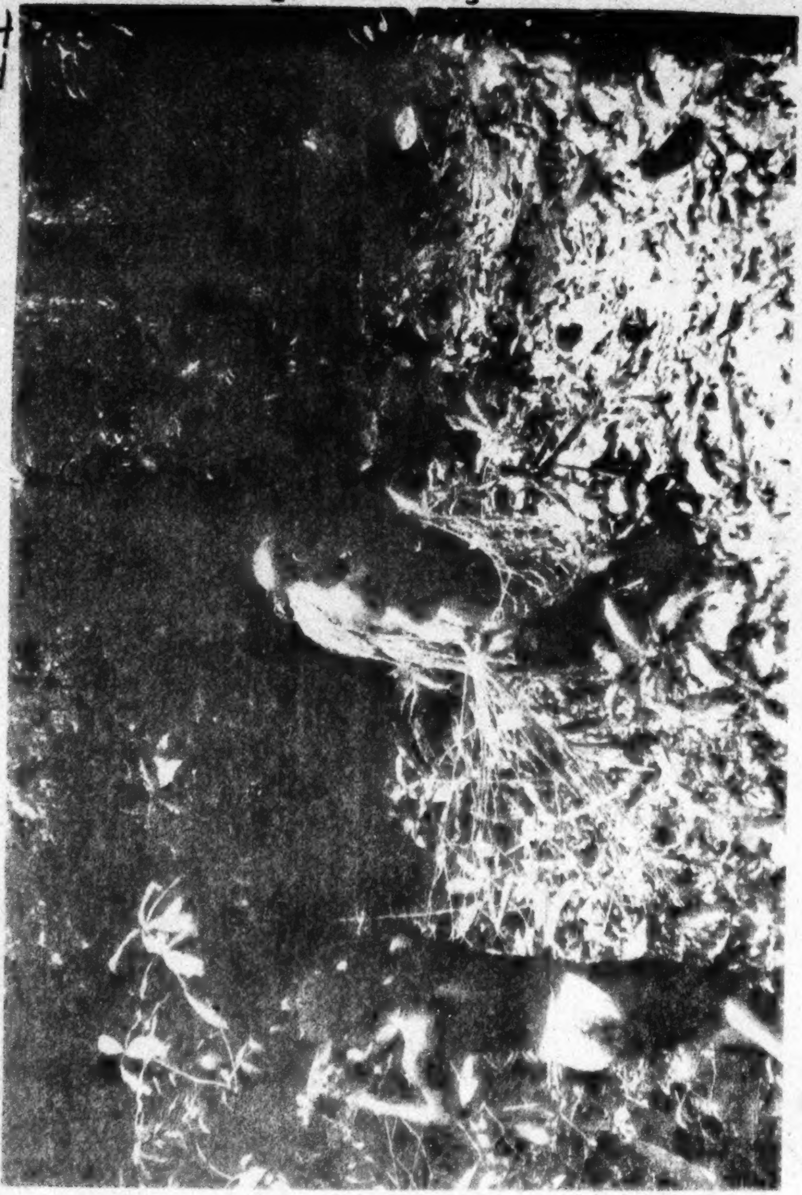


/Plate 34-B/

/Caption appears on p. 300/

[P 304-8]

[NET HUNTERS]

PLATE 35[1]

NET HUNTING, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

224 a. The kill. When an animal falls into the nets, nearby men and youths run to catch it before it tears itself loose or damages the net. As the men disentangle the trapped animal, a youth stands by with a spear ready to make the kill. Even the smallest antelope, when trapped, can be dangerous. Although the hunt is vital to the food economy of the Mbuti, they take no pleasure in the kill. It is considered a crime to hunt or kill more game than is essential for sustenance.

411 b. The main weapon of the archers, the bow and arrow, is for the net hunters only an incidental means of obtaining food. The net hunters prefer their own poisoned arrows with [197] a fire-hardened tip (as used here) rather than the unpoisoned metal tips supplied and used by the villagers.

[1] /Plate 35 appears on page 303--Analyst/

[P. 302]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

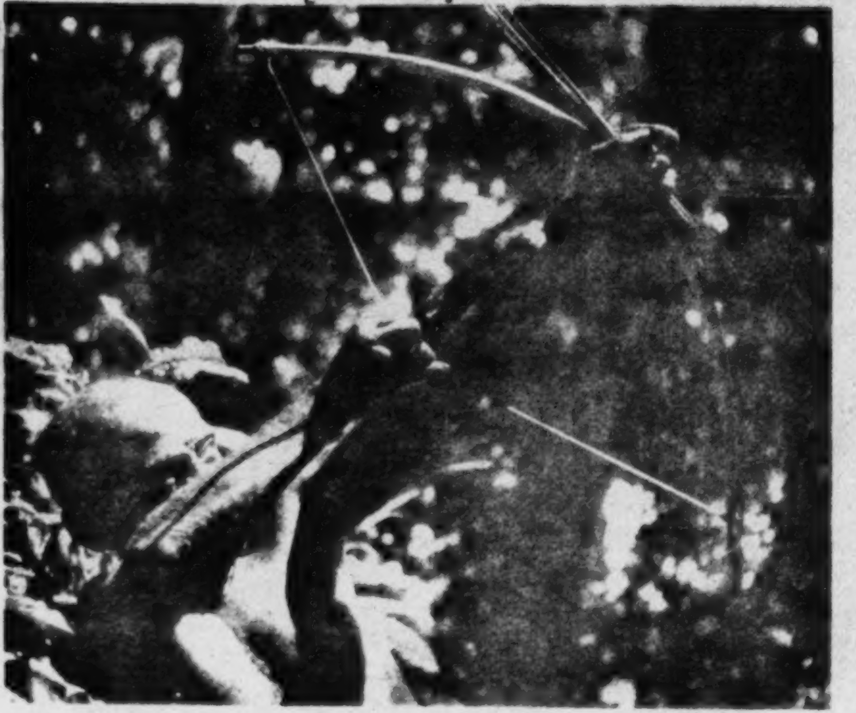
[NET HUNTERS]

224
291

/Plate 35-A/
/Caption appears on p. 302/

[NET HUNTERS]

411



/Plate 35-B/

/Caption appears on p.302/

[P. 303-B]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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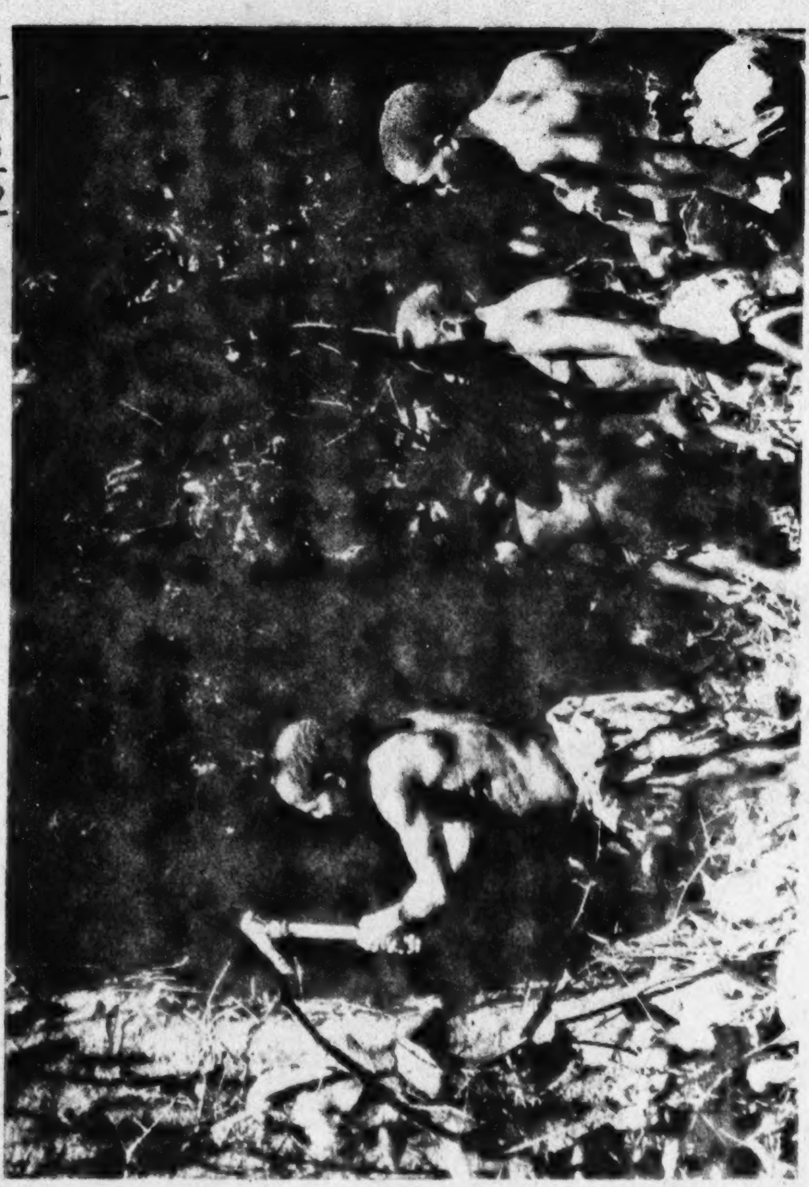

/Plate 36-A/

/Caption appears on p. 304/

[P.305-A]

PLATE 36[1]

COLLECTING HONEY, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

222 . a. Honey is generally found high in the treetops in the fork of a limb or in a bole. More
462 rarely, it is found in the main trunk a few feet above the ground. Only when the hive is in
412 a fallen trunk on the ground itself do women collect honey; at other times it is exclusively
the work of men and youths. An ax or adze is used to enlarge the opening, the bees are then
smoked out, and the honey is withdrawn by hand.

222 b. As with the rest of Mbuti food economy, honey is eaten as gathered, never stored.
262 Comb sections are eaten raw; the liquid is usually warmed over a fire and drunk. If the
252 honey contains too much dirt, it is wrapped in leaves and soaked in water which is then
[251] drunk.

[1] /Plate 36 appears on page 305--Analyst/

[P. 304]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
262
222

/Plate 36-B/

/Caption appears on p. 304/

[P.305-B]

PLATE 37[1]

MUSICAL BOW, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

534 Mbuti music is almost entirely vocal, the voice being accompanied by wooden clappers.
533 The musical bow is used sometimes to accompany the telling of legends or simply for personal
411 amusement. As here, it is most often simply the hunting bow, tapped with an arrow, the
[516] mouth acting as a resonator.

[1], /Plate 37 appears on page 307--Analyst/

[P 306]

142
534
411
516
302

/Plate 37/

[P307] /Caption appears on p. 306/

PLATE 38[1]

535 ### GIRLS' HOOP DANCE, EPULU DISTRICT, CENTRAL ITURI

533 Dance, together with song, forms the major outlet of artistic expression for the Mbuti.
796 The line between sacred and secular is almost non-existent. The hoop dance is used by girls
881 and women to celebrate the *elima*, or puberty, of one of their number, but it may be seen
also as an idle moment in almost any day. Words of accompanying songs are nearly in-
517 variably in praise of the forest.

[1], /Plate 38 appears on page 309--Analyst/

[P. 308]

142
291
535
796
881
533
517

[P309]

/Plate 38/
/Caption appears on p.308/

177
648
439
571

[For additional information on the relationship of the net-hunting bands of Mbuti Pygmies of Zaire and the Bira villagers, see information coded for the FO1 Zaire file in the FO4 Pygmies file in category 116, sources 1-3: Turnbull under the appropriate OWC subhead.]

794
881
765

Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[For information on the Molimo and Elima religious associations, see category 575.]

177
648
439
571

[For additional information on the relationship of the archer bands of Mbuti Pygmies of Zaire and the Lese villagers, see information coded for the FO1 Zaire file in the FO4 Pygmies file in category 116, sources 1-3: Turnbull under the appropriate OWC subhead.]

[P. i]

Wayward Servants

∞

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.ii]

133
137

[Frontispiece]

[P. iii]

Wayward Servants ooo

The Two Worlds of the African Pygmies

Colin M. Turnbull

PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

NHP

THE NATURAL HISTORY PRESS / GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

[Title Page]

000 The Natural History Press, publisher for The American Museum of Natural History, is a division of Doubleday & Company, Inc. Directed by a joint editorial board made up of members of the staff of both the Museum and Doubleday, the Natural History Press publishes books and periodicals in all branches of the life and earth sciences, including anthropology and astronomy. The Natural History Press has its editorial offices at The American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 79th Street, New York 24, New York, and its business offices at 501 Franklin Avenue, Garden City, New York.

[126] [128] The photographs for this book were taken by the author; the line illustrations were prepared by Nicholas Amarosi of The American Museum of Natural History.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 65-17265
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[P.V]

TO MY PARENTS,
WITH GRATITUDE AND LOVE 000

[P. Vi is blank]

Acknowledgments

The present study is based on field work conducted during the years 114
1957 and 1958, under the support of a grant from the Emslie Horni- 122
man Anthropological Trust. To the trustees I owe thanks not only for their financial aid, but also for their personal interest and encouragement.

My academic debt lies above all to the Institute of Social Anthro- 600
pology at Oxford and to its members under whom I studied. To them all I am sincerely grateful, and I hope that this work will to some extent justify their constantly cheerful, if at times somewhat skeptical, encouragement and optimism.

But for the patience and endurance of Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, I might never have enjoyed the privilege of being an anthropologist. Dr. John Peristiany was my first teacher, and his personal interest and understanding helped me to find my way during the first erratic years. But to Dr. Rodney Needham I owe more than I can 128
say, for he undertook to supervise this study and has nursed it along over a period of several years and across many thousands of miles of land and water. Despite all too infrequent opportunities for meeting, he persisted in his attempts to make the work more sound and perceptive. I am most conscious of many shortcomings; some due to the ever-restricting factor of time, but others due to the sheer difficulty of dealing with a theoretical and geographical area for which there is so little published material of real use. Largely because of this factor, the study is isolated and does not attempt to draw upon the comparative material that is available. Such comparisons can most fruitfully be made after further intensive field studies of the Mbuti have been made. The inherent problems of the field work have created many serious gaps that remain to be filled on the next field study, and this, together with the necessity for presenting a lengthy ethnographic description, has made the task of analysis infinitely more difficult. Dr. Needham's perceptiveness as well as his own field ex-

perience have been invaluable, but shortcomings still persist and are in no way his fault. 128

I would also like to thank the staff of the Anthropology Department of The American Museum of Natural History for their constant interest, agreement and disagreement, the Museum for allowing time for the work to be completed, and its library for their most friendly and helpful co-operation. 000

To the late Dr. Franz Olbrechts I also owe much for encouragement and very practical help, and to him and the staff of the then Musée Royal du Congo Belge my thanks for assistance both before and during the field trip, including free access to all their facilities, and for help in the less academic chore of clearing away much administrative red tape.

To Father Paul Schebesta I also owe thanks, for he first pioneered the field, and although we have had and still have sources of disagreement he has been as generous with his help as he has been with his criticism. In conversation and through correspondence he has at all times been willing to offer whatever help he could.

It is impossible to mention all those in Africa who helped make the study possible, most of all those among whom I worked. Of the others my thanks are particularly due to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Putnam, Father Longo of the Mission Catholique at Nduye, Father Brisson of Teturi, the Reverend Mr. and Mrs. George Bell of Biasiku, Pastor Chaptal of Bangui, and the Mission Evangélique de l'Oubangi, all of whom gave freely of their rich experience of many years spent among the peoples of the Congo.

Finally my thanks to those often neglected helpers who are invariably left to do the real donkeywork: Eleanor Skinner and Joseph Towles for typing and retyping, for checking and cross-checking, and for generally keeping track of where the various parts of the manuscript were; Nicholas Amorosi for his painstaking labors with the charts, plans and maps, and Marilyn Oakes for checking on all references, quotations and translations. 128

However incomplete this work may be, it would have been far more incomplete without such help. It is hoped that at least it is another step forward, and a sound one, offering a springboard for the further research that is so urgently needed. 000

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 gmies FO4
buti

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 1]

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

000

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CHAPTER 1

Objectives

The general purpose here is to add as much as possible to our knowledge of the Mbuti pygmies and of their much misunderstood relationship with the neighboring tribes of forest cultivators. The account is drawn from first-hand field experience, and is primarily intended to be of use to anthropologists. |2|

In the belief, however, that anthropologists are human beings, and that other human beings might equally well find much of interest in works of this kind, the currently fashionable academic jargon has been discarded. Such jargon in most cases only obscures what are often essentially simple basic truths, and so another objective is to present an academic study in plain language. I cannot claim to have been thoroughly consistent, for to have striven too hard would have led only to an equally artificial form.

Even so there may be those who will object, for the mystery, formerly obscured by an abuse of the English language, in this way becomes unveiled and accessible to all. I hope that what I say is plain, so that others may more easily and more usefully take issue with it. Before embarking on the account itself, however, a certain amount of ground-clearing for purely academic purposes is necessary.

of ground-clearing for purely academic purposes is necessary.

LIMITATIONS

It is important at the outset to define very clearly the objectives of the present study, so that its limitations may be plainly understood. Both the objectives and the limitations were a carefully preconsidered part of the field project, and form an integral part of the subsequent analysis. The reasons for accepting such limitations were, I believe, insuperable in the given circumstances.

The title perhaps indicates a wider scope than is covered by the work, but it is believed that there are good grounds for using this

121 [101] study as a comparative base from which the study of the Mbuti as a whole may be more speedily and accurately advanced. It is also believed that although the bulk of the study involves a single hunting band, much of the basic structure uncovered applies to other Mbuti bands. The major limitation, however, is that we are here concerned primarily with one band rather than with the Mbuti as a whole, yet this was an inevitable necessity.

Other limitations arise from the lack of monographs on comparable groups of forest nomads, from my consequent reluctance to generalize too far from so narrow a base, and from the difficulty of presenting the principles of organization of a society that does not possess the formal institutions found in larger and more sedentary societies. Nonetheless, such principles plainly must exist, and while our general objective is to outline the form and structure of the Mbuti hunters and gatherers of the Ituri Forest in the northeast Congo (Leopoldville), we also have the more particular objective of searching for the elusive principles that integrate each apparently autonomous Mbuti band, giving it an identity of its own by which it recognizes itself and its integral but diffuse relationship with other bands. For it is in light of these principles that we must try to understand the effective but problematical relationship that pertains between any Mbuti band and the village cultivators who are its neighbors.

121 114 Another limitation derives from the lack of reference material on the Mbuti, which necessitated the gathering of ethnographic minutiae in the field and their presentation here, adding considerably to the bulk despite vigorous sifting. However, without a firm ethnographic base no analysis would be possible, so the provision of such a base is considered a prime prerequisite.

I have elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) given reasons for rejecting ex-

I have elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) given reasons for rejecting ex-

isting sources for both purposes of general comparison and particular analysis, though this is not to deny their possible value in other fields. My own subsequent account of the Mbuti (Turnbull, 1961) was in no way intended as an academic study, nor is it suited for use as such, though it served a useful purpose in helping the field worker detach himself from the subject of his study, enabling him to examine it more critically.

[177] In my examination of other sources (1956) it was suggested that subsequent field work might discover a more meaningful division of the Ituri Mbuti than the linguistic division made by Schebesta, as

the languages referred to, although spoken by the Mbuti, were evi- 121
dently of non-Mbuti origin. Consequently another objective of the [114]
present study, based on further field work, is to begin to look for [197]
valid structural differences that do exist, following up the conten- [224]
tion (*ibid.*) that one would expect to find such differences between
the Mbuti who hunt by net and those who hunt with bow and ar-
row. The boundaries of the net-hunters and archers incidentally cor- [197]
respond, very roughly, to the linguistic boundaries drawn by Schebesta
between the Sua- and Efe-speaking Mbuti: the Aka, to the north,
although somewhat divided amongst themselves, offer a third cate-
gory, some of them using the spear as their prime weapon.

To all these ends it was decided to make a further field trip in which one hunting band would be studied intensively throughout a calendar year, and in which as much comparative material as time and field conditions permitted would be gathered from other hunting bands. It was decided in advance, in the light of previous personal experience, that the sacrifice of a whole year to the study of one small band was essential, even though it would mean that any final conclusions about the general nature of Mbuti society would have to be delayed until a number of other such studies had been made. A band of either archers or net-hunters is a highly mobile, volatile entity, demanding of the field worker the utmost persistence in both physical and intellectual pursuit. It was quite obvious, also from previous experience, that the band not only constantly changes location, but it also constantly changes in composition. The significance of these fluctuations would only be discovered, it was felt, by following them right through their course in one given hunting territory before attempting any comparative studies among other bands. Above all it was essential in one band to find out what the significant social groupings were, and what principles enabled them to maintain any kind

ings were, and what principles enabled them to maintain any kind

of consistency and continuity in the face of perpetual change. How was the band divided, along exactly what lines did the characteristic splits occur, what forces operated to hold the band together and to divide it? The scope of the one-band study was aimed at answering such questions and others that concern band relationships with local villages of cultivators. It was hoped to arrive at an understanding of the true nature of the over-all Mbuti/Villager relationship in this area, following up on the suggestion made earlier (Turnbull, 1956, 363–64) that this relationship was not one of master/servant, still less of slavery, and probably not even of symbiosis.

121 In paying special attention to this relationship it was felt that the otherwise intangible value-system of the Mbuti would be more clearly revealed, leading to an understanding of the ritual relationship that appeared to exist between the Mbuti and the forest, as implied in the accounts of other observers and in my own prior experience, but nowhere made explicit.

114 EXECUTION

161 131 Field work was undertaken between the summer of 1957 and the late winter of 1958, entering the then Belgian Congo by driving through from the West Coast, collecting as many local accounts of pygmy or pygmoid hunters and gatherers along the way as possible, for future reference. Such accounts were gathered in Dahomey, Nigeria (particularly towards the east), the Cameroons, Gabon and throughout the Congo, but few hunting bands were encountered until well towards the Ubangi River (see Map 1). It was decided not to spend time trying to make contact, except on the far side of the Ubangi, where contact was relatively easy, and where there were also some Binga pygmies from the west bank of the river.

114 131 [144] From the Ubangi over to the Ituri it was quite obvious that, as elsewhere, true hunting bands only existed where there was substantial primary forest, and that elsewhere not only was the hunting and gathering economy defunct, but there had been so much intermarriage that one could not truly speak of a pygmy physical type any more than one could speak of a pygmy culture.

Leaving aside the forested area south of the Congo River, which I did not cover but for which pygmoid groups are reported, I found relatively isolated bands of pygmy and pygmoid hunters and gatherers to exist in the forests of the Gabon and the Cameroons, and in the

relatively isolated bands of pygmy and pygmoid hunters and gatherers to exist in the forests of the Gabon and the Cameroons, and in the

Congo Republic (Brazzaville) as well as in the forested regions around the Ubangi River. [101] But by far the heaviest concentration is in the Ituri Forest, where all the pygmies recognize their unity in the name Mbuti, and where both the physical and the cultural integrity of the hunters and gatherers seems to have been best preserved.

121 There was no question that this was the right area for the major bulk of the field work, but there was some question as to which band to select for the intensive study. I eventually decided on the Epulu

net-hunters for a variety of reasons, their central location (see Map 2) being only one. 121

There were several more immediate reasons, which I give now, as the choice may be a point of some criticism: 121 123

1) I had already been among this band on two prior occasions, and had established with them a most friendly relationship that I knew would guarantee me immediate access to their forest hunting camps. Although I was known among other bands, there did not exist the same degree of intimacy and trust, and the Mbuti are by nature reserved and suspicious when faced with the prospect of having a stranger in their forest camps. [609]

2) I was also well known to the Epulu villagers, and could anticipate the need for understanding and tolerance from this direction.

3) Father Schebesta (1957) had previously attacked my discussion of the significance of the music and ceremonial (Turnbull, 1955, 1957[1]) by saying that this same band was particularly acculturated and therefore not representative.[1] As the whole point of my argument was the superficiality of the acculturation, and granting that this band had all the appearances of gross acculturation, this seemed like an excellent opportunity for testing a hypothesis that I felt to be valid, and that I also suspected to have far deeper significance in the total Mbuti social structure than I at present recognized. 114 121

4) In selecting a net-hunting band I would at least be adding to Schebesta's general ethnographic description, which was mostly concerned with the archers, rather than be duplicating it.

5) Because of its central location I would be able to move relatively rapidly to other areas in the forest if the occasion demanded, and when in other areas I would still be able to stay within a few days' reach of the Epulu band, in case I needed to return. Also because of its central location, there seemed to be some possibility of establishing contact not only with other net-hunting bands, but also possibly with archer bands, in the normal course of the year's migrations. 114 131

6) The continued existence of Camp Putnam, on the Epulu River, offered me a base where I could keep essential supplies in safety, and where I would not alienate myself from the villagers with whom I would eventually have to work by having to stay at a government rest-house or with other Europeans. 114 131 122

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[1] For a further clarification of Schebesta's attitude, see my article on the nkumbi initiation (Turnbull, 1957), his rejoinder and subsequent recantation (Schebesta, 1958, 1963).

114 rest-house or with other Europeans. Mr. and Mrs. Putnam had long
established their own *bona fides*, and indeed fitted perfectly into the
traditional village structure in this area, where a number of different
114 village tribes converge. Their friendship for me placed me on a particularly
123 favorable footing with both the villagers and the Mbuti, and
I knew that I could count on protection from any interference from
other Europeans, administrators included, who might wish to visit
me. (Naturally I established perfect accord with the central and local
administration, who offered every co-operation, but I was particularly
concerned that I should not receive "friendly visits," as it was
the policy of both villagers and Mbuti, for different reasons, to keep
Europeans out of the forest.)

[122] Having established my headquarters, building a somewhat larger
but otherwise typical mud house on the fringe of the village where
the Mbuti had their semi-permanent village camp (see Plan 1A,
1B), I paid my respects to the divers local village chiefs and head
men, mostly of the Bira, Ndaka, and Ngwana tribes. At this time
[164] the local Mbuti band was in the village, but a sudden epidemic of
[165] stomach disorders, resulting in a number of unexpected deaths,
caused them to leave for a prolonged hunting spell in the forest, taking
me with them.

While the deaths, which included men, women and children, were
most untimely and unhappy from a personal point of view, they
achieved everything else that I could have wished for as an anthropologist.
Prior to precipitating the flight back to the forest, they gave
me an opportunity to study in the greatest detail the reaction to the
death of an Mbuti in the village, both from the village point of view
123 and from that of the Mbuti themselves. I at once witnessed what I
648 had seen on my previous visit when observing the *nkumbi* initiation;
*177 namely, the almost desperate attempt of the villagers to assert authority
over the Mbuti. In this case the attempt was made by controlling
[192] the mourning and burial proceedings, claiming that the
Mbuti had no ritual authority in this respect and were dependent on
their *kpara* ("masters"). The villagers attempted to subject the Mbuti
to the supernatural sanctions of village lore, and then they attempted
to assert more direct political control by calling on their own ritual
specialists to determine the cause of the deaths, and to search for the
witch responsible. This will be described later (pp. 74 *seq.*); it is mentioned
here to show how closely I was thrown into contact, at the
outset, with the Mbuti/Villager relationship.

Upon establishing what was, for me, the first hunting camp of the 123
year, there commenced what I might here call the real mourning fes- 114
tivities, as opposed to the festivities imposed upon the Mbuti when 764
in the village. One of the persons to die had been an old and much 765
respected and beloved Mbuti lady, Balekimito. Her death was made
the occasion for a great *molimo* festival, which within the first three
months of my field trip brought me right to the heart of the Mbuti
magico-religious system. Subsequent investigation elsewhere, even [184]
among archer bands, revealed a degree of similarity that makes it
possible to generalize widely from the base of this single band study,
in this realm at least.

I followed the same band throughout its entire series of migra- 114
tions, living in every camp it established during the course of some 166
fourteen months. During this time the band was sometimes entirely
in residence in the Epulu village, in which case I was there with it;
on occasion it was entirely in the forest, and sometimes it was divided
between the two. When it divided I simply had to distribute
my attentions as the occasion seemed to demand. Sometimes I was
able to make use of an informant in the other division, and I trained
three Mbuti youths for this purpose.

On two occasions I was able to take quick side trips to other parts 114
of the forest, but I left the bulk of my search for comparative material
among other bands until I felt that one complete annual cycle had
been completed. It so happened that the process of fission and fusion [126]
was more systemized than I had anticipated, and my records of consecutive
changes in the composition of the hunting band clearly
showed the pattern in time for me to be able to spend a few months
in different parts of the forest, with both net-hunters and archers, and
even allowed me to make a brief excursion to the Kivu district and
to Ruanda and Burundi, though the material gathered there was not
immediately comparable.

FIELD TECHNIQUE

Before myself assessing the results, and in order to enable others 123
to assess and evaluate the material here presented, it is important
that field method should be discussed. The particular technique I
employed was born of the particular situation. I do not claim that
any other technique was impossible, but I do claim that for the re-

123 sults I wanted I had no alternative. Other methods would have produced different, though not necessarily contrary, results.

However, there were inherent limitations in the technique followed,
which involved close identification and integration between
myself and the Epulu net-hunters. For one, by identifying myself
123 with the Mbuti, my relationships with the villagers were automatically
648 worsened; the mere fact that I preferred to study the Mbuti
rather than the villagers was ground enough for hostility. But being
[122] accepted by the Mbuti in their forest hunting camps was a privilege
denied to most villagers (though few would have wanted it), and
learning to speak the village language with a strong Mbuti accent
that made it almost unintelligible except to other Mbuti added further
fuel to the fire. This all made it extremely difficult for me to see
the Mbuti/Villager relationship from any but the Mbuti point of
view, though I tried, at the end of 1958, to establish a better rapport
with villages both in and beyond the Epulu area.

However, it was impossible for me not to take sides. Had I wished to work as an outside observer I am not even sure that it could have been done, as I do not think such an observer would have been tolerated for long in the forest camps. And as an outsider I would certainly have been denied familiarity with many aspects of Mbuti life, particularly the all-important *molimo* festival. In fact, as an "insider" I was able to observe the process of exclusion of the few outsiders temporarily admitted to a forest camp. But in any case I was quickly forced by purely practical considerations to take sides.

123 During the burial proceedings in the village, for instance, in the
648 first month of my stay, I was invited by both Mbuti and villagers to
784 take part. But whereas the villagers wanted me to stand by and watch
the digging of the grave under villager supervision, the Mbuti wanted
me to help out with the digging. By acceding to the latter wish I
automatically lost my status among the supervisors, and in fact became
unclean and had to ritually wash myself with the other gravediggers.
And during the post-burial meeting of the men, when the
villagers all argued among themselves as to which Mbuti witch had
caused the death, I had the choice of listening on one side of the
grave with the villagers or of standing on the other side with the
Mbuti and being associated in this way with their mirth and their
ridicule of what was, to them, an utterly nonsensical procedure. And
when on one occasion a burial took place on the morning of the day
that a wedding was to be held in a neighboring village, I had the

choice of staying to listen to the villagers ceremonially wail on behalf 123
of the dead Mbuti, or of going off with the rest of the burial party, 648
as soon as the grave was filled, to the wedding. I found it more sen- 764
sible as well as more congenial to prefer the wedding to the wailing.

These are only a few of the many instances where a choice had to 123
be made, where no middle road was possible even had it been desirable. The result is then necessarily to some extent one-sided, for no matter how I tried to effect a balance by subsequent investigation, I still feel an urgent need to conduct further field work, taking the village standpoint.

Once started on the road, the process of identification was swift, but never complete enough to render it impossible to observe intelligently and with deliberate detachment. Such temporary blindness to other points of view as occurred took some time to wear off, and this was perhaps the major drawback of the technique, and one that should be borne in mind in the more interpretive parts of this work, for it resulted in a number of unasked and therefore unanswered questions.

Integration demanded a number of things, one of which was that 123
I should at all times be as fully mobile as any Mbuti. This cut down 122
the belongings that I could carry with me; a blanket, a single change 114
of clothes, a typewriter, paper and pencils. With a bundle of this size on my back I was able to travel as fast as was necessary whenever the band moved from one camp to another. It meant that I was economically dependent upon the band, however, so some kind of equilibrium had to be reached. I was not successful as a hunter, being too large and clumsy, and I did not carry a gun nor did I wish to acquire food in this way. When within easy reach of the village, then, I would acquire supplies of village foods, such as plantains, beans, rice and peanuts, at the same time that the Mbuti got their supplies. Instead of barter or theft I used currency, but bought only comparable quan-
tities of exactly the same kind of food as the Mbuti. It was then
cooked, usually by a youth who acted as general assistant, informant, [976]
guide, mentor and censor, but sometimes by myself or by another [589]
bachelor, and shared, as was the custom, among any bachelors who were around at the time. As was also the custom, I was adopted by a woman whose husband was away, but who still had his hunting net and sent it out each day with her stepson. She also sometimes cooked for me, and always built my hut, as she did for the rest of her family.

123 589 Being a bachelor made my integration into family life somewhat easier than it might have been otherwise, and my reciprocal duties were not heavy, mainly involving my working with other bachelors in collecting the saplings and leaves used for making the huts. But being unable to make any great contribution to the food economy, although I participated in the hunt, I found myself pushed into another category that I subsequently discovered to be a perfectly traditional one for incompetent hunters and some others—that of buffoon. This was very convenient, as it meant that I was the recipient of threats, ridicule, jokes and gossip, all of significance, and being made a general scapegoat I was also the center of a number of disputes. I have observed similar buffoons in almost every other hunting band, fulfilling the same function, harmlessly dispelling the many little jealousies and hostilities that arise in everyday camp life.

Later on I acquired a hunting net of my own, by virtue of my proven adult status, and was so able to contribute to the food economy. At this time I was able to watch another bachelor take my place as buffoon.

123 The advantages of this kind of participation are obvious enough, and particularly desirable when a six-foot field worker is living among four-foot pygmies is the way it helps him blend into the social landscape, at least. Among the Mbuti, however, there was an additional advantage. The amount of information I could get from them, even the extent to which I would be allowed to participate, depended upon my attitude to the forest. Fortunately this was something of which I was well aware. But the fact that I was prepared to eat the same food, and that often entirely excluded village plantation foods, and the fact that I was prepared to carry my few belongings myself, to sleep on leaves or branches, and take part in the forest songs that were sung almost nightly around a central fire, conveyed enough of my respect for the forest for the Mbuti to admit me still further.

The process was an interesting one, because it again demonstrated the close relationship between the Mbuti and the forest world around them. But it was also an exhausting and arduous one, and because of the very nature of forest life it was impossible for me to observe all that went on. As will be seen, in the normal course of events a number of different things are going on in different places at different times, and even in the course of the year I cannot be sure that I saw everything of significance. During the *molimo*, for instance, men were expected to stay awake and sing throughout the night until about an

hour before dawn, then be up at dawn in preparation for the hunt. 123
This much I could manage, but whereas during the day individual men could stretch out and snatch an hour or two of sleep whenever they felt like it, I never had the chance to feel the same freedom. Acts associated with the *molimo*, such as the ritual gathering of food from every hut, continued throughout the day and I did not wish to miss anything new that might happen.

However, with all its drawbacks (and perhaps the physical and mental strain are not the least) the technique seems in this instance to have been justified by the results.

RESULTS

Both the general and the particular objectives were answered to 121
some extent during the course of the field work. The general form and structure of the Mbuti hunting band became evident, as did certain differentiations between the structure of the archers and that of the net-hunters. Further, certain principles were found that accounted for the cohesion of the band within itself, while at the same time enabling the band to present to the villagers a structure so fluid that any formal relationship of the kind envisaged by the villagers was impossible. Perhaps it is as well to point out here that the kinship system (or lack of it) that characterizes the Mbuti band today is not necessarily representative of what it was yesterday; indeed it may well be that the current ambivalence is in itself a response to the attempts of the patrilineal village society to enforce control through the myth of hereditary unilineal relationships. The origin does not concern us here, only the system as it exists in the present context.

The structural differences between archers and net-hunters are not 121
perhaps as wide as might have been supposed, but before any final 184
conclusions can be drawn there is great need for a detailed study to be made among the archers. Certain differences in behavior are shown, however, to achieve the same structural ends—for instance the process of fission and fusion, where the net-hunters and the archers behave in diametrically opposed cyclic patterns but to the same structural end.

The detailed study of the Epulu net-hunters was backed by suf- 121
ficient field work among other net-hunting bands to enable us to gen- 128
eralize with reasonable safety. Where generalization is not possible, I cite the specific, and where it is possible but not with absolute cer-

121 tainty, then I cite supporting evidence; otherwise it may be taken
[128] that generalization for all net-hunters is considered valid. In point of fact there seem to be few differences of structural interest.

[184] Enough work was done among archer bands to get some idea of the extent and nature of the structural differences to be expected between them and the net-hunters, but again I must emphasize the considered need for further studies, one of which should include a detailed study of an archer band over a similar period and with similar intensity, and another of which should tackle the Mbuti/Villager relationship from the village point of view. Finally, there is need for detailed studies of the various local village tribes, at which point those who are interested may begin to sort out which elements of the present Mbuti culture may be considered as original, and which as borrowed.

121 The over-all picture is one of a society where the lack of formal
105 structure is so evident that one wonders why there is not complete disintegration. There are not only no chiefs or councils of elders, but no ritual specialists, and no lineage system that in any way contributes directly to order and cohesion. There is no legal system, and no body of belief in supernatural sanctions. The secret begins to reveal itself when you look at the band one day, to see what it really *is*, and look at it the next day and find it is something else.

As suggested above, the constant state of flux that characterizes the Mbuti band may be in response to the attempts of the villager cultivators to assert a formal relationship with it. The lack of chiefs and the lack of priests and the lack of unilineal descent system certainly prevent the formation of political, ritual or domestic ties, and as stated elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) the economic relationship is
[181] one of mutual convenience rather than of dependency. What emerges that seems to be of particular significance is the central theme of the forest, a theme that not only orders the hunting and gathering world of the Mbuti, but also divides them from the world of the villagers as if dividing the sacred from the profane.

121 If social flux is what prevents the formation of a relationship that
177 would necessarily involve the subordination of the Mbuti to the vil-
18 lagers, the central value of the forest is what maintains internal stability and cohesion, at the same time determining the relationship of opposition with the outside world. This opposition in fact creates a kind of voluntary indigenous system of apartheid, where two peoples live side by side, exploiting the same environment in totally dif-

ferent ways, with totally different values, with only the minimum of 121
contact, and that based on nothing more than territorial propinquity 177
and mutual convenience. In this way each is able to extract some 18
benefit from the presence of the other without sacrificing its integrity, while maintaining a sense of absolute superiority that, however illusory in terms of economics or politics, is thoroughly justified by the opposition of the value systems.

The fact that this opposition does not erupt into open hostility 121
is due largely to the size of the forest, which can easily support the 177*
two populations and the two economies. But the moment some element upsets the precarious balance, rendering one economy or the other ineffective, then collision will be inevitable; and insofar as it is the hunting and gathering way of life that is most likely to be affected, the onus of change will be upon the Mbuti, and they are the ones who, because of the intimate relationship they have with their forest environment, are the least fitted for change. The present study will indicate in some measure the extent to which the Mbuti society is capable of assimilation or adaptation, and the extent to which change can come to it only through subordination or extermination.

Considerable space is devoted to setting out a fairly straightfor- 128
ward ethnography of the Mbuti. This is considered essential because of the present paucity of information that can be used for the kind of analysis here envisaged. The details may seem unnecessarily minute at times, and there are certain total blanks, but the picture is given as fully as possible so that the closeness of the reliance of the Mbuti on their environment may be recognized. And insofar as the environment or territory is going to take precedence over political systems, instability over stability, music over sex and death, and mere age over kinship, it is felt that all the available evidence, however slight it may at first seem, is going to be needed.

[P.16]

CHAPTER 2

Orientation

THE PEOPLE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

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144 The Mbuti pygmies form the largest single group of pygmy hunters and gatherers in Africa, and are probably also the purest in both the biological and cultural senses. Throughout the equatorial rain forest other similar groups exist, but while some of them (notably in the Gabon and in the Ubangi area) appear to be comparable with the Mbuti, the majority, like the Twa and the Tswa of the Kivu and central Congo districts (see Map 3)[1] have at one time or another intermarried with Negro tribes of cultivators, losing many of the true pygmy physical characteristics and at the same time losing a great deal of their original hunting and gathering culture.

181 Far more important, from the structural point of view, is the altered relationship between all these pygmoids and the world they live in, for as we shall see, the structure of Mbuti society pivots *[177] around a powerful forest-oriented system of values. This value system to a large extent overrides economic considerations in determining the relationship between the Mbuti and their village neighbors, whereas among the pygmoids the economic factor appears to be dominant, and the consequent dependency of the pygmoids upon the villagers in other respects is also greater.

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178 This is in no way to say that the structure to be found among the Mbuti is representative of an original pygmy hunting and gathering structure; in fact probably far from it, for the repercussions of the invasion of the forest by the village cultivators have been enormous. But the response of the Mbuti, for whatever reason, has been different from that of the Twa and the Tswa and it is of much greater structural interest and significance, incidentally throwing light on the whole process of acculturation. At the same time, however, the peculiar structural development of the Mbuti does enable us to observe a

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[1] [see page 918 -- Analyst]

pure hunting and gathering economy at work not only side by side 177*
with, but in opposition to, a cultivation economy. With the pygmoid 178
Twa and Tswa, and possibly only excepting a few small groups in the 17
Gabon and among the Ubangi Binga pygmies, the rest of the population of pygmy hunters and gatherers has become largely dependent for food upon cultivation, either by adopting it themselves or by entering into symbiosis with neighboring village farmers. The Mbuti solution to the contact situation is very different, and so it is in its contemporary context that we study it; any light the study may throw on an earlier form of pygmy society is incidental.

The habitat of the Mbuti is the Ituri Forest. This is a primary 131
rain forest that runs across the equator from the fringes of the Sa- 133
haran desert, in the north, into the Kivu mountains, in the south. [137]
To the east it is bounded clearly by a succession of lakes (Lake Albert, Lake Edward and Lake Kivu) but to the west the boundary is less definable, the forest thinning out as it approaches the Congo River's commercial centers. Effectively, the Mbuti occupy only the dense forest where the migration of game and the nature of vegetation have alike been virtually unaffected by outside influences. Their forest home, some 50,000 square miles in extent, is traversed by a number of roads built, for the most part, since the 1930's, but the purpose of the roads has been merely for transport and has not led to any significant exploitation of the forest, which in most places comes right to the very edge of the roadway (see Map 4).[1]

There are a number of significant features concerning the forest 778
that have to be taken into account. In general it is considered as generous and friendly from the point of view of the Mbuti hunters and gatherers, and as niggardly and hostile from the point of view of the villager cultivators.

For example, the forest is, in most places, gently undulating, 13
though even the mountainous sections in the east and in the south are as thickly wooded at their highest points as at the lowest. In all the territory to the north of the Kivu mountains the average height above sea level is somewhere around a thousand meters. This height, 132
together with the over-all denseness of the forest, and an almost daily rainfall that averages from 70 to 80 inches per year, makes the temperatures within the forest remain remarkably constant and agreeable, seldom departing far from either side of 80° F., never below 70° or above 90°. The relative humidity is fairly constant at 95 per cent.

[1] [see page 710 -- Analyst]

132 Where in the villages, and in the plantations that surround them, the midday temperatures soar well into the nineties, and the ground is covered with a dry, choking dust that quickly turns to mud, in the shade of the forest the world is cool and fresh, with only rare places, such as along river banks or at salt licks, where sunlight reaches the 136 ground without first being filtered through a leafy roof. Also from the point of view of comfort, and of health, where village conditions lead to gatherings of flies and mosquitoes, these disease bearers are seldom if ever seen in the depths of the forest, except at such sites as are [186] easily avoided. The Mbuti frequently compare their lot, in these respects, with that of the villagers, who in turn grudgingly admit to some advantages of forest life.

312 Another important contrast between forest and village life is in the water supply. The forest is interlaced with innumerable streams, any of which can be drunk from with impunity. A hunting camp is always located near a stream, but never stays in the one vicinity long enough to foul the water. A village remains in the same location, however, for three years or so, and the local water supply invariably becomes polluted. The villagers have some resistance to infection, but the Mbuti often have none and quickly become sick if they stay too long in a village.

136 262 But it is with regard to food even more than shelter or water that the forest seems to favor the Mbuti. Throughout the year, without fail, there is an abundant supply of game and of vegetable foods. There are half a dozen different kinds of antelope that are particularly abundant, apart from supplementary sources of meat such as birds, [137] monkeys, chimpanzees, and divers grubs and insects. The forest also supplies a number of edible roots, notably the sweet *itaba*, and many different varieties of mushrooms, nuts, berries and fruits. All the latter may vary in abundance the one from the other, according to the time of year, but throughout the year at any one time there will be an ample supply, in both quantity and variety.

262 The only truly seasonal food in the forest economy of the Mbuti is honey, and it is of major importance in the diet. It is also of major [621] importance as a focal point in the constant process of fission and fusion that characterizes Mbuti society.

778 The apparent benevolence of the forest towards the Mbuti extends still further. The materials for the making of shelter, clothing, and all other necessary items of material culture are all to hand at a moment's [313] notice. Firewood, equally, is everywhere in abundance. It is

778 not surprising, then, that the Mbuti recognize their dependence upon the forest and refer to it as "Father" or "Mother" (I have heard both used, it seems without discrimination) because, as they say, it gives them food, warmth, shelter and clothing, just like their parents. What is, perhaps, surprising is that the Mbuti add that the forest also, like their parents, gives them affection.

778 182 If it has been thought that this stress on the environmental factor is overweighted, the last observation should make it clear why. The forest is more than mere environment to the Mbuti. It is a living, conscious thing, both natural and supernatural, something that has to be depended upon, respected, trusted, obeyed and loved. The love demanded of the Mbuti is no romanticism, and perhaps it might be better included under "respect," but I make the distinction here because the Mbuti make the distinction, and because it is all part of the structural relationship of opposition between the Mbuti and the villagers.

More of the intimacy of the relationship between the Mbuti and the forest will emerge as we proceed; indeed there is not a single aspect of their lives where it is not evident. Here let us take a quick look at the relationship of the neighboring villagers to the same forest.

C 101 In the Ituri the tribal composition is thoroughly confused, a succession of invasions from different directions having taken place over the past four hundred years. From the north came the Mangbetu, pursued later and driven westward by the Zande. At the present day these two large tribes stretch right across the northern edges of the forest, a large proportion of each remaining in relatively open savannah. Also in the north and in the east are the populous Budo and the Mamvu-Lesé. From the southeast came the Bira, a Bantu-speaking plains people who split on reaching the forest, some pressing up by Lake Albert and retaining something of their cattle culture[1], the others turning westward through the middle of the forest, segmenting into a number of isolated villages loosely held together by the principle of patrilineal descent and recognition of a common ancestor manifest in the chiefs and sub-chiefs. In recent years, apparently since the imposition of Belgian authority, the Forest Bira (the Plains Bira do not concern us here, directly) divided into two main chieftainships, with territorial headquarters at Koki and Bahaha. (Map 5 illustrates

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[1] There is some uncertainty as to whether the Bira were originally cultivators or pastoralists. Among the present Plains Bira, however, cattle plays an important role and the people themselves claim to have always had cattle. They now practice a mixed economy.

101 the territorial division of the Bira, with the location of chiefs and subchiefs, and also of the Lesé.[1] The Bira stretch as far as the junction of the Nduye and Epulu rivers, west of which are the Ndaka and the related Mbo, also Bantu speakers. Further to the west are the Bali, who are at the westward extremity of Mbuti territory.

241 All these tribes, whose total forest population numbers some forty thousand, have taken to a specialized form of forest cultivation, growing both plantains and manioc as staples, some dry rice, beans and groundnuts. Palm-oil trees are more common in the north and west of the forest, but palm oil is used and traded throughout. Elsewhere,
252 however, groundnut oil is widely used. The leaf of the manioc plant is
273 cooked with the oil, and sometimes with groundnuts, to make a sauce, and other leaves are also sometimes used this way. Various wines are extracted or made from the palm trees and their fruits, and liquor is commonly distilled from both manioc and plantains. Hemp is grown in illicit plantations.

226 There is a fair amount of fishing practiced throughout the area, but fish is never more than a supplementary food. Pits and spear-falls are
224 placed around plantations, partly to protect the plantations and partly in the hope of acquiring meat, but their yield is negligible. For reasons that will emerge, the villagers dislike going far into the forest, away from their plantations, and do little hunting. For their meat they are dependent either upon trade supplies, available only very recently (and even then only to the few who can afford them), or upon the Mbuti.

311 The major difficulty in the life of the villager is the forest itself.
361 Owing to the size of its enormous trees (many 12 feet in diameter
[137] and 150 in height) and the speed with which secondary vegetation grows up once the trees are cut down, the work of cutting a new plantation for a village may take months to finish; and once cleared, the ground has to be constantly worked on to prevent it from being overgrown. When the cutting and burning are completed there is little danger of the newly planted crop not coming up, but in each succeeding season the yield becomes less, and after three years may cease altogether. Thus whole villages and plantations have to move every few years. Yet once a site is abandoned the apparently barren land suddenly bursts forth with a luxuriant forest vegetation that soon destroys the buildings and makes access to the old plantation all but impossible.

The villagers, like the Mbuti, find themselves in a very personal re-

[1] [see page 32a -- Analyst]

The villagers, like the Mbuti, find themselves in a very personal relationship with the forest, but a very different one. The forest surrounds them on all sides, but they do not live in it or by it, only despite it. Their initial act is one of destruction, the cutting down of the forest to make way for village and plantation which in turn are destroyed in the final act. The hostility is mutual, as the villagers see it. They have to fight not only the forest itself, but also the creatures that live in it. Elephants, leopards, baboons and Mbuti, all are a menace to life and livelihood. A whole plantation can be destroyed in a few hours by even a modest sprinkling of elephants. The excessive and sometimes erratic rainfall can cause hunger for a whole season. Baboons and Mbuti come in the night and steal the ripening fruit. Leopards prey on the few scrawny goats and chickens the villagers manage to raise.

C 718 P 171 824

P C [132]

As for the Mbuti, so for the villagers is the forest an entity to be reckoned with, upon which life and death depend; it is also an entity that is natural and supernatural. But instead of acceding to the natural, the villagers with their superior technology combat it; and instead of respecting the supernatural in the sense that the Mbuti respect it, the villagers oppose it with fear, mistrust and occasional hate. They people the forest with evil spirits, and they fill their lives with magic, witchcraft and a belief in sorcery.

The forest achieves the establishment of two virtually irreconcilable systems of values. It further determines, for both Mbuti and villagers, a certain degree of nomadism, and it tends to fragment large populations into small, relatively isolated bands or villages. For the Mbuti the forest merely indicates natural boundaries, such as valleys, ridges, rivers, caves and so forth, within which a band can conveniently roam at will throughout the years, economically self-sufficient. Within that nomadic framework there is an enormous sense of permanence and of territory. But for the villagers the forest announces, at the end of every three years or so, that the village must pack up and move, it does not much matter where. The move will inevitably bring the village into renewed conflict with the forest, and may well bring it into conflict with a neighboring village which has also been forced to move. In spite of the vast size of the forest and its small population, the villagers are unwilling to go off entirely on their own. At the present time they move up and down the long road that connects Stanleyville with Irumu, or Wamba with Nia-Nia and Mambasa. Formerly it seems that villages were similarly stretched out along recognized trails, and seldom moved away from them. On any given trail, or road, the number of suitable sites for a semi-permanent village is limited, but fric-

C 719 P 171 718 361

C 361

C [628 754]

C

361 tion between villages is due only in part to rivalry for territory. It is
628 also due to suspicion of witchcraft and sorcery, a suspicion that seems
754 to increase as the distance of separation decreases. This, of course,
628 can also be interpreted as an expression of territorial friction, but it
609 is conceived in personal rather than territorial terms, and is accom-
754 panied by a general dislike and mistrust of strangers.

C Nor must we lose sight of the fact that whereas the Mbuti, even
361 with their nomadism, in which hunting camps are shifted every
765 month, have a strong sense of basic territorial permanence, the villag-
P ers have none, and this gives rise to further instability. To mention
[361] only one example, it is believed among the Bira that the dead should
be buried according to a prescribed ritual, and that the grave should
be cared for in a prescribed manner. The burial is always carried out
but it is a constant source of conflict having to care for a grave that
may be some miles away. Every time a village moves the villagers have
to face the fact that they are abandoning their dead, to some extent,
and they are unpleasantly reminded of the uncertainty of their own fu-
ture. We do not know what the original burial practice was before the
Bira moved into the forest; undoubtedly changes have been made, but
they have not adequately met the new situation.

P It is only in light of the relationship between each of these peoples
*177 and the environment in which they live that we can understand the
648 relationship between the people themselves. It is in part ignorance of
this factor that has led to the gross misunderstanding of Mbuti/
Villager relationship, and indeed of Mbuti society itself. Before con-
sidering either the Mbuti or their relationship with the villagers,
however, a certain amount of further ground-clearing is necessary.

MBUTI, BAMBUTI, BAMBUTI

P
101 A certain amount of confusion concerning the Mbuti arises out of
conflicting terminology, some of it totally inapplicable or lacking in
significance. First we have to be clear why we group together, under
any one name, all the pygmy hunters of the Ituri Forest, even though
they speak different languages and use different hunting techniques.

P Racially, they are clearly one people quite distinct from any of the
101 surrounding Negro tribes. They form a strongly, visibly distinct unit.
105 Culturally, they are equally distinguished from their neighbors as a
[144] unit, being hunters and gatherers, and not cultivators, with a conse-
quently totally distinct social structure. Differences in hunting tech-
niques do not affect the basic structural unity.

niques do not affect the basic structural unity. The fact that the 101
Mbuti fall into different linguistic groups is no more than accidental, 197
and is of recent historic origin. The linguistic division is that propounded by Schebesta (1938, pp. 24–26). In effect he uses the terms Aka, Efe and Sua to refer to those pygmies who were in territories invaded and settled by the Ngbetu/Zande, the Lesé, and the Forest Bira respectively; these pygmies apparently adopted the languages of the newcomers to their respective areas and they have maintained some kind of relationship with their Negro neighbors ever since.

The question of language is by no means settled yet, and it may be 197
that either KiLesé or KiBira may in fact prove to be a language of 174
pygmy origin adopted by the Negro invaders. At the moment there is no significant evidence available to this effect, and given a situation where small isolated hunting bands (of an absolute maximum of thirty nuclear families and a possible minimum of three) are brought sharply into contact with larger, more permanent, technologically more advanced peoples with a tribal system, we can only assume the likelihood that the pygmies adopted the languages of the newcomers, losing most of their own.

In this case the linguistic division suggested by Schebesta most 197
certainly only refers to a post-contact situation and does not neces- 114
sarily point to any indigenous difference between these three groups of Ituri hunters and gatherers. The fact that, very approximately, the linguistic boundaries also correspond to the boundaries between pygmy hunters who emphasize the spear, the bow and arrow, and the net may be no more than a mark of acculturation with the three distinct Negro groups; on the other hand it may point to some earlier distinction, but in any case is of much more significance in any contemporary study of social structure.

In dismissing the linguistic differences as any indication of internal 197
differentiation it is worth pointing out that any pygmy from any area 101
in the Ituri can recognize though not comprehend any other pygmy speaking a totally different language because, throughout, the intonation is remarkably similar, absolutely distinctive, and different by far from the intonation used by the Negroes whose language is being spoken. This is one small pointer toward an earlier linguistic unity among all Ituri pygmies, as is the fact that they all seem to recognize themselves by the term Mbuti. One hears this term far more frequently than any other when pygmies are distinguishing themselves from villagers, in all parts of the forest. Even in distinguishing them-

197 selves from neighboring pygmies, place names are more likely to be
101 used than the terms Aka, Efe or Sua. Although I have formerly used both BaMbuti and Bambuti, I here use the form Mbuti, as this eliminates difficulty in accurately representing singular and plural forms, and is in keeping with the current practice of the International African Institute.

101 In previous writings and occasionally in this work, the term "Ne-
144 gro" is used to differentiate the pygmy hunters from the immigrant farmers, but it now seems far better to use the term "villager," for the significant difference, as seen by the people concerned as well as seen by the anthropologist, is one between a forest people and a village people; the racial factor is structurally negligible. Precise tribal names cannot always be used, as in some villages the tribal composition is mixed, and as any one band of Mbuti may have contact with two or even three different village tribal groups.

121 I have made other modifications to my earlier terminology, neces-
128 sary simply because of increased understanding. I now use the term "band" where previously I used the term "group" to refer to a unit of Mbuti hunters, who, regardless of their kin relationships, recognize and share a common hunting territory. As will be seen, the term refers more to territorial boundaries than to the boundaries of kinship. The term "group" I now employ to refer generally to one villager group as opposed to another; i.e., Sudanic and Bantu, say, or to distinguish between all net-hunters and all archers. But wherever used, it is used only in its general sense, the context making its meaning plain. It does not have any specific academic significance, not being a translation, for instance, of Schebesta's (1948, p. 291) "Lokalgruppe."

By "family" is meant a nuclear family of a man, his wife and their sociologically recognized children, who are cared for and brought up in all respects in the same way whether or not they are biological offspring. The terms "clan" and "lineage" do not enter much into our analysis of actual Mbuti kinship, but are used as theoretical concepts by comparison with which we can more satisfactorily understand the Mbuti system. A discussion of their meaning is, then, an integral part of the test.

In the course of discussion of the magico-religious system, certain usages specific to the situation will be defined; here I would just mention my own understanding of the terms "ceremony" and "festival." "Ceremony" has, when I use it, the connotation of formal ritual, of an established pattern of behavior that must be followed according

to rule if the ceremony is to be effective, whatever its purpose. By 121
"festival" I mean something rather different. It in no way necessarily 128
implies an annual or regularly recurrent event; its objectives may be precisely the same as those of a ceremony, but the means employed are different. There is no precisely regulated pattern of behavior. On the contrary, there is an important element of spontaneity that gives the occasion a vital immediacy, keeping it in the current context rather than connecting it with the past. I confess that the term "festival" has, for me, other less easily definable connotations that make it more suitable for use in the Mbuti situation, the most important of these being that it implies wider, freer participation, less pomposity and more enjoyment, an abandonment that is almost subversive with respect to the commonly accepted norms of behavior.

Most important, I have to revoke my earlier usage of the term "Esumba" 121
or "Lusumba" (Turnbull, 1955, 1957[1], 1957[2]). The con- 128
text in earlier writing, I hope, makes it plain when I am referring to a 114
magico-religious festival of the Mbuti as distinct from a ceremony 192
practiced under the same name by the villagers. The misleading terminology employed before my last field trip was due in part to the difficulties of the linguistic situation and the fact that I was then using the lingua franca, KiNgwana, as my major means of communication. The importance and significance of the confusion will appear later in the text, but as I now wish to use a terminology that will clarify the situation as much as the actual linguistic confusion permits, I have to state that wherever in the past I have referred to the magico-religious festival of the net-hunting Mbuti, in which the men play a predominant part, and where I have used either "Esumba" or "Lusumba," it would have been more correct to have used the term *molimo*. Even this term, however, has its counterpart in the Bira *molimo* ceremony, but at least we can now distinguish more easily between both of these and the other local ceremonies known variously as *esumba*, *lusumba* and *ishumbe*, which ceremonies are connected primarily with the Ngwana villagers and their earlier slave-trading and ivory-collecting practices.

One last small correction of past usage; whereas before I once or twice (Turnbull, 1955, 1957[1]) used the spelling *Alima* for the festival associated with the puberty of Mbuti girls, I now use the form and spelling *elima*.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

121 There are two major difficulties facing any discussion of the Mbuti. One is the fact that while they are true hunters and gatherers, they are nonetheless associated in some way, and apparently closely so, with the surrounding forest cultivators. The inseparability of the two peoples makes it especially difficult to know where to begin, as the Mbuti are one thing in one context and a quite different thing in another context.

114 The other difficulty lies in the fact that previous sources have not given us a clear idea of the structure of either group, Mbuti or villagers, and have completely misled us as to the nature of the relationship
114 between the two. I have dealt somewhat with the latter difficulty
121 elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) and propose to deal with the former difficulty by giving a brief sketch of the nature of Mbuti society that will adequately provide a basis for a preliminary investigation of the actual nature of the relationship between the Mbuti and the villagers. Only then can we safely attempt to understand the nature of Mbuti social structure, even in their forest society, as divorced as it may seem to be from the village context.

161 It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the population of the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, as there has been nothing approaching an efficient census. Owing to the mobility of the individual hunting bands, and the lack of co-operation offered by villagers whenever queries are made about the number of Mbuti they "own," we must regard with suspicion any figures based on a count of bands attached to villages and an average band population. From my own experience, and from discussion with missionaries and administrators who have attempted counts, one way or another, I would hazard a guess at somewhere around 40,000, with no evidence to show that the population is increasing, but certainly none to show that it is decreasing.

619 The total population may be divided, as we have seen, into groups
222 that emphasize one hunting technology or another, the two main groups being the archers and the net-hunters. The spear-hunters also use bows and arrows for defense as well as for occasional individual hunting. None of these groups can be said to have any political identity, however, any more than can the Mbuti totality, except in opposition to the villagers.

621 The only effective political unit is the band, which we have defined

as a unit of Mbuti hunters sharing and recognizing a common hunting 621 territory.[9] No matter what group the band falls under, the definition holds. The territory is clearly defined by natural boundaries, though the law of trespass depends somewhat on the location of the home band within its territory at the moment of trespass. The boundaries, though fixed, are under certain circumstances capable of penetration without causing offense.

The composition of the band is fluid, to say the least, and does not [611] follow any clear unilineal or cognatic descent system. Throughout the forest, the bands are in a constant state of fragmentation as well as in a constant process of fission and fusion. Members of any band are quite likely at any moment to leave and join another band, temporarily or permanently, for any one of a number of reasons. In-law visiting is common, and permanent attachments to the band are sometimes accomplished this way. But at the same time, with each successive, monthly change of site, the hunting camp also shows another stage in the over-all process of fission and fusion along recognizable lines of structural cleavage. At certain times of the year, different for net-hunters and archers, the band splits up into a number of smaller sub-bands, all still hunting within the same over-all territory, but as independent units.

It has generally been stated, sometimes citing the apparent lack of 621
an Mbuti language as an example, that the Mbuti are a people with- 177*
out a culture of their own, adopting the culture of their villager neighbors just as they adopt their language. A superficial look at a hunting society, with its lack of easily recognizable social institutions, might
seem to confirm that opinion. There is no chieftainship, no council [622]
of elders, but sometimes an individual who assumes the villager title [623]
of *sultani* or *capita*. There is no legal system supported by effective [69]
or formal supernatural sanctions. There is an evident lack of any kin- [68]
ship system except an apparently slavish imitation of the villager clan [613]
and lineage system, whereby certain individuals related through the principle of patrilineal descent recognize a common ancestor and symbolize their unity by the respect of a common totem. Any attempt to integrate this system with other institutions, indigenous or adopted,

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[9] Throughout, except where otherwise specified, I use the term "band" in this sense of a unit that is primarily territorial. It is essentially composed of peoples bound together by bonds other than lineage. Insofar as affines are an important part of any band, [602] and affinal relationships as important in most respects as lineal relationships, the band cannot even be defined as cognatic or bilateral without qualification stressing its ad-hoc nature.

621 falls unhappily apart however, and it looks indeed as if the Mbuti are
*177 in the process of adopting villager institutions wholesale, without
adopting the system that would relate them.

[881] Further evidence in favor of this interesting half-truth of Mbuti dependence is plainly discernible in the adoption by the Mbuti of village ceremonials connected with *rites de passage*, in which they subject themselves completely to villager ritual authority. But again these adopted institutions seem to have little structural relationship to the Mbuti hunting life, divorced as it is from the village context. Once one grants that divorce, then one is left with an apparent vacuum, a lack of internal system that is almost anarchical. Yet there is no anarchy; law and order exist without the villager context as within, and without as in their villager institutions. In default of any clear exposition of internal system, however, it has been assumed by many that the actual situation is one of total Mbuti dependence upon the villagers.

222 The economy of the Mbuti is hunting and gathering, and they are
224 perfectly capable of independent subsistence. Hunger, in absence of
village food supplies, is due only to laziness. The alleged economic
224 dependence of the Mbuti will be discussed in the next chapter. Here
476 it is only necessary to stress the possibility of their actual indepen-
*[177] dence of the village, and point to a dependence upon each other, best
seen in the fact that all the hunting techniques involve some measure of co-operation between men, women and children. The net-hunt demands the greatest measure of co-operation; the little I was able to discover about spear-hunts indicates a preference for hunting parties of five or six men; and while archers can hunt successfully in threes, there are among the archers annual beat-hunts (*begbe*) which demand the same high degree of co-operation demanded by the net-hunt, involving the entire band. Some elementary principles of unity can be discerned, then, in these various hunting techniques, but they are not sufficient to fill the gap left by the absence of developed kinship or political systems.

621 In the hunting band, as we have seen, the population is somewhat
mercurial and composite. Only when the band fragments into smaller
units do we occasionally get a fragment that has some appearance of
[622] being a kin group. System still eludes us. Nor do the *sultani* and *capita*
offer any effective replacement for the missing political system. No
one individual is effectively a leader; issues are settled by common

discussion. The discussion is not entirely haphazard, but once again the structural factor is elusive. 621

When first we look at the religious life of the Mbuti we feel the pulse beating clearly. The *elima* and the *molimo* are outstandingly evident as institutions connected with crisis, but the moment we try to analyze their function the beat becomes less distinct. Here the picture is again confused by the fact that the villagers have similar names for ceremonies of their own that are alike enough to lead to the assumption that the Mbuti adopted these institutions into their own disorganized framework. Then the pulse stops altogether. 771 776 [881] 765 [177]*

I suggested earlier (Turnbull, 1956) that part of the answer lay in a vital opposition between the two worlds of the Mbuti, the forest and the village. Recognizing that opposition is no less a relationship than any other form of relationship, we can at least theoretically separate the two worlds temporarily, if they are truly in opposition, and study them apart. Using this device we are free to look at the Mbuti in the village context almost as though this were their sole existence, and discern there what system we can. We are also free to examine the same people in the forest context, living in small nomadic hunting bands, virtually independent of the village world. But by looking at the village world first, when we turn to the forest world we shall be able to follow the Mbuti not only as they move from one hunting camp to another, but also when they abandon the forest for a brief spell in the village, seized by a whim, by the desire for relaxation, or by their taste for village foods, wine and tobacco. In this way we shall arrive at a better understanding of both worlds of the Mbuti, and of the actual relationship between them. We shall also, in the process, test our hypothesis of opposition, and, if it be proven, discover the elusive principle that binds together the otherwise apparently lawless, leaderless, un-kin-conscious forest society. 121 177* 621

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PART TWO

THE VILLAGE WORLD

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[P 43]

CHAPTER 3

The Mbuti/Villager Relationship

THE QUESTION OF DEPENDENCE

Although we are primarily concerned with the structure of Mbuti society, there are a number of valid reasons why we should first concern ourselves with the relationship between the Mbuti and the villagers. 121 648

For one, this has been the area of greatest misunderstanding and this misunderstanding has consequently affected attitudes toward an understanding of the forest hunting and gathering life of the Mbuti even when apart from the villagers. It is widely believed that the Mbuti are subject to village authority, that they are a subordinate people. This belief rests on the assumption that the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers, and the theory of dependence has been extended to political and ritual fields as well as economic. The exact degree of dependence is something that we have to examine carefully throughout our study, though we can only take it up specifically after we have considered the Mbuti in both the village and the forest worlds.

The notion of dependence has led to the theory that Mbuti culture, such as it is, is in itself derived from the superordinate village culture, and we shall see that this is far from the truth. Even when we look at the Mbuti in the village world it is not hard to see the superficiality of his alleged acculturation, for the very willingness with which he adopts village institutions and falls in with village ways leads him inevitably into one contradiction after another, which contradictions are possible only because the institutions do not have the same structural significance for the Mbuti as for the villager. 121 177

The cause of the misunderstanding is largely that previous accounts and investigations have been derived from experience of the Mbuti in the village context, in almost complete ignorance of even 121 14

121 the most general nature of the forest context and in absolute igno-
[114] rance of the structure of the forest world. But this in turn leads to
another reason for considering the village world first, for the universal-
ity of the misconception and its common cause are in themselves
highly significant. The misconception, that is to say the notion of the
Mbuti as a subordinate and dependent people is, although a myth in
actuality, nonetheless a structural factor of the greatest importance,
and it is the relationship of the Mbuti to the village world that leads
to some of the most interesting elements in the over-all social frame-
work of Mbuti society as it is today. It is not our intent to say what
elements of Mbuti society are caused by their relationship with the
villagers, but it is certain that many elements, such as the constant
process of fragmentation, fission and fusion, take on special signifi-
cance in light of that relationship. Even the most central religious
[178] institutions, sacred to the forest, appear to be in the process of adapta-
tion, allowing for and encouraging a widening of the Mbuti social
horizon, bringing about a wider sense of unity (both religious and
political) than apparently existed before.

439 Ostensibly the relationship is based upon the economic dependence
262 of the Mbuti on the villagers for food and metal. Both manioc and
bananas (sweet as well as plantain) are grown throughout the Ituri
region and jointly form the staple. Both foods are eagerly sought and
consumed by all Mbuti, who in the forest have nothing akin to the
banana or to the large manioc root. The small, sweet forest *itabe* root
[222] has to be grubbed for, and, as the Mbuti say, it is much easier to get
manioc from the villagers. Other village foods consumed by the Mbuti
are groundnuts, corn, rice and beans but, as for the villagers, they are
supplementary. Any of these foods may be carried off to the forest
[422] camps and consumed there. Indeed in any village on almost any day
[462] one is likely to see a pygmy woman or two filling her carrying basket to
capacity with such foods and returning to the forest camp. If the
hunting camp is nearby, a regular supply line is maintained, and even
forest food becomes supplementary in Mbuti diet.

439 When in the village the Mbuti also have access to luxuries such as
palm wine, and to certain trade goods; tobacco and second-hand
clothes are the most important such items.

[325] Having no knowledge of metalworking,[1] the Mbuti are without a

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[348] [1] A few Mbuti prisoners were taught by the Belgian administrator at Mambasa how
a [197] to hammer arrow tips as part of his campaign to "liberate" the Mbuti from their de-
pendence upon the villagers.

doubt wholly dependent upon the villagers for all metal goods. So 439
also with pottery, there being absolutely no knowledge of pottery [325]
manufacture among the Mbuti. [323]

But it is significant that none of the authorities who cite the lack 439
of these foodstuffs and metallurgical and ceramic skills among the 177*
Mbuti as an example of their economic dependence also cite the ab- 114
sence, among the Mbuti, of all knowledge of fire-making.[2] By the same 121
reasoning this should make them dependent on the villagers for 372
matches. The point is that mere lack does not constitute a necessary
structural dependence, unless the lack is vital. We have to ask ourselves how *necessary* is this apparent economic dependence of the
Mbuti upon the villagers.

It will be shown in the section on "The Forest World" that there 439
is no question of any absolute dependence of the Mbuti upon the 433
villagers for food, in that context, except insofar as luxuries ultimately
tend to become necessities. It will be seen that in the forest their
technology is sufficient to keep them supplied with all their basic [325]
needs. It will also be seen that metal is not a necessary part of their [323]
technology, any more than is pottery, or knowledge of fire-making. [372]

In the village world, however, the Mbuti are completely dependent 224
upon the villagers. Hunting and gathering in the neighborhood of 433
any village are likely to be equally poor, and it would be difficult if not [177]*
impossible for an Mbuti band to keep itself supplied with forest food- [222]
stuffs from a village headquarters. It would involve a half day's march, at least, to reach a suitable hunting area, and the physical effort alone would be enough to discourage even the most ardent hunter. But even more important is the fact that by living in the village the Mbuti would be out of touch with the forest, and would have no way of knowing the exact whereabouts of the game at any given time. Living in a hunting camp with the forest all around them, the Mbuti know only what is going on in their immediate vicinity. As the game moves

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[2] Some Mbuti have learned to use matches, when available, and a few know of the fire drill from contact with their village neighbors. There is absolutely no indigenous method of making fire, however, and it is a point of no small importance to their social life that each household maintains its own hearth. Embers from this hearth are carried, usually by the woman, wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, during the hunt or while on the trail. At each new camp site, the family hearths are kindled from embers of the old family hearths, preserving a distinct sense of continuity. Whenever a communal hearth is required, as for the *molimo*, communal participation is accentuated by the compulsory contribution of embers from each family hearth. Whereas matches are rarely used, becoming quickly damp and useless, even if available, they are *never* used for kindling family or communal hearths, but only for such relatively mundane purposes as lighting a pipe or cigarette.

224 out of that vicinity, however, they keep track of it, and they send out
433 scouts to help them decide the best location for their next hunting
camp.

439 Insofar as the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers for village
222 foods, thus far are they dependent also for certain items of material
262 252 culture, in metal, pottery and wood. Even so, of the village foods
415 only rice and beans (neither of which can be considered as staples even
*177 among the villagers) demand pottery or metal cooking vessels. Trade
vessels of aluminum are rapidly replacing all pottery vessels. Manioc,
plantains, corn and peanuts can be roasted, the sweet banana and
peanut can be eaten raw, and manioc can also be eaten without cooking
if it is first soaked in cold water for several days.

439 However, in every Mbuti village camp each household will boast at
415 least one metal vessel, and there will be one or two wooden mortars
*177 and pestles for common usage. In addition, there is only the metal
439 knife blade which might be said to be necessary to the Mbuti in their
412 village life, for peeling, scraping and cutting the manioc root, and the
*177 metal ax blade needed for cutting the saplings used in the construction
of either village-type houses or forest-style huts. The technological
dependence of the Mbuti upon the villagers, in the village, is then
not great, and is directly contingent upon Mbuti dependence upon
village foods in the same context.

325 We shall see that in the forest context, as with food, there is no essential
dependence either on materials such as metal, or on skill in
224 working them. It has been argued that the Mbuti hunt is dependent
411 upon metal arrow-points, spear blades, and knife blades. It is not. We
shall see that the Mbuti frequently prefer to use the poisoned arrows
that have only a fire-hardened tip, for sound practical reasons; that
they use the spear primarily for defense rather than offense, and in
any case still retain knowledge of the fire-hardened point and the belief
that it is as effective as metal except, possibly, against buffalo and
elephant. Old Mbuti assert that fire-hardened spears are effective even
412 against the largest game. Slit bamboo and slit reeds offer adequate
cutting surfaces, though they dull quickly and are seldom used today;
they could, however, successfully replace the metal knife as far
as the forest life of the Mbuti is concerned. There are certain types of
322 vine that have a highly abrasive surface and can be used for scraping
324 *itaba* roots. Of all the village utensils, the two that the Mbuti would
miss the most would be the machete and the ax blade. The machete
is used for cutting the light *fito* saplings that form the framework for

the huts and the shafts for spears; the ax is used for enlarging the 412
holes in which bees make their hives, so that the honey can be extracted more easily. Younger Mbuti do not know what they would do without the machete for cutting saplings. Both they and the older men realize that the ax is not absolutely essential, and I have seen ax-shaped clubs used for breaking away the wood from around a hive, where the wood is rotten, as it frequently is. The older men say that [324]
if they did not have machetes for cutting saplings they would use stone tools, but they have no knowledge at all of how to make such tools, and are probably prompted to make this remark by the presence in the forest of early stone axheads.

Accepting, for the moment, that the Mbuti in their forest world are 121
not in any position of necessary dependence upon the villagers for food 177*
or material, or technological skill, and admitting that in the village context they are dependent, the question arises as to why they choose to place themselves in that position of dependence. It is certainly not out of economic necessity. The truth of the matter is simply that the village offers, for a brief while, an agreeable change of pace, an opportunity for a relaxation that is not always possible in the forest, and, one might say, better hunting, on occasion. An Mbuti band or an Mbuti family or an Mbuti individual may descend upon a village either because of sheer whim, or because of laziness if the forest hunting gets too strenuous, or because of dissension, or indeed for almost any reason except necessity. Whatever the reason, and most commonly it at least involves an expressed desire for relaxation and freedom from care, the reason is on the side of the Mbuti, the choice is theirs, and the dependence that follows is as voluntary as it is temporary.

ECONOMIC RECIPROCITY

We then have to ask what the Mbuti offer in return for the food and metal products that they receive, and to determine at least the economic structure of the relationship. In so doing we are inevitably led to consider the domestic, political and religious aspects and their interrelationship with the economic system, and it is in these interrelationships that inconsistency and conflict emerge.

Even in terms of sheer economic reciprocity the relationship is in- 121
herently unstable. Continuing to grant, for the moment, the fact that 177*
no economic necessity is involved on the part of the Mbuti, and that 439
their dependence is voluntary and temporary, the forest world remain-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P 121 *177 439 ing an ever-present, ever-accessible sanctuary of independence, then we are left with a situation which, if anything, is rather the reverse of what it is normally stated to be; for we find that the villagers have far more need of the Mbuti than the Mbuti have of the villagers.

P 174 *177 648 Here we have to look briefly at the historical genesis of the relationship, which began with the invasion of the first non-Mbuti tribes three or four hundred years ago, and continued until the invasion reached its climax in the nineteenth century. The Mbuti found themselves caught between a number of warring tribes, and according to legend (also according to what one might reasonably expect) each isolated hunting band found it convenient to attach itself to one or another group of villagers. The villagers, on their part, needed the Mbuti as guides, scouts and spies, and, as related today by both sides, employed them as such, feeding them in return. When the situation became more stable, and notably when the last vestiges of open hostility were suppressed by the Belgian administration, this original relationship came to an end, neither side having any absolute need of the other. The Mbuti, however, had developed a strong taste for plantation foods and maintained their demands on the villagers. To this day, if a villager does not accede to such demands his plantation is simply raided and he has no recourse. Recognizing the difficulty of making an effective claim for theft, the villagers continued to supply food at request, but attempted to secure certain services in return.

O C 439 C [778] [346] We have already mentioned the attitude of the villagers toward the forest as a hostile place, and a place that they people with evil spirits. One of the services that they have tried to elicit from the Mbuti, then, is the supply of forest necessities such as saplings and leaves for housebuilding, bark for clothmaking (now almost obsolete among all the villagers), and meat and honey. The longer a village is in existence, the more scarce these supplies become in the immediate vicinity, and the villagers are mostly loath to venture far into the forest. However, plainly, as with the Mbuti, it is a question of convenience rather than necessity, though the Mbuti say that the villagers could never be successful as hunters, being far too clumsy and slow. P [186]

This is all largely a matter of historical conjecture, but it helps in providing a sense of direction, and in indicating that the onus for maintaining a reasonable degree of reciprocity is all the time upon the villagers, not upon the Mbuti. For today the villagers are still unwilling to go into the forest, and the Mbuti are still their major source of meat, honey and building materials. But there is, today, an addi-

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tional factor that increases the degree of necessity and dependence on the part of the villagers. By "today" I refer to the period of Belgian administration, for which we have historic record. During this period additional demands were made by the administration upon the villagers; notably, able-bodied men were recruited into the road gangs for building and maintaining the thousand-odd miles of road that cross the forest, linking the widely separated administrative posts; and it was also demanded of the villagers that they produce certain specific crops in excess, and cultivate other new crops, particularly cotton, in addition. The food surplus was used to feed immigrant laborers, the cotton to produce some revenue in an otherwise highly unprofitable region.

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These demands thus increased the amount of plantation work that had to be undertaken by each village, and at the same time reduced the labor force available. Penalties for failure were severe, and the villagers naturally turned to the Mbuti for help. Equally naturally, the Mbuti declined to help, except when the nature of the work suited their convenience and the rewards were adequate, and a long struggle began that continued right up to the time that independence somewhat altered the situation.

From the villagers' point of view, their relationship with the Mbuti, which had begun to prove rather tiresome and unprofitable, quickly became a matter of acute anxiety. Instead of regarding the Mbuti merely as parasites, which is effectively what they were, the villagers began to regard them as indispensable to the new village economy. From the Mbuti point of view, however, the situation had not changed. The forest was still there as a sanctuary to which they could retire with impunity at, literally, a moment's notice, and the village was still a place where they could relax, enjoy luxury foods, wine and tobacco, in return for a minimum amount of service. Being a practical people, however, they responded, to a token extent, to the new demands for service, in the form of plantation labor. But it was not to their taste, and it proved highly detrimental to their health. The villagers in many cases realized this and compromised by using the Mbuti mainly to maintain guard over the plantations, so they would not be affected by the unaccustomed sunlight or exercise, and only in emergencies asked them to actually work in the fields.

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Such emergencies, however, became more and more frequent as administrative demands upon the villagers were increased. The cotton crop became the major issue, and the time of the cotton harvest was

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P C [illegible] 648 C 248 [illegible]

the one time when, above all others, the villagers needed the help of the Mbuti. And that was precisely the time when the Mbuti were least available, for this work[1] was least to their taste, and beyond a certain point even the Mbuti cannot be bribed.

THE NEED FOR CONTROL

C 622 648 248 464 P 464 622 648

In 1957, and again in 1958, Chief Kachui of the Ndaka tribe found himself in difficulty over his cotton harvest. Of all the tribal chiefs in the Ituri, Kachui was one of the most powerful and one of the most influential. He had the advantage of a government-supported police force at his disposal, but on both occasions when I was at Bafwakoa at the time of cotton harvest he was without his usual retinue of Mbuti parasites. He had his sons deployed nearly to the Epulu to the east, and halfway to Wamba to the north, in an effort to learn the whereabouts of "his" Mbuti, but to no avail. He even used me in the hope that I would be able to discover at least one hunting camp, and I was led to where a few Mbuti maintained a plantation camp, living in the shade of the forest but acting as guards against raids on the plantation by monkeys, baboon and elephant, on the strict understanding that they were not used for work in the cotton fields. Although I was known there, and would normally have been taken straight to the hunting camp, all knowledge of the whereabouts of their fellows was denied. It may indeed have been that the band had broken up and gone in different directions to join neighboring bands that were less pressed, or it may simply have gone far off into the depths of the forest where it could never be found. None of Chief Kachui's threats or exhortations was of the least avail.

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At the same time, Chief Kayumba of the Mbo, just across the Ituri River, was having the same trouble, and I saw some seven recently deserted village camps with not a single Mbuti to be found. Kayumba did not conceal the fact that he had constant difficulty of this kind, never being able to rely on the Mbuti to be on hand when he wanted them, and at other times being surrounded and consumed by them. Hamadi, one of the two major Bira chiefs, and probably the most unscrupulous, generally maintained a retinue of Mbuti in village camps, but as far as I could assess it was a floating population that seldom worked on the plantations. Chief Lupao of the Lesé at Nduye complained of being without Mbuti when he needed them, and this was true on the one occasion when I was at Nduye at the

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[1] [i.e., harvesting cotton -- Analyst]

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time of the cotton harvest. On the other hand, Chief Nakubai, an- 622
other Lesé Chief to the north, always seemed to have Mbuti at his 648
beck and call, though he maintained them in rather distant planta- 248
tions, not close to his village, and as far as I know used them only 464
to provide supplies of forest products, and to help guard the plan- P 464
tations. 648

The lesser chiefs and village headmen, with no police force at their C
disposal and with less wealth to use in bribes, were rather more suc- 648
cessful because the relationship was more intimate and personal. It is 439
not infrequent for a strong attachment to grow between the villagers 186
and Mbuti, and in such cases the economic exchange is much more P
balanced. In all other cases there can be no doubt that the Mbuti, 648
with less necessity on their side, have all the advantages while the 439
villagers are the losers. It is significant that on the one hand the 186
Mbuti delight in deliberately shortchanging their exchange partners,
thus in their eyes proving their own superiority, while on the other
hand the villagers are forced by lack of political control to accept
such short change with relative passivity, and indeed find ways of
rationalizing it. They do this either by referring to the Mbuti as C
nyama, or animals, thus excluding them from the realm of normal, [829]
moral human behavior, or else they openly admit the Mbuti are right [192]
to help themselves to plantation products.

This latter admission is one of respect for the anteriority of the C 829
Mbuti in the forest and is common throughout the Ituri, and be- 648
yond, though by no means always open. It is manifest in certain 563
rituals, such as when villagers offer firstfruits from a new plantation [574]
to "their" Mbuti (effectively, any Mbuti that happen to be on hand P
at the time), or when Mbuti are offered places of honor during 648
funerary ceremonies for important villagers. An exceptional example C
of this respect occurs among the Tembo/Rega populations of the 829
Kivu district (Map 4), one instance of which occurred in September 648
of 1958 at Mayolo village, where a new chief, Butahiri, was inaugu- 622
rated. I did not witness the occasion, but he told me that on the day 563
that he was crowned with the traditional bead hat, he had to sleep 834
with his sister ("same stomach"). The next night he had to sleep [292]
with an Mbuti girl presented to him by the Mbuti "Chief." Butahiri [835] P
insisted that there was such a Chief, and said that traditionally the 648
girl was meant to be his daughter, but this was not always possible 622
and in that case it was "some other" unmarried female relative. He 834
said he only had to sleep with her once, after which she was sent

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929 back to the forest and was never again to be allowed to see him or
648 any of his family, but would be well cared for.
622 On attempting to find this Mbuti Chief, I discovered that he was
[illegible] in fact just an elderly hunter, and that the girl was his granddaughter.
834 The local Mbuti denied any system of chieftainship, but said that
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648 they always appointed one person to deal with the villagers, as in this
622 instance. Both they and the villagers claimed that the legitimate heirs
834 to the chieftainship had to be born of either one of these two formal
unions, and that in fact the Chief would sleep again with one or the
C other girl until she bore him at least two boys. They also said that
[835] obviously he would not sleep again with his sister (he himself seemed
somewhat disgusted at the recollection of his first night as Chief),
and so it would be his Mbuti wife who would provide the tribe with
its heir.

C There are also firstfruit offerings to the Mbuti in this area, and the
648 same elements of respect and of economic unbalance extend right
574 out of the forest into Ruanda and Burundi, even to the Twa in their
P relationship with the Tussi. For our present purposes, however, the
648 two situations are not strictly comparable.

P But however the villagers might rationalize the economic advan-
C tages that accrue to the Mbuti, they do not accept the situation en-
648 tirely passively. They attempt to create some mechanism by which
[439] they can exert authority over the Mbuti and compel them to their
service. It is quite evident that if the powerful tribal chiefs backed
by armed police are unable to pursue the Mbuti in the forest (even
the Belgian administration did not attempt to extend their authority
this far), the lesser chiefs are going to be that much more incapable
P of asserting direct political control. Chiefs such as Kachui, Hamadi,
C Lupao and Nakubai did not even enter disputes concerning Mbuti in
648 their tribunal records, preferring to deal with such cases "directly." I
691 have witnessed a number of such cases, most of them involving al-
C [622] leged theft, or failure to reciprocate in the exchange of food. The
P Mbuti claim is invariably that the land is his (even when the charge
C is for theft of property, not of food), and the villager claim is, equally
648 invariably, that the Mbuti are servants of the villagers, bound to
691 them by indissoluble bonds of heredity and by the fact that the vil-
423 lagers "rescued" the Mbuti from the forest. To this the Mbuti may
186 reply that they "dug" the villagers from a hole in the ground and
[173] taught them "how to see and smell and hear and talk." If the case
involves food, each side claims original ownership of the plantain

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tree and the Mbuti alleges that the villager stole the stem by trickery, C
leaving him only the leaves, so that the villager was able to replant 648
the trees and grow more, but when the Mbuti planted the leaves they 691
just withered and died.[9] It is seldom that the Mbuti deny posses- 473
sion of the stolen goods; what they deny is the act of stealing. But 186
whatever the fact, and however judgment is given, the essential point is that there is no mechanism for enforcing that judgment. Judgment being given by a villager is in my experience without exception against the Mbuti, and orders restitution of the property, or service in lieu. If the Mbuti complies, however, it is merely because in his own estimation it is expedient to do so. If he feels that he has exhausted the goodwill of the injured villager he will simply leave, and thenceforth deal with another villager. If any attempt is made to inflict physical punishment on an Mbuti, or to imprison him, then the whole band will initiate reprisal raids on the plantations of the individual who brought the complaint. This seldom happens, because villagers seek other means for achieving some measure of control over the Mbuti, and it is with those that we shall now concern ourselves.

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[9] See Appendix I: "The Legend of the Mbuti Plantation."

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[p.44]

CHAPTER 4

The Notion of Hereditary Ownership

P C 121 648 A superficial glimpse of the Mbuti/Villager relationship in any village might well tend to confirm the belief that the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers for the very principles of their social C organization. This is the claim of the villagers, the more sophisticated [186] of which use a popular description of the Mbuti as "*les gens sans culture.*" The Mbuti themselves will readily admit it, and investigation will, up to a point, confirm it. But we have already witnessed one contradiction; namely, that if the situation is one of superordination, and one of total cultural dependence of the Mbuti upon the villagers, then the villagers would have and be able to exercise some form of political control, and they do not. Indeed there are only the most tenuous political mechanisms for relating the two groups, such as the supposition that each hunting band has a headman or chief (entitled *capita* or *sultani*) who is answerable to the village headman. C The villagers accord the Mbuti headman due respect, not far 648 different from the respect they would accord a junior headman of P another village, and hold him responsible for the behavior of his 648 band. But even supposing that the Mbuti headman had any actual 622 authority over his band, we have seen that the villagers are incapable of enforcing their will by taking either retributive or restitutive action against the band or the *capita* for fear of reprisal, and because of their very real need for the continued, if minimal, service of the Mbuti and their fear of losing even that.

P The Mbuti *capita*, in any case, is merely a village creation and car- 177 ries no authority whatsoever and little influence among members of 622 the hunting band. The other Mbuti accord him his title when in the 554 village, or even when in the forest, if discussing a village problem. They use him as a convenient link who can also serve as a scapegoat. Through their "chief" the other Mbuti are freed of many of the cares and considerations involved in their relationship with the village, but

3: Turnbull 8-5 (1951-1954) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
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the position is by no means always popular, and there are instances of dispute as to who should fill a vacant position as *capita*. Usually it is an Mbuti who has a highly developed taste for village foods, tobacco, wine and hemp. Most frequently he fills a dual role, also being the hunting band's clown, an important figure in the settling of internal disputes, again essentially a scapegoat. He will convey to the hunting band the wishes of the villagers, and discuss with the band the questions of food exchange or supply of labor. Among the net-hunters this is about as far as he will go, any decisions after that being taken by group discussion. Among the archers, however, the *capita* may go further, translating the villagers' demands into more practical terms, and suggesting how the band can best effect a compromise. He may even allocate specific tasks to specific individuals or families, but if he is heeded it is with notably bad grace, and again only because those concerned deem it expedient. The Mbuti headman has absolutely no authority in the band, even in its village context.

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The greater importance of the *capita* among the archers is related to the fact that, unlike the net-hunters, the archer bands are for the most part of the year fragmented into smaller sections, each virtually independent of the other. There is, then, a greater need to co-ordinate their response to village demands, as the villagers take advantage of the fragmentation by attempting to exploit each section simultaneously. Among the net-hunters, whose bands are much more closely knit, and hunt throughout most of the year as large co-operative units, the only function the *capita* serves, from the point of view of the band, is as an intermediary, little more than a message bearer. Certain *capita*, however, among both archers and net-hunters, acquire great renown among their fellow Mbuti by the success with which they cheat the villagers. This indeed is the only way in which the *capita*, as such, can acquire any prestige at all among his own people.

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The major inconsistency of the system lies in the fact that it conflicts directly with a much more subtle means by which the villagers seek to gain control over the Mbuti. Being familiar only with tribal systems of a formal nature, whose organization rests upon the principle of patrilineal descent, the villagers can only conceive of Mbuti society in the same way. Not finding a chief or headman, they impose one, likening a hunting band to a village. They use him in much the same way they would use their own headmen. But the imposition of

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this institution implies also the imposition of the principle of the patrilineal, patrilocal unit. Perhaps at one time it was; it now certainly is not.[1]

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Finding political relations difficult to maintain and enforce, and although they still continue to attempt to deal with bands as one village would deal with another, through the capita, the villagers then look to interpersonal relationships as a means of acquiring their ends. They impose the village kinship system upon the Mbuti, keeping as accurate an account of the growth of an Mbuti family as they do of their own, and they ally the resultant Mbuti "clans" to village clans. It is easy enough to visualize the origins of the system, when hunting bands found they had to side with villages, the villagers mistaking (or perhaps correctly taking) the bands for unilineal-descent groups. In this way the relationship between the two groups would be hereditary and self-perpetuating. But the band today is not a unilineal-descent group, and may be comprised of a score or more lineages. Thus a village that is a kinship unit, recognizing the senior male-lineage representative as its headman, finds itself in relationship with a band under a *capita* who may only be remotely related to other male members of the band, by affinal or consanguineal ties. The band itself, consisting of different clans, evidently owes its allegiance, under the village system, to different villages.

On the one hand, the village claims to "own" the band, recognizing the *capita* as its representative. On the other hand, as a lineal unit the village claims a hereditary relationship with another lineal unit, and de facto dissociates itself, perhaps with the major portion of the band, and involves itself in politico-economic difficulties with the neighboring villages who may claim the other portions of that band.

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The villagers claim to be saviors of the Mbuti, to have freed them from the necessity of living in the forest like animals, and they justify their claim to ownership in this way. If the Mbuti band were indeed a stable, localized patrilineal unit, then some effective basis for a relationship between the two groups along these lines might persist; but given the cognatic and fluid nature of the contemporary band, the notion of hereditary ownership seldom tallies with effective economic relationships. Consequently there are continuous disputes be-

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[1] This is not to say that one could not find a band that, at one time of the year or another, is not in effect a patrilineage. It is, rather, to say that lineality would in such a case not be the essence of band structure, but incidental.

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tween villagers arising out of the migratory tendencies of "their" Mbuti.

The effective system is that each band maintains an exchange relationship with the village or villages closest to its hunting territory, and effectively the relationship is an exchange not between band and village, except as territorial units only, but between nuclear families or mere individuals. If the exchange relationship follows descent lines, it is no more than incidental. From the Mbuti point of view, in any case, it makes not the slightest difference. All villagers are animals to be "eaten" without discrimination. It only makes a difference from the villager point of view, the question of compensation of the rightful "owner" continually arising.

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Leaving the theoretical system for the moment, and looking at the effective system of exchange, we find that the tendency to think of the relationship as hereditary, on the part of the villagers, is irrepressible. As far as the Mbuti are concerned, they pick and choose. As a child an Mbuti may grow accustomed to a number of "owners," as his parents move from band to band, or village to village. When he is old enough to hunt he will choose whichever "owner" happens to be convenient at the time, but if he does not get the treatment he expects, he will without hesitation get himself "adopted" by another villager, even in the same village. The only consideration countenanced by the Mbuti is their own convenience.

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A wise villager will treat his Mbuti well, and in return will be able to get the minimum service from them without too much difficulty, and there are instances where such relationship has apparently persisted over several generations (see Table 1). But the contemporary situation militates against persistence. For instance, among the Epulu net-hunters one of the larger "clan" units that made up the total composition of the band was the Puemi clan. In its entirety it was claimed by a prominent Bira named Ngoma. But Ngoma had to spend most of his time in Mambasa, the administrative post some fifty miles from his village, so in his absence his Mbuti were divided, according to the Bira system of inheritance, between his two brothers, Isa and Takalili. But the system did not specify where the dividing line should be drawn, and in any case the Puemi had moved a number of miles in the opposite direction and were on the other side of the Epulu River, in the territory of Chief Kachui of the Ndaka tribe. There they formed allegiances to local villagers, ignored the demands of Isa and Takalili to return to hunt for them, saying that they were

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still Ngoma's Mbuti. Ngoma himself said he had no objections to the Puemi, or any other of his Mbuti, hunting for other villagers while he was away, so long as they still acknowledged him as their *kpara*, or owner. He was wealthy enough to have no economic need of the Mbuti, but he was greatly concerned with his status, which was, he said, determined largely by the number of Mbuti who called him *kpara*. Certainly status was an important consideration for the villagers, and ownership, effective or otherwise, of a large number of Mbuti would add to it, but there were few who could afford to ignore the economic aspect of the relationship as could Ngoma.

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The situation then becomes seriously complicated for the field worker who is trying to disentangle the system of ownership. Any villager will claim hereditary rights over even the most recent newcomer. But he will also claim rights over the Mbuti who have left him, and in some instances over those that he would have inherited from his father had they not left his father. As hereditary ownership can be transferred by adoption with compensation (a sum in cash or goats, and a promise of a share of any meat that falls into the net of the Mbuti transferred, or of that of his senior male descendants) and as the "clan" names also sometimes become adopted in this way, any attempt to discover a system of hereditary ownership becomes doubly hazardous, if indeed such a system exists except in theory.

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The Epulu situation is perhaps more complicated than others because most of the Mbuti in that band are claimed by Bira villagers, whereas the band itself is in Ndaka territory and has formed effective links with both Ndaka and Bira villagers, offering forest foodstuffs to the local villagers, who are mostly Ndaka, and performing some service for their more remote Bira owners. In this way, of course, they maintain two sources of supply of village goods. But the actual distribution of the clans that contributed to the composition of the Epulu band, as shown in Table 2,[1] indicates how ineffective the principle of hereditary ownership is, in fact. The same kind of picture can be drawn for most net-hunting bands, and when we come to consider the forest world, among both net-hunters and archers we shall find a situation that militates against any effective stable and durable exchange relationships between Mbuti and villagers, particularly if based on the principle of unilineal descent.

The myth of hereditary ownership, then, does not seem to provide a much more effective means of control for the villagers than does the creation of mythical but comparable political systems. But it is not totally ineffective.

[1] [see page 323 -- Analyst]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

not totally ineffective. Mbuti genealogical perspective is limited, to 000
say the least, and from their point of view any allegiances formed by P
a deceased grandfather are of minimal significance, if indeed they 611
are even remembered. In terms of kinship, neither man nor woman
will be able to name their great-grandparents, nor may they even be
able to name any brothers or sisters of their grandparents unless they
have a vivid personal recollection of them. The only occasion on P
which it would be of any significance for them to know such details [582]
would be marriage, and there the parents of the youths concerned
will have the necessary access to the (for them) parental, genealogical
level by which the permissibility or otherwise of marriage is determined.

Thus the Mbuti can accept with perfect ease, and even with conviction, P 571
the villager notion of hereditary ownership. That is not to 177*
say that they acknowledge the obligations claimed by the villagers, C
but only that they recognize kinship as being the basis by which the 571
villagers determine the relationship. An Mbuti who has only tempo- 177 428
rarily changed allegiance (and at this point I should make it clear that 608
permanent changes are by no means taking place every day) may P
continue to respect his permanent allegiance, even to the point of [431]
sending his hereditary *kpara* occasional gifts of meat or honey. If he [576]
changes his allegiance permanently, however, it will be because of
some major disagreement, rather than simply because of a temporary
shift of residence on either side, and in that case all previous bonds
are broken and the Mbuti will leave it up to the villagers to settle
the matter between them.

In the belief that kinship is of as vital concern to the Mbuti as it C
is to themselves, and carries the same indissoluble obligations and 571
rights, the villagers seek to reinforce their relationship with the 602
Mbuti by bringing them as closely into the village kinship system as 563
possible. This is sometimes done by direct intermarriage, a male vil- 608
lager taking an Mbuti wife, but never the reverse. In this case the [829]
offspring are considered in every respect as villagers, by both Mbuti P
and the villagers themselves, but the wife is still Mbuti, with relatives 177*
in the forest, and therefore in a good position to attract meat and 602
honey. But it can be seen that it may also cause a further conflict of [182]
interest, as it will attract to the villager's household a number of
Mbuti relatives who technically may owe allegiance to other villagers,
yet who cannot be debarred from showing concern for their sister. In
such a case the Mbuti relatives are entitled, and indeed expected, to

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602 use the appropriate kinship terminology and follow the appropriate
563 behavior patterns. It is difficult to see what attracts the Mbuti girl to
608 such a union except the politically advantageous position in which it
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571 places her. Unfortunately, little is known of the extent to which she
602 stays in the village, or to which she takes advantage of her ability to
slip into the forest unpursued and rejoin her band from time to time.

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563 However, this is considered a selfish and antisocial way of attracting
177 Mbuti adherents, and it is only countenanced by other villagers
571 if it is done because the villager concerned is unable, for one reason
608 or another, to acquire a villager wife. More generally the villagers try
to introduce the Mbuti into their own kinship framework by insisting
not only on the myth of hereditary ownership, but by positing a
parallel relationship, a *kpara* referring to his Mbuti as his "children,"
but not allowing them sibling status with his real children.

C As their "father" he then claims the right to concern himself with
563 all their domestic problems, and most particularly with marriage. For
608 an Mbuti boy to marry an utterly unrelated Mbuti girl owned by his
582 *kpara's* brother, for instance, would be considered by the villagers as
571 incestuous, and prohibited. It could only take place if either the boy
P
*177 or girl changed allegiance. Marriage between the Mbuti, then, becomes
571 a matter of major concern to the villagers, who will not only
582 provide all the necessary ritual for the Mbuti but who will also have
to negotiate between themselves, just as if it were a village marriage,
the *kpara* of the groom paying appropriate wealth to the *kpara* of the
bride. In every respect the *kpara* act as parents, except that it is as if
they were considering a less important line of children by some very
C inferior wife. In 1957–58 the wealth paid by one villager to another
[583] for an Mbuti wife for his own Mbuti "child" was about a tenth of
what he would have to pay for a villager wife for his real child.

C The matter is one of some concern, because a wealthy villager
608 might "own" or claim to own a hundred or more Mbuti, and his only
582 assurance against bankruptcy is an insistence upon his hereditary
583 rights over the offspring of his male Mbuti, and his right to demand
571 wealth from other villagers whose Mbuti married his own Mbuti girls.
P
*177 Considerable conflict arose between villagers as a result, because
582 while the Mbuti accepted the feasting and their share of the wealth,
571 they did not accept any of the obligations, and according to their own
581 custom of betrothal and marriage they did not consider the marriage
final until a child had been born. At any time before then, without
asking leave of anyone, Mbuti or villager, they were free to sepa-

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rate. I have known it to happen for Mbuti youngsters to go through 608 582
the entire village marriage ceremony simply for the sake of the feasting, 563
considering their relationship as no more than a mild flirtation. 571
In either case the premature separation involves their respective P 177*
kpara in restitution proceedings, which even if successful will still 582
leave a net loss to the extent, at least, of a feast that may have involved 571
a hundred or more Mbuti and villagers for up to three days. 581

This, together with the fact that a union that is considered as incestuous by the one group is not necessarily considered incestuous by the other, is sufficient to indicate the incompatibility of the two systems, which is only heightened if we attempt to correlate either kinship system, that of the villagers or that of the Mbuti, with the economic exchange system.

By extending the parallel still further, however, the villagers make C
their final attempt to gain some effective measure of control over the 563
Mbuti and resolve the inherent conflicts through supernatural sanc- 571
tions. And once again they are thwarted by a number of factors, one 626
being that the Mbuti continue to adopt the outer form of the village P 171*
customs with the utmost readiness, but do not adopt the system. 571
Whereas, for the villagers, the total social structure is an integrated 621
whole consisting of a number of institutions interrelated in a definite manner, for the Mbuti, in the village context, the same institutions are adopted but by no means interrelated in the same manner. The relationship between kinship and leadership, as we have seen, does not apply to the Mbuti. Their *capita* is elected rather than descended, and his whole meaning and purpose are correspondingly different. The *capita* has absolutely nothing to do, among the Mbuti, with the maintenance of law and order, and in no way symbolizes the common origin of the male members of the band.

So also, for the Mbuti, is the economic exchange system unrelated P 439
to either the kinship or the political systems in the village context. 571
The exchange relationships may run directly counter to all those prescribed by the various political and kinship institutions the Mbuti have equally adopted.

Their apparent readiness to participate in village institutions, if not C 563
in the system, however, leaves the Mbuti open to yet another line 571
of attack. Unable to enforce any of the control that would normally 626
derive from the adoption of their socio-politico-economic institu- 121 P
tions, the villagers open their magico-religious institutions to the 177* 571
Mbuti, and thus seek to place them under supernatural control—the 121
C [789]
[769]

C control of the specifically village supernatural. Indeed the villagers are
563 obliged to do this, in consonance with the rest of their system, for
571 626 to admit someone to the kinship system without admitting them to
121 the ancestral cult would be a contradiction in terms. But not so for
P the Mbuti. The most sacred of the village institutions is completely
*177 divorced, in the Mbuti system, from any other adopted village insti-
571 121 tution. It is, like the other institutions, adopted for what it offers in
C itself, and if it is related to anything, it is related only to the economic
[789] aspect of the Mbuti/Villager relationship.
[769]

CHAPTER 5

The Notion of Supernatural Control

THE VILLAGE SUPERNATURAL

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We have already seen something of villager participation in Mbuti 648
marriage arrangements, but only from the aspect of kinship. From 563
this point of view the villagers hope to be able to control, to some 571
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extent, the movement and residence patterns of the Mbuti, and to 626
support the myth of hereditary ownership. From another point of 121
view, however, villager participation in the marriage of their Mbuti [608]
necessarily introduces the Mbuti to the village magico-religious sys- P
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tem, through the ritual that consecrates the marriage as well as 571
through the absorption of the Mbuti, in this way, into the village 648
kinship structure. It might also be pointed out in passing that as far 121
as the villagers are concerned, marriages between their Mbuti are of C
as much political importance as their own marriages, in regulating [628]
relationships between one village and another, one segment of the tribe and another. Insofar as our primary concern is with the Mbuti, however, this political aspect does not directly concern us here.

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Marriage is only one village ritual adopted by the Mbuti, and in
considering any such adoption we have to keep in mind the structural 563
aspects of ritual in the village social system and, in particular, the 571
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relationship between ritual and kinship. It is in light of structure 121
that the villager side of the Mbuti/Villager relationship is comprehen- 602
sible, the attempt to include the Mbuti within the village framework P
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being an attempt to secure some measure of control over them. That 571
is not to say that the motive of control is necessarily responsible for 648*
the inclusion, but it is certainly openly acknowledged by villagers and 177*
has some bearing on their attitudes.

At the same time we must be aware that on the Mbuti side there P
is the knowledge that the villagers are seeking to gain control. There 648
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is a considered element of risk involved in accepting certain institu- 121
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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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648 tions, even in the strictest village context, but it is outweighed by
571 what at first seems little more than a lively desire to have all the ad-
*177 vantages of village life with none of the disadvantages. Again, it is
121 only through an examination of the interrelationship of the institutions adopted by the Mbuti, and their relationship with the indigenous Mbuti social system, that we can arrive at any true understanding of the apparent process of acculturation.

C The attempt by the villagers to assert supernatural control is struc-
563 turally the most significant, for it involves elements with which the
626 Mbuti have no institutionalized means of dealing. Political pressure
789 the Mbuti can counter by changing allegiance; economic pressure
P can also be countered, by reverting to the always available pure hunt-
*177 789 ing and gathering economy; as we shall see in the next section, pres-
P sure through absorption into the village kinship system is repelled
C quite simply by the maintenance of an opposed kinship system.
[648] However, the Mbuti have no magic with which to counter magic,
[608] no witchcraft or sorcery with which to counter witchcraft and sorcery. They do have belief with which to counter belief, but it is part of the belief of both Mbuti and villagers that in a war between the gods, no man can safely predict the outcome. It is in this situation that the villagers do manage to effect some extent of control, but it is also in this context that they come up against the ultimate bedrock of opposition.

Let us look at the various ways in which the magico-religious life of the villagers impinges upon that of the Mbuti, and the extent to which it exerts some measure of control over the hunters and gatherers. Fully recognizing that a clear division of the subject matter is difficult, if not impossible, to make, we nonetheless have to attempt such a division for the purposes of discussion. There is a great deal of overlapping, but nonetheless at the extremes, in this case, the division used here between magic and religion is legitimate.

P By *magic* I refer to activities involving, on the part of the African,
C villager or Mbuti, a conviction in the pragmatic relationship be-
121 tween a cause and an effect which, in terms of Western science, is
789 not demonstrable. The term in its usual sense has meaning only as far as we are concerned, for as far as the Africans here are concerned, magical activities are as scientifically valid as any other. They may not always be able to explain the exact way in which the effect is related to the cause, any more than everyone who drives a motorcar can explain the mechanism. Indeed, the corresponding term "medicine"

is usually applied by the African to causal relationships he does not P C 121 789 understand but which he still believes to be pragmatic. The mechanism exists, just as surely for the African as for the motorist. Whereas the term "magic" implies, for the Westerner, supernatural intervention, its African counterpart, for villagers and Mbuti alike, has virtually no such connotation. Some "magical" activities are not given any special term other than that for the activity itself. Those that P C [755] are classified apart as a special type of activity are thought of as *curative*, and the classificatory term indicates effective function, not supernatural intervention. It is in this sense that we use the word, and in this sense alone that it should here be understood.

Witchcraft, on the other hand, introduces other elements, although P C 121 754 [826] it is still basically thought of as a scientifically explicable phenomenon, involving certain supernatural powers conveyed by the possession of witchcraft substance, something that can be touched and seen but, being located in the entrails (details as to exactly where, and what it looks like, vary), cannot be removed except at death. But whereas the existence of the powers is explained by the substance, the nature of the powers themselves is inexplicable, therefore supernatural.

Sorcery is akin to witchcraft only in that it involves the possession of similar powers. But whereas with witchcraft the powers depend upon the existence of witchcraft substance in the body of the witch and are controlled by that substance, the powers of the sorcerer come to him, or her, through the exertion of willpower, and are therefore controllable by the individual. A witch acts only as such when forced to do so by the substance. A sorcerer acts as such when he wishes to, P C [192] for whatever purpose he chooses. There is, naturally, a complete terminological distinction between the two in the various local languages: in the lingua franca of the area, KiNgwana, the term *chawi* is used for witch, *lozi* is used for sorcerer. These terms do not necessarily correspond in their usage to the same terms in other Bantu languages, and there is a significant difference between village and Mbuti usages of each term. Needless to say, in that an individual possessing witchcraft substance is not directly answerable for his actions, however grave, he is not considered antisocial. But as a sorcerer directs his power for individual ends, he *is* considered antisocial, and is therefore culpable.

Religion, as used here, refers to the realm of belief where there is no P C 121 771 attempt to explain supernatural powers in terms of empirical experi-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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ence and natural life. There is no practical cause—the cause itself is supernatural. I include various *rites de passage* under religion because such rites involve a thoroughgoing belief in the supernatural. The nature of the supernatural, however, varies greatly as seen by Mbuti and as seen by villagers. Both peoples, however, do have a belief in the supernatural; that is, scientifically nonexplicable powers that are invested in another class of beings, without form or substance, which we call *spiritual*. It is belief in these spiritual beings that is the essence of what we here call religion.

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CURATIVE MAGIC

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As indicated above, we are not here in the least concerned with acts, of either the Mbuti or the villagers, simply because they involve an assumed but scientifically false connection between cause and effect. We use the term "magic" as a translation of the native term, which groups together divers curative activities in the belief that all are equally scientific. Thus the penicillin that cures a sore is magic just as much as the antelope horn that cures a spell of bad hunting.

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In trying to assess how far the village world impinges on the forest world in this respect, then, we have to see what situations there are for which the Mbuti have no cure and which they wish to cure, and for which the villagers do have a cure. Or, indeed, we must look to see if the reverse situation exists.

When I say there is little magic in the forest world of the Mbuti, I mean that there are few curative activities, and for the very simple reason that there are relatively few situations that require curing. For most Mbuti who have reached adolescence the life expectancy is good, as is the expectancy of good health. For most minor physiological disorders the Mbuti seem to have effective remedies, some of which are cited in Appendix II together with details of the botanical identification of the plants, wherever I was able to be sure, or reasonably
P sure, that these were the only plants used. Such remedies cover not
[752] only the mild fevers, aches and pains, and sicknesses that may come
the way of the Mbuti, but they also cover accidental injury such as may
be incurred by falling on a spear, by being attacked by a wild animal,
bitten by a snake, stung by bees, or by falling from a tree, breaking
or twisting an arm or leg. Such injuries, however, occur remarkably
seldom.

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For these particular curative activities the Mbuti are acknowledged

as being masters, and their help is constantly being sought by vil- P
lagers, not so well versed in forest lore. It has been shown, however, 177*
that where the Mbuti see a remedy that is more effective than theirs, 752
such as modern drugs (only in some cases are these apparently su- 757 C
perior), they will eventually seek them. Insofar as local dispensaries 177
were run by villagers, the Mbuti had to rely on the villagers for such 752
drugs. I do not consider this an instance of dependence, however, 757
as up to the end of my last field trip the Mbuti would only seek such help when they were in the village; in the forest they found their own remedies adequate. Even more, when sickness or injury befell them in the village, the common reaction was to return to the forest.

But here we may note a significant difference in attitude to magic, C
or curative activity. Childbirth is a time which is thought of by both 844
Mbuti and villagers as being attended by the possibility of danger, at P
least. The Mbuti think in terms of physical danger, and they have 84
precautions that they take in the diet and behavior of the expectant mother before birth, and apparently effective knowledge of midwifery, including recognized ways of dealing with difficult births. After birth
there are known cures for any weakness the infant or mother might P
show. What is lacking, among the Mbuti, is precisely what is domi- C
nant among the villagers: a felt need for protection against the super- [751]
natural.

A village mother and child will both have, according to how wealthy P
the family is, a number of potions to drink (which may or may not C 846
have medical significance, but are thought of as being protective) and 751
divers charms to wear. The protection is thought to be necessary against *unknown* dangers. The difference between the two peoples
is in the extent of this unknown. An Mbuti infant will have a vine P 846
bracelet or belt tied to it almost immediately after birth, and a small 824
piece of wood or two will be fixed to the vine. It is stated that the vine 751
and the wood convey to the child the health and strength of the forest. There is no apparent concern for any supernatural dangers, and no precautionary steps taken.

From the village point of view the lack of such measures involves C
the child and possibly the mother in great danger, and out of self- 84
concern as much as out of concern for the Mbuti, the villagers proffer 751
charms in abundance to expectant mothers and newborn children. However, the need is only felt by the villagers, not by the Mbuti.

This is precisely the difference we find when we seek other situa- C
tions for which only the villagers have a cure—they are situations in 789

C which only the villagers *need* a cure. There are a number of such
789 minor crises. Even if the action appears to be protective, it is still
C basically curative. For instance, theft is common in villages, and villagers
789 have a number of magical cures for theft that prevent it by curing
685 the situation that might give rise to this antisocial act. This may
seem like an academic quibble, justifying the inclusion of protective
magic under the definition of magic as curative activity, but it is more
P basic than that. If the Mbuti saw themselves in a future context they
157 might be interested in protection, but one of their characteristics is to
789 think in terms of the present. Theft is not a part of their behavior
685 toward each other; there is nothing they have that the villagers can
steal from them, so there is no immediate situation to be cured. But
the danger of poor hunting is more real.

P For the hunt the Mbuti themselves have divers cures, but mostly
224 of a sympathetic nature and, considering the importance of the hunt,
789 remarkably few. The villagers, on the other hand, have a great number
439 of cures to offer, and if convenient the Mbuti accept them. But once
*177 again the question is one of need. From his experience the hunter
C sees no need to concern himself with the future: it is rare that the
439 hunting is so poor that he goes hungry. It is rare indeed even that
789 there could not be a surplus to trade with the villagers. But lack of
meat for trade is always excused by a plea of bad hunting. In fact, the
Mbuti even go further and point to the fact that they have no elaborate
cures for bad hunting, so how can the villagers blame them for
P not bringing in meat? The villager then supplies the cures, and if
C these do not work he will even be told by the Mbuti that it must be
[754] witchcraft, and asked to call out a diviner. I know of three cases where
Mbuti have been trained by villagers to divine witchcraft and are believed,
by villagers, to be highly effective. But once again there is no
question of dependence.

C Other situations that need curing and that may be cured by empirical
789 (i.e., "magical") means available to villagers alone include
821 poor weather, attack by lightning, attack by a witch, or by the spirits
[776] of the forest (*keti*). The cures consist of divers charms and fetish bundles,
[755] but they are considered as effective only by the villagers. The
[192] Mbuti recognize man's inability to control the weather, though they
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789 have a small amount of very simple sympathetic weather magic; lightning
821 strikes where it will, though again fires are covered by the Mbuti
776 during a storm in case the flames attract lightning. As for attack by a
765 witch, their attitude is somewhat ambivalent, but they do not place

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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much faith in a charm against a witch's power, if such power exists; 789 821
their own remedy is retreat to the forest, where there are no witches. P
They do not believe in the existence of malevolent *keti*, or spirits, as 789 821
do the villagers. 776

In the realm of curative magic, then, the villager has nothing to 755
offer that the Mbuti needs, and has no means of utilizing magic or C 755
exclusive village knowledge of magical techniques to control the 789
Mbuti. 626
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WITCHCRAFT

If it were not for their own misconception of village witchcraft, P 177*
the Mbuti would be at no disadvantage through their own lack of it. 181
As it is, however, they tend to confuse witchcraft and sorcery, and 754
consequently find themselves dealing with a phenomenon totally 121
outside their forest-world experience—conscious malevolence.

Their confusion is visible in their constant usage of the terms associated with sorcery, even when only witchcraft is implied. The forest hunters are aware of the theoretical difference, but simply do not
believe in the existence of witchcraft substance. They are unwilling P
enough to believe in malevolent supernatural powers, but events com- [776]
bine to persuade them to belief.

Unlike magic, which applies to natural phenomena, witchcraft and C
sorcery deal necessarily with the supernatural, and create their own 121
need for protection. But whereas the villagers, in their acceptance of 754
the theory of witchcraft substance, can happily accept a fetish bundle 789
as adequate protection, the Mbuti, seeing the whole thing as malev- P 121
olent sorcery, cannot believe that a bundle of sticks and bones is going 754
to afford much help. Looking at witchcraft—and sorcery—as some- 776
thing belonging essentially to the village world, however, they do 784 789
have recourse in flight to the forest, where, in their experience, these supernatural powers cannot easily reach. In the village world they can find no protection, and can only hope for an end to the underlying hostility.

Thus witchcraft, which among the villagers is essentially a mecha- C 626
nism for social control, being a concept employed usefully to bring 754
to light hidden sources of dispute and to publicly shame trouble- 648
makers, inadvertently gives the villagers a weapon against the Mbuti, P 784
while at the same time it drives the Mbuti both literally back into 648

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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626 the forest, and metaphorically into further dependence upon the
754 forest.

648 Witchcraft being such an important part of their own lives, the
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784 villagers are unable to conceive how the Mbuti can survive without
648 knowledge of the necessary procedures, and as in other instances, they
assume control of appropriate situations and provide the procedure.
C Upon death in a village, for example, the cause of death must be de-
754 termined, and the cause is usually believed by the villagers to be witch-
761 craft or sorcery. If they do not discover the cause, the witch or sorcerer
P
*177 may continue to kill. The Mbuti have no knowledge of divination of
754 this kind, so it is done for them by the villagers, and the villagers be-
761 lieve that this places the Mbuti in a dependent position. In fact of
course it does not, because the Mbuti believe in natural causes rather
than supernatural.

P Similarly the Mbuti have no need for the concept of witchcraft to
*177 enable them to exert social control. They have their own procedures
754 in this respect, but nonetheless they do sometimes use the village con-
626 cept of witchcraft to regulate relationships with the village, still deny-
ing any belief in "witchcraft substance." They are aware, then, of the
social value of witchcraft.

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VILLAGE SORCERY

754 While from the Mbuti point of view sorcery is effectively synony-
P mous with witchcraft, from the village point of view sorcery, being
754 quite different, is by its very nature more directly related to the prob-
*177 lem of exerting control over the Mbuti. No villager will admit to being a sorcerer, but there is nothing particularly reprehensible in a villager claiming to hire a sorcerer to curse an Mbuti. All he does in fact is to say that he has had a curse laid. (He may go to the local doctor and persuade him to take action, but in that case his action is legal and is not technically "sorcery," though the net result is much the same.) The curse, alleged or actual, is sometimes followed by the sickness or death of the person cursed.[1] But even if it is not, sooner or later some disaster will come to the family or band of the person cursed, and the villagers will claim that this is the result of the curse.

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754 Insofar as the Mbuti consider the two worlds as being apart, and
*177 do not feel bound by their own code of forest behavior to behave in
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[1] I have known three young Mbuti who were cursed for not having fulfilled a bargain with an Ngwana villager and died within a few months.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

that way toward the villagers, who are like animals, they also are P 754
forced to recognize that the villagers may feel similarly released from 177*
laws that would otherwise prevent them from using sorcery as a 186
means of revenge. The villagers, in point of fact, usually deny actually C
using sorcery, even against the Mbuti, but they admit to using the [754]
threat of it. They do, however, use the doctor, who also has access
to supernatural powers for the social good, but this involves religion
rather than witchcraft or sorcery. It is mentioned here because the
Mbuti considers the power, not the agent. Be it witch, sorcerer or P
doctor, it makes no difference; the Mbuti still has no recourse but [784]
flight.

Even flight, however, will not entirely remove the sneaking fear P
that persists despite expressed disbelief in these supernatural powers. 784
And that power is perhaps no small factor in effectively giving the 776 C
villagers some measure of control, though the villagers happily do not 648
realize it. They simply believe in the efficacy of their magic, and of 789
their supernatural powers. [626]

The extent of the control that comes this way is difficult to mea- P
sure, and it has to be balanced against the extent to which the situa- 784
tion drives the Mbuti into an even greater reliance upon their forest 776
world, separating the two worlds still further. It certainly can be seen C 626
to operate effectively in inducing reluctant Mbuti to fulfill specific 648
bargains. I did not come across any instances where the actual or 754
threatened use of supernatural powers was invoked to control the
normal course of the exchange relationship. But there were a number
of instances over a twelve-month period in which Epulu villagers in-
voked supernatural powers to revenge themselves against Mbuti who
had behaved with particular irresponsibility.

Three of the cases were of alleged sorcery. Sefu of Epulu village C
claimed that two Mbuti had accepted beans from him and had not 754
sent him the meat they had promised in return. He said he had em- 439
ployed a sorcerer to make the Mbuti bleed to death if they did not P
give him the meat. But he lost courage when he thought that the 439
administrator might get to hear of it, and he recanted. The Mbuti
concerned sent him a token amount of meat and the matter was con-
sidered as settled.

André, headman of the village known by the name of his late father, C
Effundi Somali, claimed to have himself invoked supernatural aid [224]
against an Mbuti who refused to pay him money received by him
when he captured a live okapi and brought it to the government *sta-
tion de chasse*.

C
754 *tion de chasse*. This curse, which was of leprosy, was never lifted,
439 to my knowledge, and caused some uneasiness among the Mbuti but
P mainly anger. So far it has not been effective, either in obtaining the
439 money for André or in bringing leprosy to the Mbuti.

The other case involved the headman of the nearby Ngwana village, who claimed that three Mbuti from the Epulu band had taken a sack of rice from him and had promised meat in return but never sent it. He allegedly employed a sorcerer to curse the Mbuti to death if they did not send the meat. Within a matter of three months all three had died. Two died evidently of stomach disorders that might have been due to or aggravated by poison, which is sometimes used by the Ngwana; the third man died a long way off in the forest under conditions that would make it unlikely that the death was due to poison, though quite likely it was due in part to fear. All three were young and healthy.

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754 There were almost certainly other instances that I did not hear of,
+177 where it was claimed that sorcery had actually been used. There were
innumerable instances when it was threatened, and also innumerable
P instances of accusations of witchcraft involving Mbuti. In fact, talk
[521] of village witchcraft and sorcery was among the major topics of con-
versation in forest camps, particularly just prior to and following a
P visit to the village. Although the Mbuti had no beliefs of their own
[186] concerning the manipulation of such supernatural powers, and al-
[192] though they were reluctant to believe that it was more than either a
hoax or, as most of them put it, the mere stupidity (*mbafu*) of the villagers, it nonetheless occupied their thoughts. The death or sickness that inevitably followed a curse, happening sooner or later to someone in the same family, was generally accepted by the Mbuti as coincidental no matter how hard the villagers tried to relate it to the curse; but the occasional exceptional instance, such as that quoted, when the three Mbuti died within three months, was enough to cause serious doubt and fear.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.63]

CHAPTER 6

Village Religion

NKUMBI

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Both villagers and Mbuti have notions concerning spirits and spir- C
itual intervention, and associated religious systems. Once again, how- 771
ever, even where the facts coincide, the systems do not. One of the 796
major differences is the lack of ritual ceremony among the Mbuti and the importance of it among the villagers. Thus, though manhood is every bit as important to the Mbuti as to the villagers, there is no formal Mbuti initiation ritual. And although marriage is considered just as sacred, and is recognized by the Mbuti as having profound social implications, it takes place in the forest in an apparently utterly casual manner without any ceremony or ritual joining of the boy and girl or of their families. The ritual attitude of Mbuti and villagers toward death again is totally different.

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But in the lack of ceremony the villagers once again see a chance 563
for acting as intermediaries, as though this made them indispensable. 796
The Mbuti are continually being subjected to one or another ritual P
ceremony at the hands of the villagers, even when the affair is entirely 796
domestic and apparently does not in any way directly concern the 177*
villagers.

According to the notion of hereditary ownership, of course, the C
villagers also have a responsibility, and by virtually assimilating or, 608
better, adopting the Mbuti into the villager tribe they are obliged to 563
adopt them also into the religious system. The parallel kinship sys- P
tem, while never opening the way to complete integration, nonethe- 608
less demands an extension of the parallelism in all directions. The villagers have no qualms about this, and it is certainly no indication of friendly intimacy, for in this way they hope to secure the inferior
status of the Mbuti not only in the present but also in the afterlife. C
At the same time the villagers believe they have found another source [626]
of control over their wayward servants.

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Of all the various *rites de passage* practiced by the villagers, and to which they are forced to introduce the Mbuti, none probably is so important as the *nkumbi* initiation of the boys into manhood. Among the Bantu tribes this is practiced with circumcision, among the Sudanic it is without circumcision, though there is a tendency among some Sudanic tribes situated close to the Bantu, such as the Lesé bordering on the Bira, to adopt the custom, one village at a time.

The major purpose of the *nkumbi*, as stated by the tribes that practice it (I refer mainly to the Forest Bira here), is to fit the youths as men, to make them men in the eyes of the ancestors. A boy who does not undergo the *nkumbi* is denied access to the ancestors after death, and during his life has the status of a child. Boys between the ages of eight and twelve, generally between nine and eleven, are eligible for the ceremony, which now takes place once every three years and lasts for two or more months. The traditional time element has been completely upset by the administration, which, together with the missionaries, has tried to discourage the whole institution. But the *nkumbi* initiation has remained as the only way to achieve adult status within the tribe. I have seen an entire *nkumbi* ceremony, including circumcision, held for a boy who died just prior to being initiated.

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Effectively the *nkumbi* also unites a few neighboring villages as a single political unit, and affords an opportunity though the system of *karé* blood brotherhood, of cementing specific political bonds. It also effectively unites those tribes who practice circumcision in opposition to those who do not practice it, and it determines certain lines of marriage prohibition.

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One such line, of course, divides the circumcised from the uncircumcised, and theoretically marriage between a Bira and a Lesé would be unthinkable. The only cases known to me allegedly happened during war, captive women being taken as wives. But equally theoretically these prohibitions should apply to the Mbuti who, according to the practice of their *kpara*, not having any of their own, either do or do not suffer circumcision at village hands. As we shall see, however, forest territorial organization is no respecter of village tribalism, and band composition is fluid, to say the least. Consequently, in any one band one can by no means be sure that all the men are circumcised, and the question is never raised. Further than that, there is no objection to marriage, among the Mbuti, between a family whose *kpara* circumcises and one whose *kpara* does not. Such marriages would cer-

tainly not be countenanced by the *kpara* concerned. This is only one C 881
indication of the lack of respect with which the Mbuti view the 608
nkumbi, and it is important that this be understood at the outset. 582
The structural implications of the *nkumbi* as they apply to the villagers P 881
in no way apply to the Mbuti. I had graphic evidence of this 608
when following recently initiated Mbuti youths back to their forest 177
hunting camp at the conclusion of the two-month ceremony. They 582
had just been acclaimed as men by the villagers, and allowed to take C [192]
their place as men in the village *baraza*, or meeting place. But their
first act on entering the hunting camp was to sit on the laps of their
mothers as an indication that they still considered themselves as children
in the forest world. I might further mention that the Mbuti, who P
in the forest consecrate every activity of major importance with a [533]
special type of song, have no song whatsoever for the occasion of the
nkumbi. Further arguments are given elsewhere (Turnbull, 1957[2]).
Here we are concerned with villager attempts to secure control, and
it is only necessary to indicate the two different attitudes to the
nkumbi, and its evidently different significance for the Mbuti in the
forest world.

However the Mbuti might deny the village attitude to the *nkumbi*, C
and the villagers are aware that such denial does take place, the villagers 881
nonetheless see a number of advantages accruing to them in 769
their admission of the Mbuti to the tribal initiation ceremony. 563
186

First, as the *nkumbi* fits a youth to go to the ancestors after death, P
the ceremony serves as an introduction of the Mbuti to the afterworld 881
of the village. By undergoing the *nkumbi* they equally are fitted to go, 177*
after death, to the world of the village ancestors. But it is made plain 186
throughout that the status relationship remains unchanged. Mbuti
and village boys are circumcised alternately on the day of the cutting,
which opens the ceremony proper. The Mbuti boy is generally sent
first—"to clean the knife"—and throughout he is made, in innumerable
ways, to recognize that in village eyes he is inferior to the village
boys.

KARÉ

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The pairs of boys, one Mbuti and one villager, whose blood has been 571
allowed to mingle, are called *karé*. The degree of formality with which P
the *karé* relationship is solemnized varies considerably from village 608 177*
to village, and depends to some extent upon the proportion of Mbuti 571

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608 to village boys. In some cases the Mbuti's *kpara* may choose him as
571 *karé* to his own son, and in other cases he may see some advantage
P
608 in having his Mbuti form a *karé* pact with another villager, as this
571 forms an economic and political link, then, between the two villagers.
*177 It seems that, generally, *karé* brotherhood is formed between Mbuti
P and their *kpara's* patrikin, however. It is believed that this places the
608 two in an indissoluble politico-economic relationship for the rest of
602 their lives, a relationship of subordination as far as the Mbuti is con-
571
[776] cerned, and one that will persist into the afterlife of the same individuals.

C
775 The villager concepts of afterlife are not clearly defined, but it is accepted without question that individuals continue to exist after death
563 and may, if qualified by initiation and by adherence throughout life to the tribal code of behavior, join the ancestors, who live together much as they did in the present world, and continue to concern themselves with the present world. It is also accepted without question that there must be Mbuti in the afterworld, just as there are in the
C
[829] present. If one asks why must there be Mbuti, the invariable answer
[571] is in terms of the economic dependence of the villagers upon the Mbuti in the present world, the assumption being that the same needs will exist in the afterworld. But the economic relationship is the most easily expressed and recognized, however mistakenly, and is not necessarily therefore the most important. The political relationship is also recognized, though not quite so easily expressed because of the greater incompatibility of the systems of the two peoples. But there is also a ritual relationship which/is certainly as powerful as the others, if not more so, and it is just as much a part of the *karé* pact as are the economic and political aspects.

C
608 *Karé* partners are expected to trade with each other, though not necessarily exclusively. This allows for the formation of *karé* brother-
439 hood between individuals who are not in a *kpara*/Mbuti relationship,
571 and is an attempt on the part of the villager to regularize the situation
P
608 should his Mbuti join a band trading with a neighboring village. To
439 have a *kpara* in one village and a *karé* in another, strategically chosen,
571 is considered equally advantageous by Mbuti and villager. As far as
*177 the Mbuti is concerned it provides him with two groups of people who feel under some kind of an obligation toward him, and who need him. As far as the *kpara* is concerned it gives him someone he can effectively claim against should his Mbuti decide to trade in that direction. As far as the villager *karé* is concerned it is another Mbuti

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

to his credit, increasing his prestige and also somewhat increasing C
his trading opportunities. The trade is mainly thought of in terms of 608 439
meat and labor on the side of the Mbuti, village foods, clothes and 571
tobacco on the side of the villager. A fairly friendly relationship does P
sometimes develop between two *karé*, who, regardless of the status 608
differentiation, undergo the whole *nkumbi* together, suffering the 439 571
same ordeals side by side, and are perhaps more united by age than 177*
they are separated by the status differentiation.

The political aspects of *karé* brotherhood reinforce the economics, E
not only serving as a basis for compensation against a migrant Mbuti, 182
but also for extending the *karé* relationship to link the Mbuti's *kpara* 608
with the village boy's father. The relationship is primarily between 571
individuals, but it nonetheless creates felt obligations between the
families involved, and one family of villagers may invoke the help of
another family in a dispute, through an Mbuti *karé* link. The kinship
ramifications of *karé* brotherhood are still far from clear from the
village point of view, and it seems that the introduction of the Mbuti
to the system may have somewhat disorganized the traditional system. P
For the Mbuti there is no connection between *karé* and kinship, 608
and effectively there can be none among the villagers. If there were, 571
then the formation of a *karé* tie between *kpara* and their own Mbuti 582
would be incestuous, and the formation of such ties with unrelated
families, conceived of as a sibling relationship, would effectively prohibit
marriage in that direction and create an impossibly confused
dual kinship system. Yet *karé* do refer to each other sometimes as
"brother," and take advantage of their thus extended kinship relations.

The religious aspects of *karé* brotherhood are far less easy to define, C
and far less easy for the investigator to determine because they are 608
seldom, if ever, discussed. I have never heard such a discussion, unless 563 571
I instigated it, except on the occasion of the death of a villager. On 764
the death of an Mbuti it is generally only the other aspects of the P
karé relationship that are discussed, involving liability for funerary 608
expenses, compensation for outstanding obligations, divination of the 571
cause of death. But when a villager dies the Mbuti *karé* is introduced 177*
into the heart of the funerary ritual, having to perform divers functions 764
such as beating the villager's wives, leading an attack upon all
close kin of the deceased, conveniently clustered together for the
purpose, "to drive away evil," as the villagers explained it among
themselves and to me. The Mbuti *karé* is also made responsible for
providing certain foods for the deceased and, I believe, certain herbs

C with which the body of the villager is treated before burial. Owing to
608 my somewhat peripheral relationship with the villagers I was not al-
563 571 lowed to witness the more intimate rituals when the *karé* Mbuti was
764 closeted with the deceased on one occasion for about three hours, on
P another occasion for one hour. Nor was I able to elicit much from
608 the Mbuti, who said that they knew nothing about it, and only did
571 what they were told to do by the villagers. When asked what that was,
*177 they repeated the above information, which was as much as I had
764 gathered from the villagers, and no more except a few colorful and
imaginative details about the appearance and odor of the corpse. This being clearly something better investigated from the villager side, I did not press the matter. It seems sufficiently well established, however, that the ritual connection between *karé* is considerable as seen by the villagers, and this was borne out on one occasion when an important Bira noble died and the entire funeral ceremony, including the
P burial, was held up for a day and a half because of the non-appearance
[152] of the dead man's Mbuti *karé*. On this occasion the Mbuti eventually
[192] arrived on the run carrying a spear, loudly shouting his complaints
at being brought from the forest for such stupidity (again the term *mbafu*). There were several hundred villagers assembled, and the Mbuti ran through them to the compound of the deceased. He evidently knew in advance what was expected, and broke his way in to the closed hut where the widows were wailing. There was great concern among the villagers because he took his spear with him, and they said he might kill the women, but they did nothing to prevent him. Happily there was a full complement of widows at the subsequent
C burial.

182 The villagers recognize that they cannot force the Mbuti *karé* to
608 fulfill their obligations by political or economic pressure, but they
769 now have another weapon. By the act of ritual circumcision, accord-
784 776 ing to tribal lore, the Mbuti are placed in a direct relationship with
571 the tribal village ancestors, and by the *karé* bond each Mbuti is placed
881 in a direct relationship with the protective spirits that look after the
welfare of their respective individual villager partners. Every step of the *nkumbi* reinforces the authority of the tribal ancestors, through the supernatural powers at their disposal, over the Mbuti as well as over the villager initiates. Failure to fulfill "kinship" or *karé* obligations on the part of the Mbuti cannot be dealt with by the legal mechanisms available to the villagers, but it can now be countered by supernatural sanctions. Villager lore defines the Mbuti responsibili-

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ties to villagers, and villager supernatural sanctions enforce fulfill- 789 182
ment. 784

From the Mbuti point of view, however, the whole *nkumbi* is 776
mbafu (stupid) and *bulé* (empty), and so are the sanctions. The 571 881
initiates and their "fathers" who attend them during the ceremony P
take every opportunity to mock the procedure (Turnbull, 1957[2]), 186
and as stated earlier the *nkumbi* in no way alters the status of the 881
initiates back in their forest world, where they are still regarded as 177*
children. In all the *nkumbi* that I have witnessed in different parts [192]
of the forest, among different tribes, with varying proportions of
Mbuti/Villager initiates, and under divers degrees of severity of village control, I have not seen one indication of genuine respect or belief on the part of the Mbuti, and not one instance of the initiation having the slightest structural relationship to the Mbuti forest world.

C
Yet by undergoing the *nkumbi* the Mbuti place themselves in a
position of ritual inferiority and subordination to the villagers. They 563
do not have any ritual specialists of their own to perform the *nkumbi*, 571
so are wholly dependent upon the village doctors. As the *nkumbi* P 571
only perpetuates the status differential, it gives the Mbuti knowledge 177*
of tribal lore but does not grant them access to mastery of the lore. 881
Not being full kin, but only adopted, parallel kin, the Mbuti can never qualify as ritual specialists, and are therefore at once forced by the *nkumbi* into participation in innumerable other tribal rituals, and at the same time denied any measure of ritual control and placed in a position of still greater dependence upon the villagers.

C
Once again the villagers cannot conceive of life without the neces- 796
sary ritual observations, and in a sense they feel an obligation to 563
provide these services for the Mbuti, but the Mbuti avoids actual de- 648
pendence by adopting only the outer form of the institution, not the P
system. Insofar as we are discussing the village world, however, 177*
from the villager's point of view the *nkumbi* places the Mbuti in the 796
greatest possible condition of dependence by creating an obligation to 881
take part in a ritual life in which he will need village ritual specialists. [182]
It also provides the villagers with the surest method of control, through supernatural sanctions. The villagers have such belief in these sanctions that they are content to allow the Mbuti to get away with much trickery, convinced that sooner or later the score will be evened and restitution made.

C
Having drawn the Mbuti into the world of the village supernatural, [776]
because it is of the village, the villagers feel they have established
ultimate if not immediate control.

P ultimate if not immediate control. It is more difficult to see what the
*177 Mbuti get out of it, except for certain economic advantages which
796 are meant to be reciprocal. Looking at it briefly from the Mbuti point
517 of view, however, we see that the advantages are perhaps more real
182 than those accruing to the villagers. For the villagers are bound by
P [608] their own sanctions, and therefore the Mbuti can make demands of
P his *karé* with reasonable assurance that they will be met. Also, he
[608] can now expect a succession of relatively lavish ceremonies to be pre-
[571] pared for him as he goes through life, at the expense of his *karé* and
kpara. The feasting involved may seem a trivial gain for the Mbuti,
but in fact it is one of their major sources of entertainment and relaxa-
P tion. The *nkumbi* extends the Mbuti's economic and political hori-
[881] zons just as it does those of the villagers, and the Mbuti know how
to reap the advantages, just as they know how to avoid most of the
disadvantages. This avoidance in fact forms one of the important
features of the over-all structure of their society.

C One final advantage that should be mentioned, though its im-
563 portance is perhaps more personal than social, is that only by partici-
881 pation in the *nkumbi*, or its equivalent among tribes with other
885 forms of initiation into manhood, can the Mbuti become a man in the
P eyes of the villagers. There is a strongly paternalistic attitude held by
186 villagers toward their Mbuti that is resented by the hunters, who
*177 consider themselves more manly than the villagers. The *nkumbi* at
881 least offers them an opportunity for proving their manliness to the
885 villagers, and it sometimes develops into a contest between the Mbuti
and the village initiates. And only by participation in the *nkumbi*
can the Mbuti acquire the right to be addressed as adults, admitted to
the adult *baraza*, and accorded other adult privileges when in the
village.

C ELIMA

881 The villagers do not attempt to exert supernatural control through
P the women, as they do through the men. While the Mbuti men have
881 nothing comparable to the *nkumbi* initiation of the villagers, the
Mbuti women, in the forest world, do have a recognizable and formal
way of acknowledging the puberty of a girl. They give it the same
name as the villagers (the Bira call it *elima*, the Lesé *peipa*) and in its
outer form it appears roughly similar; the occasion at least is the same,

C 881 P 881

the first appearance in a girl of menstrual blood. But there the similarity ends.

C 881 P 881 177*

Be that as it may, the villagers do not take nearly as much interest in the puberty of the Mbuti girls as they do in the puberty of the boys. The Mbuti generally seem to hold part of their *elima* festivals in the forest, and the closing part in the village. In this way they are able to pursue their own way through the festival without interference, claiming a feast at village expense only when the forest festival is virtually ended. Village interest in the *elima* while it is in the forest is not manifest in any practical way, although a particularly fond *kpara's* wife might send out an occasional gift of plantains or manioc. But when the *elima* moves to the village there is invariably some conflict, because the closing phase of the Mbuti *elima* is particularly untraditional in the eyes of the villagers (as well it might be, for in fact it is probably a totally different tradition) and offensive to their tribal lore. In particular in recent years, there has been a tendency for Mbuti girls to imitate the boy's *nkumbi*, of which they are supposed to know almost nothing. They display an intimate knowledge of the most jealously guarded secrets, and there have been, throughout the Ndaka and Bira tribal areas, instances of *elima* girls adopting both the costumes of the boy initiates and some of their behavior.

C 881 754 626 P 881 832 177*

In 1958 the Epulu band went so far that both the Bira and the Ndaka chiefs and ritual specialists joined in complaint, and threatened the *elima* girls (the two candidates and their companions, known jointly as the *bamelima*) with a death curse if they did not desist. The girls were upset because they claimed that they had merely adopted the boys' costume because it was so much prettier than the traditional costume approved by villagers for village *elima* girls. And was not the whole idea to look pretty? Of course from the village point of view the whole idea was to behave as one defiled, and this is one of several indications of the total difference between the two attitudes to the event of puberty.

P 881 832 177*

We shall see that the Mbuti attitude is that a girl's first menstrual period is an indication of her readiness for motherhood, and is therefore a time for great and public rejoicing (see Turnbull, 1960[1]). It is also a time when boys and girls should get together and think about settling down in marriage, so it is a time for experimentation. The girls are expected, during the last stages of the festival, to look their best at all times, and they paint and decorate and dress themselves to

P
881 excellent effect. They flaunt themselves in public, to the increased
832 dismay of the villagers.

*177 The villagers regard the appearance of menstrual blood as a disas-
C ter, and as the inauguration of a time of great danger for the girl,
881 her family and, by extension, the whole tribe. She is considered as
[783] unclean, and is rigorously secluded and abased. Her family has to
undertake a series of purification rituals ending in a feast (the part of the ceremony for which the Mbuti solicit "help"). They also have to discover the cause of the blood, which is believed by the Plains Bira and still by a number of the Forest Bira to be due to intercourse. The girl is questioned as to who caused the blood, and she names the youth on whom she has set her heart. He may acknowledge the blame, whether or not he ever had intercourse with her, and can then resolve the unclean situation by marrying her. If his wishes are otherwise he can deny her accusation and she will have to try elsewhere. The girl's parents will guide her accusations as they think necessary, but the actual extent to which the village *elima* leads thus directly
C into marriage seems to vary. Sometimes it is sufficient to secure ad-
783 mission of guilt and payment in lieu of marriage. But the villagers sel-
881 dom try to follow an Mbuti *elima* through its full course; their major
P concern is that the impurity of the *elima* girls should not touch them.
881 The provision of the final feast gives them an opportunity, which
*177 they do not always take, for supervising the ritual purification of the
[296] girls by bathing, the cleansing of the *elima* house, and the ritual disposal of all clothing and bedding and utensils used by the *bamelima*. The latter they do generally supervise, as the Mbuti are notoriously loath to part with perfectly good clothing or bedding for such *bulé* reasons, and will try to avoid having them destroyed.

C If anything, the *elima* sets the villagers and the Mbuti apart, rather
648 than offering any means for drawing them closer together. This is
881 perhaps because while the *nkumbi* involves the village ancestors and
776 is in honor of them, and secures their blessing, the village *elima* in-
769 volves malevolent spirits more than it involves the ancestors. And as
182 far as the villagers are concerned, evil spirits emanate from the forest.
P
648 The *elima* offers no opportunity to the villagers for placing Mbuti girls under the control of the ancestral spirits; at the most, it offers them a responsibility for freeing them from contamination by the evil spirits. They sometimes voice the opinion that the Mbuti are in league with those spirits emanating from the forest, and rigorously avoid any contact with an Mbuti *elima*.

MARRIAGE

Marriage, as we have already seen, may involve the Mbuti in village ritual, and even if their Mbuti claim to have been married in the forest according to their own rites, the villagers try to insist on a village ceremony. Their concern is that the marriage shall be protected, as in village society, against disruption. As the Mbuti not only have no system of paying bride wealth but have no wealth that could be paid, the villagers are obliged to supply the wealth they deem necessary to help stabilize the marriage. They say that a marriage without wealth will not last. But as with the *nkumbi*, they feel that the major safeguard they secure by putting the Mbuti through the village ritual is that the marriage then becomes the concern of the tribal ancestors and subject to supernatural sanctions, all of which operate in the interests of the villagers.

C 583 P 583 177*
C [769] [629] [648]

An important part of the village ceremony formalizing a marriage between two Mbuti is the admonition given by a number of villagers to both groom and bride, reminding them of their old obligations and telling them of the new. The bride is introduced to her husband's *kpara* and his wife, and is told exactly what the wife expects of her; at the same time she is reminded of her own *kpara* and admonished not to forget where her "relatives" live. In fact, the place that would be occupied by the parents of the bride and groom in a normal village ceremony are, when two Mbuti are being married, occupied by the *kpara*. Each admonition generally ends with a reminder that the tribal ancestors of the villagers have been invoked for their blessings, and the tribe has provided generous feasts for all the relatives of the bride and groom, and wealth to boot, so any infidelity or any breach of the bond will call down supernatural wrath upon the (Mbuti) families of all those concerned.

C 585 648 563 P 585 648 177* [571]

In the various crises that may face the couple now, it will be all the more important for the villagers to take the necessary ritual precautions, and to investigate any calamity for evidence of witchcraft. Mbuti marriages tend to be somewhat unstable until the first child is born, and indeed are not considered as marriages by the Mbuti until then, separation and the formation of new unions being the rule rather than the exception. The villagers tend to suspect that witchcraft is at work, sometimes suspecting an Mbuti, sometimes another villager. Bad hunting and sickness are considered to be due to witch-

C 581 789 P 581 177* [851]

C 581 craft or to a breach of marital taboos, as indeed are any disasters,
789 natural or unnatural, that befall the couple. The Mbuti, not having
P any traditional means of divination, are considered by the villagers
581 to be dependent on them for help, though a few Mbuti have learned
*177 the art and become quite highly respected by the villagers. Sometimes
[787] if villagers come to hear of a marital dispute within a band, they will
try to settle it by reference to divination, and if so the Mbuti appear
to accept the settlement without question, in the village, but in no
way allow it to impinge upon the reality of the situation in the forest.
So once again the only dependency that exists is in the minds of the
villagers.

DEATH

C Even when it comes to the greatest crisis of all, death, the Mbuti
761 seem to accept all the externals of village ritual but none of the implications.
784 The invariable accusation of witchcraft and the equally
754 invariable mention of supernatural sanctions as an alternative cause
P 761 of death are made to remind the Mbuti not to falter in fulfilling their
*177 obligations to their *kpara*. Village insistence upon the unnatural
[608] causes of death serves to sow enough seeds of doubt in the mind of
the Mbuti to cause at least momentary fear.

C The actual ritual of burial is conducted under strict village supervision,
764 the necessary payments being made by the *kpara*. The *kpara*
761 and his family, as well as many other villagers, attend personally in the
[608] procession to the grave, and the *kpara* is almost certain to take a
P prominent part in the subsequent discussion as to the cause of the
764 death and be present at the divination, if one is held. But whereas
761 the Mbuti generally subject themselves to village ritual with the best
*177 of grace, they become quickly impatient following the burial of the
dead and sometimes simply walk out of the *baraza* where the cause
of death is being determined, leaving it entirely to the villagers to
decide whatever pleases them. The village preoccupation with death
and its unnatural causes disquiets the Mbuti, and when an Mbuti dies
in a village there is frequently voiced suspicion that somehow the
village is responsible; maybe one of the old curses is at work, perhaps
a neglected *kpara* is employing a sorcerer to seek revenge, or, more
likely, it is impersonally simply the village itself that caused the death.

P 761 Among themselves the Mbuti do not bother to settle the question,
764 if they ask it, but if they feel that the village is to blame in some un-

defined way, they do not hesitate to return at once to the forest. On P
the other hand, if they consider the death perfectly natural, they do 761
not want to be bothered with a senseless preoccupation with causes. 764
They know that in the course of the discussion the villagers will find P
opportunity to raise a number of issues better forgotten, such as un- [648]
fulfilled obligations, and they are also uneasy at keeping the name
of the dead person alive, in this way, for longer than is necessary. The
forest procedure would simply be to bury the body, probably by pull-
ing the hut down on top of it, then to abandon the camp and build
a new one, never again mentioning the dead person by name.

On one occasion already cited (p. 10), an Mbuti funeral party re- P
turning from the grave converted itself into a wedding party. On an- 761
other occasion, when the Mbuti were in a particularly festive mood 764 C
and were bent on a long stay in the village, they played along with 761
the witch-hunt even to the point of suggesting a second diviner from 764
another village to check the findings of the first, stretching the pro- 754
ceedings out in this way for nearly a week. This meant that all the 787
"mourners" (and Mbuti from villages up to twenty miles away came
to this funeral) had to be fed for that long by the villagers. When P
the final act was done and the diviner had pointed out the witch that C
had "caused" the death, the Mbuti became annoyed that the vil- [782
lagers said something would have to be done about it, talking about 783]
a propitiation and a cleansing ceremony, with restitution. When the
Mbuti saw they could not talk the villagers out of these less popular
final rites, they returned to the forest, taking the "witch" with them.

On the few occasions on which I have seen the Mbuti apparently P 177*
go through with the act until the very end—that is, divining the witch, 761
accusing him or her, trying the case, giving judgment and going 754
through the necessary cleansing rituals and actually making the nec- 578
essary restitutive payments—it was when they already had a grievance [783]
against a certain person and chose this way of expressing it. On each
such occasion there was not, among the Mbuti, the slightest thought
that the "witch" actually had anything to do with the death. On P
two occasions the accused was a woman singularly well equipped to [157
appear as a witch, her face being almost entirely eaten away by yaws. 164]
She was actually extremely well liked, but nonetheless she belonged
to the volatile Cephu family who were always joining and breaking
away from the main band, and she was very loud in her comments
about that main band. Further, her husband, Aberi, normally also
well liked, was particularly quick-tempered and a disturbing element.

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*177 He was the only one I ever knew who fought with his brother, and
761 his wife was the cause of that fight. (Aberi was also one of the three
754 to die following the curse of the Ngwana villager).
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On another occasion the witch was also a woman, a rather crotchety, interfering old lady who was in the difficult position of being both a mother and a mother-in-law as well as a grandmother in the same camp. Her son, Amabosu, had exchanged sisters with Ekianga, and all of them lived in the same band. As Ekianga was an individualistic Mbuti with three wives, the situation was one fraught with difficulties, and old Sau's outspoken championship of her daughter as against Ekianga's two older wives did not help.

Sau was also the one chosen as witch in the mock trial after which the villagers attempted to detain her and the Mbuti carried her off with them to the forest.

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[186] Evidently even in the village, regarded with suspicion and fear as it is, the Mbuti are not prepared to accept the real implications of witchcraft, so they see no need for the associated ceremonies. But they do sometimes make use of the villager institution to settle their own dissociated grievances in their own way.

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THE VILLAGE *MOLIMO* MOURNING CEREMONY

The funerary rituals and the divination of the cause of death are only part of the village ceremony attendant upon death. There follows a period of mourning that varies in length according to the status of the deceased and the wealth of his survivors, and that is terminated by final cleansing ceremonies and a feast for all mourners who have stayed the course, which generally means the immediate patrikin. During the mourning period, the patrikin are obliged to perform certain ceremonies to protect the deceased and help him on his way to
C join the ancestors. This ritual is known to the Bira by the name
765 *molimo*. When talking in KiNgwana they call it *essumba* or *ishumba*,
192 although it is quite different from the Ngwana ceremony of that
C name. The Bira *molimo* involves the use of a "singing" pot called
[534] *tete*, which is used to create a noise in imitation of the clan totem
[614] of the deceased, and of the leopard who is respected by all Bira. Exact
[825] details of the ritual are not known. I was not allowed to attend village
P C *molimo* ceremonies because my close association with the Mbuti in
[123] the forest was considered as evidence of antipathy, if not of hostility.
C [776] But from a number of different sources which I investigated as thor-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

oughly as possible, it seems that among both Bira and Ndaka, and I C 765
believe also among the Lesé, death is believed to put fellow clansmen [192]
of the deceased in great danger from the *keti*, or evil spirits. The ob- [776]
ject of the *molimo* is twofold, then; it must help the deceased on his
way, giving him what protection it can, and it must protect the living,
who will be in a state of ritual danger throughout the period of
mourning.

During that period the *molimo* meets regularly, at nighttime, in
the house of the senior surviving member of the clan, in whose pos- C
session the *tete* is held. Only adult male clansmen are admitted, and [533]
the sound of the *tete* is the audible evidence of the invisible presence C
of their totemic guardian spirit. Specially prepared food is offered to [782]
the spirit, and the rest is eaten by the men. No women are allowed C
to participate in any way, even by cooking the food, according to all 765
informants. However, I had been told the same thing about the 252
Mbuti and found it to be different, and do not accept this information 562
without some reservation. It would seem, though, that women gen-
erally are excluded from the *molimo* of the villagers, and indeed it
really is no concern of theirs.

During the proceedings, which may last an hour or so, the men C
wail and call out the name and/or the kinship term of address of the 765
deceased; his praises are recited and he is commended to the ancestral [769]
spirits. At the same time, the praises of the surviving clan members
are similarly recited, and mention is made of the way in which they
have upheld tribal lore and observed all the rules of clan exogamy,
and have increased the number of attendant Mbuti. Continued pro-
tection for the living is requested, particularly for the period of C
mourning. Apparently no Mbuti take part in this part of the cere- [563]
mony, though there seemed to be some disagreement over this and P
my impression was that the associated Mbuti are not prohibited from [177]*
attending, but effectively seldom, if ever, do.

Upon the death of an Mbuti the *kpara* will not only oversee the C 764
burial and funerary ceremonies and divination, he will also want to 765
hear announced the calling together of the men of the *molimo*. Some- 563
times he will leave it at that, but if the Mbuti continue to stay in the 571
village and hold any *molimo* meetings in their village camp, the P 764
kpara may attend one or two meetings. It is very noticeable that when 765
he does, the meeting runs a completely different course, centering 177*
around some erotic dancing by the younger men and a small amount 571 [535]
of singing. The *molimo* trumpet, which is the Mbuti counterpart of [533]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
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P **The molimo trumpet, which is the Mbuti counterpart of**
765 the villager *tete*, may be heard growling in a noncommittal manner, as
*177 if uncertain which clan totem to imitate from the diversity of clans
534 undoubtedly represented at the Mbuti *molimo* fire. It seems that the
533 most common sound for the instrument to make under such circumstances is the growl of a leopard, which safely covers all clans, Mbuti and villager.

P However, the villagers are not made welcome, and if it were any
765 but the *kpara* or his representative the *molimo* would be abandoned
*177 the moment a villager approached. As it is, on the few occasions
648 when I have seen a *kpara* attend, he was not offered any food or any
571 other inducement to stay, the *molimo* trumpet remained out of sight
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765 the whole time and only growled indistinctly once or twice; the sing-
563 ing was sporadic and only the young men were active, dancing around
648 the fire.

571 The Mbuti said that the villagers were afraid and would not in any case be likely to come near; the *kpara* only did it because he felt obliged to. In all cases of which I have any experience, except two instances where a brief *molimo* was held in a village camp for an Mbuti child who died there, the Mbuti *molimo* is held at nighttime in the forest, where interference from the village would be unthinkable. As with the *elima*, however, the closing stages are often held in the village, this being meant to coincide with the end of the official period of mourning and therefore the signal for a feast to be supplied by the villagers.

P It does seem significant, nonetheless, that the Mbuti should sing
*177 any *molimo* songs in the village camp, for normally they refuse to
533 sing any of their true forest songs when in the village. However, they
[765] are sung infrequently, with marked restraint, and widely separated by long snatches of songs that I never heard in the forest or, unfortu-
P nately, in the villages. The latter bore a distinct resemblance to certain
[881] songs taught during the *nkumbi*, and some were undoubtedly variants on *nkumbi* songs. The only information I could get was they were not "songs of the forest" but were "songs of the village." The villagers confirmed that they heard the Mbuti sometimes singing village *molimo* songs, and surprise was expressed that they would sing anything else, for everything else was *bulé*, empty.

C The connection between the *molimo*, as performed by the Mbuti
765 in the village, and the *nkumbi* was made all the more evident when
881 563 on one *molimo* occasion the two members of the *kpara's* family stood
535 up and performed a dance only seen otherwise in the initiation camp.
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On another occasion the *kpara* himself did exactly the same thing. In 765
the first instance the *kpara* was Ndaka, in the second, Bira. The vil- 881
lagers evidently believe that whatever *molimo* ritual the Mbuti have, 563
it was learned from the village, if badly learned and performed with 535
illegitimate variations. As with the *elima*, perhaps also for fear of P
exposure to the malevolent forest spirits, the villagers do not seek to 765
interfere too much with Mbuti *molimo* celebrations. We shall see 881
that these celebrations are quite divorced from the village *molimo*, 535
regardless of whether or not the origin of the two was common. Also, 177*
we shall see that the Mbuti *molimo* has none of the connections that
evidently exist between the village *molimo* and the *nkumbi*.

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As with the *elima*, the villagers limit the extent of their interest 765
to ensuring the removal, by village-supplied procedure, of the last 783
taints of uncleanliness. This they do, again in conjunction with a P 765
feast, turning a blind eye to the fact that as many as a dozen different 614
Mbuti "clans" may be represented at what is supposed to be a closed
clan feast.

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The extent to which the villagers believe they assert supernatural 563
control over the Mbuti does not coincide at all with the extent to 829
which they effectively do exert such control, for the reason that must 121
now be sufficiently obvious; no matter how many or what manner 648
of village institutions the Mbuti adopt, they are adopted into a pre- P
existing system and no longer have the same interrelationships they 177*
do in the village system. The two systems are kept irreconcilably apart 648
by what has in effect been emerging throughout—the existence of 121
two completely different sets of values.

Yet the villagers are not entirely victims of their own *mbafu*, as
the Mbuti would have it. There is little else they could do, and the
adoption of the Mbuti into one aspect of village social structure
would indeed be *bulé* without their adoption into the total structure.
The villagers are consistent and logical, and above all it must be C
remembered that in their own eyes they have achieved what they set [626]
out to achieve—control. They believe that ultimate control is theirs [776]
because of the force of the supernatural powers on their side, and in
point of fact, although it does not work quite the way they think,
the concept of supernatural power does give them a small measure
of control to the extent that it creates fear.

But what is also achieved is the creation of a myth that completely regularizes the whole situation, as far as the villagers are concerned, affording them an institutionalized means of dealing with every possi-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
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563 ble situation, retaining at all times the village position of superiority
648 over the Mbuti. But it is a myth which at the same time satisfies the
829 needs of the Mbuti, affording them precisely the freedom of which
121 the villagers seek to deprive them, enabling them to rationalize the
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*177 situation in their own favor and to their own advantage. We shall
648 shortly see how this takes place.
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CHAPTER 7

Flux and Instability

Not yet having examined the forest context, we cannot completely C 648
dispose of the question of economic dependence or interdependence. 439 464
At the moment, it appears that the Mbuti do not need the villagers [177]
except for luxuries which may in time become necessities, and it [248]
equally seems that the villagers do not need the Mbuti except as P
laborers on the plantations, in particular with the cotton harvest, 439
and this is a very recent need introduced by Belgian administration. 648
The most that one can say about the economic aspect of the relationship is that it appears to be one of mutual convenience. The villagers *could* hunt (and in areas where there are few or no Mbuti, they do) but they prefer not to go into the forest if it can be avoided. The Mbuti *could* live successfully off the forest at their indigenous level of technology, but trade with the villagers makes life that much easier.

If we look carefully at daily life in any village, the economic aspect C 439
of the relationship fades even further into the background. Mbuti 648
can occasionally be seen bringing in from the forest meat or other P
forest products needed by the villagers, such as the *fito* saplings and 439
phrynium leaves for their houses. More often they will be seen helping 648
with odd domestic chores, such as fetching water or firewood, house- 461
building, or guarding plantations. Mbuti women help the village women pound manioc and to thresh and winnow the locally grown dry rice. They also help the village women carry loads of plantains to and from the market.

But mostly, if any Mbuti are to be seen at all, they will be seen P 461
lazing on the *baraza* of their *kpara*, being fed and offered ends of 535
cigarettes, or bribed with liquor to put on a dance that all the vil- 648
lagers will come to watch. Such dances are wild and erotic, accompanied by anything from one to three or four drums, never by song.

It is also possible to see Mbuti scrounging food from villagers 000

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P It is also possible to see Mbuti scrounging food from villagers
685 other than their own *kpara* and, when not successful, simply stealing
648 571 what they want. If they are caught they are scolded by their *kpara*
121 and that is generally all. If more fuss is made than that, all the Mbuti
C are likely to pack up and return to the forest within hours. But what-
648 ever Mbuti may be seen engaged in whatever activity, they can be
571 seen only as individuals in relationship to a particular villager at that
particular moment, unrelated to other villagers and other Mbuti, un-
P less they are included in the same activity. Only in the village camp
[361] of the Mbuti, usually at the edge of the plantation, do they form a
[621] society, but the interpersonal relationships observable even in a vil-
lage camp bear little resemblance to relationships in the more strictly
village context.

P The situation becomes more understandable in light of the ex-
829 pressed Mbuti attitude to their own place in the village world. They
648 refer to the village as being a place for good hunting and good eating.
571 Hunting requires cunning, and particularly when dealing with a
"tricky" animal such as the villager, say the Mbuti. The word for
"trickery" means more than "clever," it has connotations of super-
natural power. So the Mbuti, when hunting in the village, use ap-
P propriate tactics, just as they do in the forest. Carrying wood and
[224] fetching water, building houses and pounding manioc, are all part
of those tactics, and may perhaps be likened to the net with which
the Mbuti trap the forest animals.

This Mbuti attitude to the relationship not only fits with the theory that there is, in effect, no necessary economic interdependence, but it also fits well with the suggestion of *apparent* structural incompatibility. Mbuti talk of "eating" the villagers, and indeed the villagers also talk, with some asperity, of being eaten. In Mbuti
thought, however, it is rather more literal than it may seem, for the
P villagers are not only referred to as animals, a common term of abuse,
[825] but they are considered as animals. And when one eats an animal one
merely consumes its substance, one does not thereby assume its form
or its pattern of behavior.

C Even supposing that there was a necessary economic interdepen-
439 dence, the daily life of the village in no way reveals any sense of eco-
648 nomic urgency. Even in times of crisis, such as the cotton harvest,
121 powerful chiefs like Kachui may evidently find themselves deserted
by the Mbuti and forced to make out on their own. But if there were
a true economic dependence, then there would have to be a workable
economic system, with an associated system of social control; and

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we have already seen that in place of system and control there is, 439
apparently, only flux and instability that militate *against* system and 648
control. 121

By flux I refer to the fact that the Mbuti appear to adopt village P
institutions but not the village system of interrelationships. In this 177*
way there is a disconnectedness in the village context of the Mbuti 182
that enables both sides to refer to whichever institution is convenient 608
at the moment to establish a relationship of the moment. Thus an C
Mbuti may be asked to help one villager on the ground of their *karé* 648
relationship, and expected by another to help because of the hereditary 608
kpara relationship. Considerations of simple economic exchange P
between the same Mbuti and still other villagers may override either C [571]
of the above considerations at another moment. Thus the Mbuti has
a number of possible ways in which he can link himself with the
village and the villagers, at different and distinct times. The converse
also applies, and if a villager finds his hereditary claims ineffective he
may call on other Mbuti because of the *karé* relationship, and so
forth.

In view of the nomadic nature of the hunting band and, as we P 621
shall see, of its composition, this "system" of flux is the only one 182
that could possibly pertain. But it leads inevitably to instability because 177*
of the consequent lack of any one system of control. In the 648
same way that the Mbuti can hop from one conflicting set of relationships 121
to another, so he can hop from one system of control to C
another. By Mbuti rejection of the total village system and by what 121
proves to be an opposition of a totally different set of values, the 648
villager ultimately is denied virtually all control, and the Mbuti similarly
is denied any absolute security in his relationships with the
villagers.

However, the loss of control is more serious to the villagers than C 648
is the loss of security to the Mbuti, and it is also more complete, for 439
the villagers are themselves bound by the supernatural sanctions 121
through which they vainly attempt to impose control upon the [626]
Mbuti. The whole situation is incompatible with the notion of economic P
interdependence, yet there is no denying the actual relationship 439
between the two groups of people. Nor can one deny that within 648
a framework of flux and instability, the relationship is persistent, so 182
there must be some system. If that system is so evidently unrelated to 121
economic factors, we have to look elsewhere for its focal point.

There are not all that many basic relationships that can exist be-

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There are not all that many basic relationships that can exist between two peoples in a context such as this. Apart from one of symbiosis, implying interdependence, there could be political subjugation, such as existed, say, between the Tussi and the Hutu. But that is plainly not the case here. The villagers themselves admit their inability to exert physical force to bend the Mbuti to their will, for the Mbuti always have the ultimate escape of flight to the sanctuary of the forest. The villagers are completely unequipped to pursue the Mbuti into the forest, and never attempt it. They are incapable of even finding the Mbuti if the hunters wish not to be found. And, as we have seen, there is no effective political mechanism for maintaining any kind of political relationship, let alone one of superordination/subordination.

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Another possible relationship would be one of assimilation, such as occurred among the Ganda of East Africa, where two different peoples merged, as did their two different economies. At the present there is no question of actual assimilation, but the existence of linguistic and institutional similarities certainly indicates an interchange of ideas, at least. But it is, at the moment, an interchange of outward forms only, and not of the accompanying systems and structure. And while a great deal of intimacy is expressed, in action as in word, between the two groups, there is also a great deal of expressed opposition, and sometimes hostility.

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The intermarriage between Mbuti girls and village men and the attempted absorption of the Mbuti into the village kinship system may be considered as steps toward assimilation, but if so they are very tentative and preliminary steps, and as such need not concern us here. Indeed we shall find that there are other indications of the reverse process, of separation. There is no question of physical separation in the sense of the expulsion of one group by the other, but a perfectly valid alternative relationship left to us for consideration is one of ideological separation accompanied by a mutually accepted territorial separation—a form of indigenous apartheid.

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This in fact seems to be the case, for in common conversation, as in action, both groups distinguish the village and the village people from the forest and the forest people. The Mbuti effectively are the only group to cross the territorial boundaries, and the ideological boundaries remain inviolate on both sides. When the Mbuti cross into the village world they leave the forest behind them, and with it they leave their forest social system. Forest values cannot be so easily left

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behind, but in the village world they are dormant, and do not come 177*
into play until the two worlds begin to impinge upon each other. 182

Thus the economic, kinship and political relationships that bind P
the Mbuti together as a society in the forest do not pertain in the 177*
village, and consequently the society disintegrates as such. An example 182
can be had by comparing plans of the forest hunting camps with 621
plans of the village camps over the same period (see Plan 2). It will
be seen that there is virtually no correspondence, and that while each
successive forest camp (approximately one a month) shows a significant
change in structure related to the constant process of fission and
fusion and of fragmentation, the village camps show no such pattern.
At first they seem much more stable, but that is due at least in part
to the fact that the actual camp is more permanent in nature, being
occupied for much shorter periods of time. Also, such camps are
sometimes built in imitation of the real villages, the houses being
made smaller, though of the same semi-permanent mud and wattle
construction. It is only the physical disposition that remains constant,
however, and that only for as long as the physical camp remains
unchanged. This may be for as long as a year or more. During that
time the composition of the village camp is constantly changing, according
to no discernible pattern, and certainly none related to the
composition of the forest camp.

The Mbuti living in a village camp can no longer be considered as
a band. Indeed, there are times when the village camp may be fully
occupied, as if by a band, but in fact by Mbuti who have nothing
more immediately in common than their intent to "eat" those particular P
villagers. Even considerations of kinship and of age break 177*
down, though nuclear families tend to continue to live together. A 182
nuclear family will not co-operate within itself in the same way, however, 621
as it would in a hunting camp; nor, most certainly, will it cooperate 593
with other nuclear families. There is not even the necessity 594
for a wife to cook her husband a meal, as he can always scrounge one
from a villager. Whether he does so or not is purely a domestic issue P
between himself and his family and, as seen, because of the flux that C
pertains, different members of the same family could choose to establish [608]
village relationships, each by invoking a different context— [571]
the one *karé*, the other *kpara*, another economic exchange—so even
three brothers technically "owned" by the same villager could find
themselves attached to three different villagers, possibly living in
three different houses (when in the village, the Mbuti sometimes

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*177 sleep in the *baraza* of the villagers rather than in the village camp).
182 The nuclear family is further disrupted by the fact that a wife may
621 well seize the opportunity of being in the village to leave her husband
593 and visit her own *kpara* in another village.
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C Men and women of quite different ages who would normally, in
[608] the forest, be separated for most aspects of daily life may find them-
[571] selves thrown together. Young and old are quite likely to find them-
P selves eating together on the same *baraza*, helping to build the same
182 house, even joining in the same erotic dance. Sex differentiations that
621 pertain in the forest do not necessarily pertain in the village, where,
561 for instance, Mbuti men do the housebuilding, not the women, and
462 where the women are most effectively the "hunters" and food producers.

P It is only, as stated, when the two worlds of the forest and the
648 village impinge upon each other that the Mbuti in the village camp
621 show any sense of identity as a unit. Those who belong to the same
186 hunting band will then cluster together around the same campfire,
and if the issue involves a return to the forest, then quickly the village
camp begins to assume, so far as possible, the composition and characteristics of a forest camp. Forest relationships between individuals
and families are gradually reestablished, and at the same time village
P relationships are gradually abandoned. This inevitably meets with
648 concerted opposition on the part of the villagers, who offer threats
166 and bribes to maintain the precarious and temporary relationship just
C established. But with no effective means of control there is nothing
563 they can do but accept the departure of "their" Mbuti with as much
[431] good grace as they can muster. Those who are wise make presents of
plantains and manioc. Those who do not are likely to have their
plantations robbed.

P The imminence of a mass return of Mbuti to the forest is fre-
533 quently marked a night or two before it takes place by the singing
186 in the village camp of hunting songs or, on special occasions, of the
621 lesser *molimo* songs, late at night when all the villagers will have retired. This is a sure sign that the forest world is asserting itself, for forest songs are generally considered as sacred, and not to be profaned by performance in the village. They would never be sung in the true village, and only in the Mbuti village camp when they wish to convert the context to a forest context. The forest, it must be remembered, is physically always within sight and, perhaps more important as far as song is concerned, within earshot. It may, indeed, be no more than

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
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a few yards away, and some village camps, depending upon the circumstances, are actually built still in the shade of the forest, out of sight of the village and its plantations.

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But granted this separation of the two worlds, and the fact that when the band (or part of it) comes to the village it disintegrates as such, and if we accept the lack of any economic necessity or political force by which we could explain the relationship, we still have to answer the question as to why a relationship exists and what its true nature is.

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This can best be answered after we have seen the nature of the forest world, but it can already be seen that the meeting of the two peoples is somewhat like the meeting of two polar opposites that are irresistibly drawn together. And indeed, such magnetic links between opposites are the only true ones we have found. The point at which the forest and the village truly meet, the focal point of the relationship between the two peoples, is not economic or political, but religious. The nature of the meeting is one of opposition, and this opposition is most clearly expressed in the mutually antagonistic systems of values. Although we have only concerned ourselves with the village world to this point, we have already seen the strength of the village fear of the forest, resulting in their unwillingness to enter it and their consequent "dependence" upon the Mbuti for necessary forest products. This fear is expressed in religious terms by reference to the hostile forest spirits, and the general antagonism of the forest to the village world, witnessed by its reluctance to support village crops. Insofar as the villagers recognize the Mbuti as a forest people they believe them to be somehow aligned with the forest spirits, and therefore to be placated. That does not prevent the villagers from attempting, while placating, to extend some form of control over the Mbuti. Indeed they seem far more concerned about this than they are about the small amount of meat or labor they manage to extract from the Mbuti (see Table 3 for an example of "economic" exchange).

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C
[771]
C
[776]
C
[626]

The Mbuti most nearly fall under village control through their own fear of the village (which by its very nature is not only not "of the forest" but is actively hostile to the forest), and through their fear of the powers the villagers claim to have over the supernatural, by witchcraft and sorcery. Quite apart from the historic genesis of the Mbuti/Villager relationship, the very antagonism of their ways of life, together with their territorial propinquity, would be enough to de-

C

648 mand that they come to some kind of terms and establish some kind
121 of mechanism for dealing with the threat that each feels.
177

P We have seen how the villagers attempt to deal with the situation
648 by asserting control over the Mbuti through the adoption of the
121 Mbuti into the village social system, thus placing them under the su-
*177 pernatural sanctions of village society. We have also seen that the
Mbuti evade such control, though we have not exactly seen how, for
at the moment the success of their evasion seems to lie in the rejec-
tion of system, in a flux and instability that alone would lead to
P chaos. In examining the forest society of the Mbuti now, however,
648 we shall see how this flux and apparent instability is in fact a struc-
621 tural factor, and that while the villagers are constantly attempting
121 to absorb the Mbuti into their village social system, the Mbuti have
evolved a social system of their own which, while still permitting
their traditional hunting and gathering existence, takes this new village factor into consideration and, so to speak, by opposing, ends it.
For the Mbuti forest system seems almost expressly designed to run
counter to the village system, and, by opposing it at every point of
possible structural contact, it makes any structural relationship except
one of opposition quite impossible.

P Thus in examining the forest system of the Mbuti we have to re-
648 member that the same institution may well have a double function;
621 the one of maintaining cohesion with the forest world, the other of
121 maintaining opposition with the world outside. And insofar as the
178 invasion of the village tribes is relatively recent, this is a system that
is still evolving. All the more so because the successive waves of the invasion, followed by the advent of the Arab slave traders and finally by the arrival of the Belgians, have all wrought sudden and drastic changes in the nature of village life and on the village settlement pattern. There may indeed be some institutions that are newly evolved and the purpose of which is directed primarily at maintaining the relationship of opposition between forest and village. Others are in the process of adaptation, notably the Mbuti *molimo*, where the forest system of values has its deepest roots and where, consequently, their opposition to village values must be most forcefully expressed. And some institutions appear to be in a state of atrophy.

P We are, then, very clearly going to be studying a society in the
178 process of change. The structure that will emerge, involving a discon-
121 certing lack of emphasis on kinship, is not necessarily or even proba-
bly characteristic of hunting and gathering societies, and should cer-

tainly not be taken as such. It should only be considered as a system 178
that maintains, in its basic respects, a hunting and gathering tradition, 121
while also maintaining, as completely as possible, a physiological and ideological separation from a hostile village system.

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.91]

PART THREE

THE FOREST WORLD

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CHAPTER 8

The Band

TERRITORY

Before we can begin to understand what the Mbuti band is, we 621
have to understand the notion of territory, which is effectively the 423
only concept through which the band can be defined. Insofar as the 121
band is the largest effective political unit, so the widest territorial 131
boundaries that are recognized are those separating each band from the others. As will be seen, there is a current tendency for all Mbuti bands to recognize a loose unity to bind them in common opposition to the villagers, and in this context they will define a correspondingly wider territory, the forest, in which the villagers are regarded as trespassers. At the other end of the scale, the nuclear family has no territorial claims except those held jointly with other families of the
same band. An individual may stake his claim to a tree that he knows [222]
or believes will yield honey, or to one that promises to provide good [314]
bark for making into cloth. A common way of showing that the tree is claimed is by tying a vine around the trunk at shoulder height.

A claim thus made by no means gives the individual or his family 423
exclusive ownership of the tree or exclusive rights to its produce, however. 222
It merely conveys the right for that individual to have the first 314
opportunity for collecting the honey or for cutting the bark. When 476
the honey is collected or the bark cut, it is done collectively and the claimant is subject to all the usual rules governing the sharing of forest produce. He will have precedence of choice and his share will be larger. If he is not on hand when the honey is ready, however, and if he does not signify his intention to come to claim it, his right is
forfeited. It may be seen that the advantage accruing from this slight 621
departure from the norm of joint band ownership of the territory 423
and its produce is in no way great enough to detract from the central 131
value of communal territory, but at the same time it is sufficiently

621 great to provide some incentive for individual effort and, much more
423 important, it also provides some incentive for a wandering member
131 of a band to return to his home territory at least once a year, for the
honey season.[1]

The territory of any band is always ample for its needs. That is perhaps the safest way of defining the size of band territory. Never, in any part of the forest, have I come across any complaint of the insufficiency of a hunting territory, in terms of either size or produce. Nor are there sufficient instances of trespass to indicate that any band suffers from inadequate natural resources. In every case that I have investigated the band has been able to define its boundaries by citing rivers, streams, mountain ridges, ravines, caves, or other locally well-
131 known natural landmarks. These boundaries generally extend one
621 day's march in one direction, three days' march in the other. The
423 shorter base is invariably parallel to the line, a trail or road, connect-
484 ing two villages, though it may well overlap it. A "day's march" is
487 the way the Mbuti generally define distance, and in practice this
[822] means that the first day in from the base line is the longest distance, extending perhaps as far as thirty miles. Beyond this the territory is less intensively traveled, the trails are more difficult to follow, and the third day in may represent only ten or fifteen miles. The base line, similarly, is comparatively short, being perhaps the least hunted as it is the closest to the village. Also, as the forest in this area will have been penetrated by villagers in search of building materials, it is generally much more difficult to traverse than the virgin forest a mile or so further in.

In using this measure of time and distance, the Mbuti do not think of how far a single hunter could travel in a day, but rather how far the whole band could travel, as if shifting camp. A single man could travel almost twice the distance. This is a small point, but serves as an indication of the way in which the Mbuti see the world around them, in terms of the potentiality of the whole band.

131 The territory of the Epulu band (Map 6)^ was defined by a series
133 of rivers: the Harama, the Itoro, and the Epulu to the northeast, the
east and the south, and by the small Nepussi and a series of hills and caves to the west. As usual, the innermost boundary was the least

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[1] This also seems to be the season when bark-cloth manufacture is at its height, perhaps largely because more time is available during this season. But bark cloth is made throughout the year, and fresh sources of the best barks are always eagerly sought and claimed.

^[see page 321 -- Analyst]

clearly defined, opening northward into a large central area unclaimed 133
by anyone. [031]

The topography of the Epulu territory is similar to that of most other bands, though without the steep, mountainous ridges that occur slightly further east. The ground is gently undulating, as thickly [137]
forested on the hilltops as in the valleys, though the vegetation is
much denser along the banks of streams and rivers. It is almost im- 133
possible to walk more than a few hundred yards without having to 484
cross a small stream, and after a particularly violent and prolonged rainfall there are areas that become temporarily flooded and the larger streams may become uncrossable torrents. But normally there is little difficulty in traveling from one extreme of the area to another. There are no swamps, the ground is clear of the tangled undergrowth that characterizes old plantation sites, and all but the largest streams are either shallow enough, in places, to be forded or are bridged at intervals by fallen trees. Nowhere do the Mbuti need to build bridges, [491]
and nowhere do they do so except in the village context.[2] It is a simple fact that rivers that are too wide to be bridged by a fallen tree are relatively far and few between, and therefore form convenient natural boundaries. There is neither the desire nor the need to cross such rivers. A certain mistrust of large bodies of water strengthens the 133
efficacy of rivers as boundaries, just as the few superstitions to be 823
found among the Mbuti mostly relate to ravines, caves, streams or 133
hills that form other boundaries.

The abundance of game and vegetable food may be taken for 000

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[2] The famous "pygmy" bridge and the spectacular technique of crossing a river by [481]
swinging on a vine from one side to the other were taught to the Mbuti, not without [177]
difficulty, by an enterprising movie-maker. Patrick Putnam was asked to assist as interpreter, but refused. His first wife, however, went to watch the proceedings. The same group of pygmies retained some knowledge of the technique, and obligingly repeated the act for subsequent "documentary" film units. They are the only group with the knowledge, though they are now less proficient. A more recent movie-maker had to sling a wire hawser across the river and suspend the vine swing from its midpoint. A simple mathematical calculation will reveal the impossibility of the swinging technique, even disregarding the area behind the swing that would have to be cleared, a task in itself beyond Mbuti technology. Assuming the fulcrum is over one bank, and the branches into which the pygmy is to swing are directly over the far bank (a generous assumption), and assuming that the pygmy can be drawn back far enough to swing up to a 45-degree angle at the far end of his swing, the maximum width that can be crossed is three-quarters of the height of the swing. In practical experiment among the Mbuti, I found that effectively half the height of the swing was the maximum horizontal distance that could be so traversed. This would mean that to cross a river a mere hundred yards in width, the fulcrum would have to be some 600 feet up, demanding a tree approaching the height of the Eiffel Tower. Conversely, a swing of the maximum normally practicable length of 60 feet would enable a pygmy to span a stream a mere 30 feet across. Pygmies generally have rather more sense, in such matters, than movie-makers.

The abundance of game and vegetable food may be taken for
136 granted in any part of the forest, except possibly that small triangle
137 bounded by the three roads joining the administrative centers of
Mambasa, Irumu and Beni (Map 4),[1] where the roads and the heavy
concentration of foreign settlements, coffee plantations, hospitals,
missions and mines have considerably affected the natural resources
311 and the natural patterns of game migration. There is no economic
166 need for trespass. Each territory is large enough for a band to roam
131 within it for year after year, never twice occupying the same camp
628 site, never exhausting its supplies of food or the materials needed for
621 shelter and clothing and the rest of the minimal Mbuti material culture.

628 All of which is not to say that boundaries are not crossed. They
224 are crossed, either when hunters commit trespass or when individuals
685 or families visit relatives in other bands. In the case of trespass, a
131 band of hunters may pursue game across a boundary stream, particularly if it is one of the more prized animals. An elephant would almost certainly be pursued, but it is understood that the band whose territory is so violated has certain rights to the spoils. Such trespass is considered excusable under these conditions. Generally, however, a band will never hunt near its boundaries if the neighboring band is in the vicinity of the same boundary.

628 The only cases of uncondoned trespass known to me are rare in-
222 stances when a band has found itself short of honey during the brief
685 honey season, and has invaded its neighbor's territory and actually
131 set up temporary camp there. This was considered inexcusable only because permission was not first sought.

628 If trespass is rare, boundaries are being crossed frequently for the
166 approved purpose of visiting relatives, consanguineal or affinal. In-
574 dividuals or whole families sometimes wander in this way until they
131 are several territories distant from their home territory. By "home territory" an Mbuti would mean the territory in which he most habitually hunted, and in which he has established certain claims to honey or bark trees. He would be unlikely to attempt to define it in terms of clan or lineage concepts; that is, he would refer to the territory rather than to the band. This habitual exchange of visits is, in fact, the major social communication that exists between one band and another, but it also has a secondary economic significance: a band that becomes too large for convenience may split, a part of it going to join another band that has perhaps fallen below the optimum economic size. The major purpose of interband visits is the extension

[1] [see page 319 -- Analyst]

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of the social horizon, particularly necessary in view of the preferred 166
territorial exogamy. When the Mbuti say that they like to "marry 574
far," they think primarily in terms of spatial distance, on the assump- 131
tion that this will provide the necessary kinship distance. Thus 628
territory is used, in the absence of a formalized kinship system, to ex- 166
press and maintain the necessary degree of exogamy. Territory is also 574
used as the concept by which men and women define "home," and it 131
is through territorial membership that any individual has such rights 582
as he has. Above all, it is the territory which has bounds, not the band.

COMPOSITION

Both archer and net-hunter bands exhibit the greatest complexity 621
in composition, particularly when large, but also sometimes even 614
when fragmented into the smallest segments. The Epulu band, over 613
the course of a year, was made up of twenty-seven patrilineages sharing seven totems, although the largest single camp contained only twenty-six family huts. Of these twenty-seven lineages, each of which has a name (possibly in imitation of village clan names) and a totem, only two are divided into more than one totemic group: the Puemi respect the leopard or the chimpanzee, the Bokelé respect the leopard or the buffalo or a rare antelope. The Puemi and the Bokelé alone, then, may be considered as clans, and even they only with reservation, for though each totemic group of the Bokelé (or the Puemi) claims to be related to the other through a distant ancestor, the ancestor remains unnamed and is never invoked, and it is admitted that intermarriage might take place. There is no record of such intermarriage, and certainly the lineage is exogamous. In the accompanying plans these totemic subgroups, then, are considered and represented as separate lineages.

For three large camps (over twenty huts[8]) made by the Epulu band within a twelve-month period, the following is the breakdown, giving the number of patrilineages and lineage totems represented in each camp, counting the husband, widower or rare bachelor hut-owner on the one hand, the wife or widow on the other, and counting only those living and present at the time:

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[8] A hut is normally occupied by a nuclear family, but may sometimes be occupied only by a bachelor, widower or widow. Also, rarely, a married son and his wife may stay temporarily in the hut of either parents (more likely the parents of the son). By and large, however, a hut represents an economic unit owning no more than one net. [592]

		Male Members		*Female Members*	
621 Camp 3a – in	26 huts, there were	13 lin.	5 tot.	9 lin.	6 tot.
614 3b –	22	10	5	10	6
613 3c –	22	12	5	11	5

When the band fragmented into small camps, the picture was not far different:

		Male Members		*Female Members*	
Camp 3d – in	9 huts, there were	5 lin.	5 tot.	5 lin.	4 tot.
3e –	9	5	3	6	3
3f –	6	4	4	4	3
3g –	3	2	1	3	3

Apart from the totemic subdivisions of the Puemi and Bokelé, the lineages all intermarry freely and do not consider themselves related to each other in any way whatsoever other than as affines.

621 The camp plans (Plans 3a–g)[A] indicate the extent to which the
613 lineages maintained their separate identities in the above camps. If
361 we consider the lineages of both the husband and wife, we can see a
slight tendency for women to build the family huts so that men of
the same lineage will be near each other. The significance of this is
[578] dubious, and the rest of camp life does not indicate lineage to be of
any particular interest, although in disputes lineage members tend to
support each other, but not necessarily.

[184] With other bands of net-hunters and also with archers the situa-
tion seems similar, though there is some tendency, perhaps, for the
lineage divisions to be more visible in archer camps (see Plans 4a–m).
621 I was not able to stay long enough in these other camps to thoroughly
114 verify the genealogies, however, or to observe what changes took place
from camp to camp. The material is all the more interesting, nonethe-
[614] less, in that in the first instance I was always told that the camp consisted of one "clan" (using the village terminology), yet they did not deny the possibility of marriage within that unit.[4] This is another indication of how difficult are the conditions of work among the Mbuti, when they are constantly using words that have definite and very specific significance when used by the villagers, but which may have a completely general and other meaning among the Mbuti. The

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[4] "Clan" terminology is used freely by the Mbuti when talking to villagers. It is rarely used in the forest, and was used to me only in response to my genealogical inquiries.

[A] [see pages 340-345 -- Analyst]

The figures for six net-hunter bands and seven archer bands, where I am 621 most certain of the genealogies, are as follows: 613

		Total No. of Lineages	*Members*	
			Male	Female
NET-HUNTERS				
In Camp 4a there were	28 huts,	10	5 lin.	9 lin.
4b	18	3	3	3
4c	16	5	5	5
4d	13	7	5	5
4e	11	5	4	3
4f	8	5	4	4
ARCHERS				
In Camp 4g there were	25 huts,	8	6 lin.	6 lin.
4h	11	3	2	3
4i	10	4	3	2
4j	10	6	4	4
4k	9	3	2	3
4l	6	3	2	2
4m	5	3	1	2

Owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the lineage membership of the women, the above figures, for them, are probably minimal. I also [114] found it difficult to be certain of the totemic observances elsewhere than among the Epulu band, where I had ample opportunity for cross-checking, but the proportions elsewhere appeared similar—in any band you would expect to find each lineage sharing its totem with one other lineage. The plans of the above camps (Plans 4a–m)[1] indicate the [361] possibility of greater lineage solidarity among the archers, if we are [84] to judge by the disposition of the huts, but the significance of the lineage did not appear much different. Structurally it seemed of little importance.

We cannot arrive at any immediate conclusions from these examples of camp composition beyond the Epulu, but drawn as they [128] are from bands selected for study at random, at the extremities of [361] the forest as well as in its center, they at least indicate that the Epulu situation is not unique. Returning to the Epulu band, then, we are left with the fact that even a cursory glance indicates clearly a certain lack of lineage interest as manifest in the physical arrangement of the hunting camps. It certainly indicates that the band as a whole in no way and at no time resembles a patrilineage in its composition. With

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[1] [see pages 346-351 -- Analyst]

621 this in mind we shall go on to discover the nature and extent of lin-
613 eage participation in band activity, but the nonlineal nature of the corporate unit—i.e., the band or sub-band—has first to be examined in another context.

FRAGMENTATION, FISSION AND FUSION

We have already mentioned that the band may be large or small, that it may be established in a single large camp or in a number of smaller camps. In examining the process of fission and fusion, it is plain that lineage considerations are by no means paramount, but that, if anything, there is some effort to maintain nonlineal composition even in the smaller camps. That is to say, there is at least a consciousness of lineage and an apparently felt need to maintain some kind of balance between lineages. Whereas the process of fission and
621 fusion—the division of the band into small segments, each with its
361 own hunting camp within the hunting territory, and the eventual realignment of the band as a single unit—is systematic, it is not without an element of the less systematic process of fragmentation that takes place within any single camp, large or small, and which starts the day the camp is first established.

The whole shifting complex is best understood by looking at the camp plans at the end of the book. As each hut represents a married
[613] couple with or without unmarried children, Plans 5 and 6,[1] respectively, show the lineage groupings according to male and female membership for the camp named *apa* Lelo. *Apa* Lelo was one of the larger camps and is as typical as any. Plan 7[2] shows the significant changes made in the direction in which the huts faced as the camp took shape, day by day.

On looking at Plans 5 and 6 it is evident that not only does the shape of the natural clearing lend itself to the division of the camp into sections, but that these sections show as much consideration for affinal as for consanguineal ties. Plan 7 shows how the natural divisions offered by the clearing were made plainer by the addition of screens to hut entrances, or by rebuilding huts so as to face them in different directions. The fallen tree trunk and a clump of undergrowth are also utilized, and in other camps such undergrowth was eventually cleared if the reason for making use of it disappeared.

[613] When we examine the camp, section by section, it will be seen again that lineage is only one of many factors in determining the social groupings within the camp.

[1, 2] [see pages 355-357 respectively -- Analyst]

social groupings within the camp. Plan 8[A] offers a dramatic example 621
of the kind of major change that can take place in any one camp, 361
and of the kind of change that may lead to ultimate fission, and that is certainly likely to determine one of the lines of cleavage when fission does take place. The change was brought about by the arrival of a controversial sometime member of the band, Cephu.[5]

The camp was already settled at optimum-to-maximum size when, 621
on the fifth day, Cephu arrived. He used to migrate from his natal 361
band to this one, and was not overly welcome in either. He arrived 578
by stealth with his father's brother's son, and their families pitched 614
their belongings in a small clearing near the main camp. They were [166]
joined by a member of the important Puemi clan of the main camp, whose wife was friendly with Cephu's womenfolk. Their camp established, they opened a trail leading directly into the main camp. The various reactions, seen in Plan 7, effected a consolidation of the southwest corner of the main camp and caused a rift between two sets of brothers: M and N (N having joined Cephu while M pointedly rebuilt a new hut in the main camp), and D and I, D setting up with Cephu, his brother I and nephew J refusing to leave the main camp and join him.

Even more important, the consolidation of the southwest and, to some extent, the southeast corner of the main camp involved the southward realignment of S, T and U, S and U being highly influential elders, T being one of the greatest hunters. T and U were members of one section of the dominant Puemi clan, the other section being localized in the north part of the camp.

Plans 9 and 10[B] illustrate the rather more radical change that may 621
take place, effecting a temporary consolidation of lineages. Such 361
changes within a camp are extremely rare however—in this case the 613
consolidation was of the lineages concerned in a vital dispute against [578]
one of their members, the same controversial Cephu guilty of a serious hunting crime. Table 4 gives the relevant kinship structure for this particular camp, and Table 5 gives the complete list of lineages, as far as I could trace them, with indications as to which individuals were effective members of the Epulu band during the year.[C]

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[5] I use personal names that were used in the forest, though some Mbuti use different names when in the village. It is perhaps significant that Cephu is a common name among the ill-considered Ngwana, and that Cephu's children were also mostly known by villager names or even by European names, such as "Teresa," currently in vogue among the villagers. Any one Mbuti might be known by as many as four names, certainly two or three. The names used here correspond to those used elsewhere (Turnbull, 1961) from which source some additional information on the personalities involved may be gleaned. [551]

A, B[see pages 358-359 respectively -- Analyst]

C[see pages 393 A-F; 326 -- Analyst]

361 When the camp is first set up, the framework of the huts is completed,
342 but they are probably only partly roofed. The greater the
621 distance between camps, the later the band arrives and the less opportunity there is to complete the building that day. Sometimes shelter is sought overnight at an old camp site on the way. But however advanced the work may be on the first day, subtle changes take place for the next two days, during which time lagging members of the band will have arrived.

342 The first to reach the site choose any location they wish for their
621 family hut, the choice being left almost entirely to the women. Men,
476 women and children co-operate in the necessary work of clearing and
462 of cutting and collecting the saplings and phrynium roofing leaves (*mongongo*). Women build the huts, sharing the supply of saplings and leaves as necessary, and helping each other with the building if darkness is approaching or if rain threatens. Such help seems to fol-
[572] low lines of friendship rather than of kinship, as does the grouping
[514] of the huts themselves.

[613]
361 For instance, the tight cluster at the north end of the camp (Plans
621 5 and 7) was brought about because of the death of Balekimito, an
613 old and respected lady who was a member of the Puemi/leopard lineage,
765 but married into the Bomasua/buffalo lineage. Both lineages were jointly holding the *molimo* festival for the dead lady, and the *kumamolimo* (*molimo* hearth) was placed in the center of their rather exclusive cluster. The presence of two male and two female members of another lineage, the Bokelé/buffalo, should be noted, however, as an instance of the strength of affinal ties (the same thing being evident at the southern end of the camp).

361 However, the Puemi and the Bokelé were the only ones in that
621 part of the camp to arrive on the first day. They built their huts facing
593 equally toward each other and toward the *kumamolimo*. When
595 Ekianga, member of the Bomasua and son of the dead lady, arrived
613 the next day with two of his three wives, there was an immediate change in all the huts. When Amabosu (β) saw Ekianga (B) occupy the hut built by his youngest wife, Amabosu's sister, he took action. His own wife, who was Ekianga's sister, built an extension to the house facing it almost directly away from her brother, looking right into the entrance to the hut of Ausu (α), her husband's kinsman. The reason was that Amabosu felt Ekianga should not be sleeping with his youngest wife at that time, and wanted to show his displeasure. Ausu, not wanting to take sides, carefully projected the

entrance to his hut so that it no longer looked directly at Amabosu's, 361
which would have been taken as indicating extreme intimacy, but 621
instead faced narrowly across to the hut of his wife's uncle (C), 613
Masisi; Masisi's son's wife (D), who was not only kin to Ekianga's 593
young wife but close friends with her, promptly added to her hut, 595
despite her husband's protests, and faced it boldly toward Ekianga. Ekianga's young wife, Kamaikan, responded the next day by facing her hut in the direction of her friend, at the same time deflecting it away from her co-wife's hut, Arobanai (A), next door. Arobanai had on the day of her arrival made an addition facing toward Kamaikan as a conciliatory gesture, but in face of this rebuff she turned the entrance of her hut away again. Meanwhile Masisi's lineal cousin, Manyalibo, made no effort to enter the dispute, but rather turned slightly toward the rest of the camp. Masisi contented himself with completing the entrance to his hut on the second day, leaving it facing the way it was. An extension he built several days later, as did [881]
Ausu, was merely to provide separate accommodation for young girls who were approaching puberty.

In the rest of the camp similar petty jealousies and hostilities 361
brought about similar clusterings. Njobo (W-1A), for instance, was 157
an unusually dominating personality, and was consequently accorded, 554
or took, the position of *capita*, representing the band in all matters 578
concerning the village. But he was unwise enough to try and assert 621
the same authority in the forest, and the over-all layout of the camp shows clearly how he and his sister's son, Asuku (W-3A), whom he favored, were ostracized. His wife Masamba (X) built my hut for me, [122]
as women sometimes do for adult bachelor kinsmen, to one side, and another hut for strangers on the other side. Maipé (G), the son of another of Njobo's sisters, was the only one to allow his hut to remain facing toward Njobo. After Njobo had left, Nikiabo (H) joined the camp and Masamba built his hut for him, facing toward her own, saying she needed a friend. Makubasi (U), a prominent hunter and a member of the same clan as Njobo, but of a different lineage, turned his hut away on the second day, isolating Njobo in the middle of the clearing. At this, Njobo and his nephew, Asuku, joined their huts together, using only one entrance facing across to Njobo's other nephew, Maipé. When Makubasi's father, Tungana (T), arrived on the third day, he built his hut so that one entrance nominally faced toward Njobo, but it was generally covered and the other entrance faced clearly into the southwestern section of the camp.

361 Arriving on the same day as old Tungana came Moké, who built
342 a large rectangular hut (S) in the center of Tungana's section. The
621 two men claimed kinship with each other, Tungana allegedly having
[602] on his mother's side the same great-grandfather as Moké. Endeku, who was a son-in-law of Moké, was also a renowned clown, and the hut he built was wide open on two sides, so that it was little more
361 than a roof. It stood close to Moké's hut and was an effective link
621 between that cluster and the southern cluster, which included some
578 members of Cephu's sub-band. Endeku's hearth became a gathering place for the southern part of the camp, just as the *kumamolimo* did for the north. Njobo and Asuku were received politely at either, but not with any enthusiasm. When Njelu and Betuli (M and L) arrived on the second day and, because of their mutual affinal relationship, built their huts close together, their neighbor Masimongo (K) turned his hut away for no evident reason at all. Betuli reacted by turning his back on Masimongo, joining his hut to Njelu's. One day later Njelu built a new hut a few yards away, still facing it toward Betuli, however. He said he did not like his "sister" so close to him. Actually,
[614] Betuli's wife was of the same clan as Njelu, but of a different lineage.
[613] Although Njelu's wife, kin of Pangia (P) and Betuli, had left him, Njelu always preferred to move and camp with his affines, even though they usually camped with Cephu, who was somewhat in conflict with Njelu's own, Puemi clan. At the time the camp was built, Cephu was not present, but most of the Cephu sub-band members occupied the southern part of *apa* Lelo together. With them were Kelemoké and Masalito (J and I), who were members of Cephu's own lineage, but who preferred to camp with the main camp, whereas Cephu usually made a sub-camp of his own.

When Cephu arrived, three days after the establishment of the
[487] main camp, he built a camp (Plan 8) of his own a short distance away, then connected it to the main camp by a narrow trail. The trail leading from the sub-camp to the village was closed after some protest, as it effectively offered a second point of entry to the main camp from the village, through Cephu's camp. In the same camp as Cephu (FF) were two others—his kinsman, Masalito's older brother Abeli (DD), and Njelu's older brother, Toko (BB), who moved from the main camp the moment Cephu arrived. For some reason, at this point, Njelu moved back to his old hut adjoining Betuli. It was only a few yards further from Cephu's camp, but it was a significant few
[613] yards. Njelu and Toko had married two patrilineal cousins, so Toko's

wife was, like Pangia and Betuli, a member of the lineage that nor- 361
mally associated with Cephu. Three days later, however, two more 621
female kinsmen of Toko arrived, also members of the rival Puemi/ 613
chimpanzee lineage, and they too joined Cephu's camp. The two 578
camps had effectively divided two sets of brothers, indicating much
more sharply than the more subtle divisions within the main camp
the extent to which lineage values may be counteracted and even
superseded by other values.

In the following chapters we shall see more of the kind of petty disputes and hostilities that bring about this shifting of alliances, and the gradual fragmentation of a camp into distinct sections. It should suffice for the moment to have this one example of a single camp in a state of flux from the first day of its existence, and to know that this flux, whatever its cause, cut directly across unilineal descent groupings as conceived by the villagers.

Apart from the personal, unpredictable causes for constantly chang- 621
ing alliances, there are other factors that can always be relied on to 574
introduce change into a camp, cutting across unilineal descent lines
and causing further change in its balance. Visits from affines and to
affines are one such factor; such visits sometimes become permanent,
as can be seen in the composition of this particular band. Visits to
neighboring villages may also affect the balance of its internal sec-
tions as, apart from the major co-operative activity of the hunt, there
are other activities calling for co-operation of only a few people, and
such smaller co-operative units almost invariably fall within the sec-
tions that divide the camp. If a section becomes depleted because [476]
some of its members have gone visiting, it may be forced to co-operate
with another section in activities such as gathering, collecting fire-
wood and building materials, repairing nets, and so forth.

Not having seen an archer *begbe* beat-hunt camp, which approxi- 621
mates in size, as in hunting technique, to the normal net-hunting 184
camp, I can supply no material for comparison of the process of frag- 224
mentation. The smaller, and for the archers more normal, camps are [114]
similar, however, and exhibit the same tendencies but with less em-
phasis. This may possibly be related to the fact that the smaller camps
involve food-getting technologies that do not call for large-scale co-
operation, but which demand the co-operation of two or three adults.
Thus such divisions as may appear on the formation of such a camp
tend to be rather more stable, and with the archers they are certainly

621 [224] [184] more related to the demands of economic co-operation than to any other factor.

But however stable a camp may become after the initial fragmentation, that fragmentation is but an indication of the more systematic processes of fission or fusion that come into play each time a camp moves. Plan 11[1] gives the layouts of each camp built by the Epulu band for a period of over a year, and the cyclic process is quite clear. For the net-hunters a large camp is normally advantageous, although beyond a certain point a net-hunt becomes unwieldy. But once a [621] [622] year comes the honey season, when hunting is of secondary importance, and it is more advantageous for the band to be split into two or more sub-camps, thus tapping the territory's honey resources more effectively.

361 621 578 The series of camp plans shown indicates how the process of fragmentation as observed at work within *apa* Lelo is continued and sharpened with the building of each new camp. Sites are even chosen because they afford greater privacy between the various sections, thus minimizing any serious disputes that are in progress. Some interpersonal hostilities will persist, however, and it is these and not lineal relationships that are reflected in the final fission, when the camp divides into a number of independent camps, or sub-bands, each going its own way. If the dispute is serious, one or another sub-band may go off to another territory, and seek to join up with that band. This was in fact Cephu's situation. During the honey season he left the Epulu territory and went back to his home territory to claim his honey trees. But that territory was occupied by a large band where Cephu's hunting chances were no greater than those of anyone else, and this was not to Cephu's liking. Cephu tried to carve out a territory for himself, between his own band and the Epulu band, but he was always being forced by sheer economics to join the one or the other. [224] He could never induce enough men to camp with him to set up an effective independent net-hunt. For this a minimum of seven is generally required, and Cephu could seldom raise above six.

So the monthly change of camp is an opportunity not only for a diplomatic rearrangement of the layout, minimizing latent hostilities, but it is also an opportunity for improving the economic strength of the band by either adding to it or subtracting from it.

[221] The honey season itself is a last opportunity for old hostilities to fade away, and the complete separation of the sub-bands into camps many miles apart generally resolves most sources of friction. If dis-

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[1] [see pages 392 A-D -- Analyst]

agreement persists, however, then when the honey season ends and 361
the band is forced to resume net-hunting, and therefore has to rejoin 621
its forces in the common interest of an effective net-hunt, one or 578
another of the dissident segments will join up with another band in 221
another territory. It is said that it would not stay within the same
territory and hunt there, even if it were numerically strong enough.

Thus we can say that the composition of each camp is ad hoc, re- 621
sponding to the needs of the moment rather than to any precon- 121
ceived plan, or to any notion derived from tradition. The lines of
division are never the same; the reasons for division are nearly always
personal. The system does not lie here, then, but rather in the econ-
omy, which favors a unified camp for the major part of the year and
a divided camp for a brief two months or so. The complete break and [221]
freedom of separate association allowed by the honey season (which
is also a particularly bountiful season as far as vegetable foods are
concerned) is, in fact, what makes practical this otherwise apparently
unsystematic flux. That the flux has a function we shall shortly see.

For the archers much the same process pertains. The economics 621
work in reverse, however, for the *begbe* season is made an occasion for 224
the entire band to gather together. Normally, throughout the year, 221
the band is divided into three or four small sub-bands, all within their 184
common territory. Tracking and ambushing and using the bow and arrow do not call for co-operation among more than two or three or four men. A large camp of, say, twenty-four men would then have at least six hunting parties setting off each day, and this would necessarily mean frequent changes of camp. A small camp, however, sending out two parties in opposite directions, can remain in the same area for a long time without scaring the game away. There are few occasions for members of different sub-bands to get together during this time, except for casual visits. Once a year the whole band unites, however, for the communal beat-hunt known as *begbe*. The mechanism for convening the whole band and the exact time of year this takes place, if there is a special time of year, are not clear either in the literature or from my own records. Each archer band I visited, however, assured me that it was near the honey season, and I suspect before the honey season.

However, the essential remains the same. Among the archers, as 621
among the net-hunters, there is a process of fission followed by fusion 121
—or perhaps, in the case of the archers, it would be better to say there [184]
is a process of fusion followed by fission. We now have to try and

621 discover, at least for the net-hunters of Epulu, what is the structure
121 of this process.

We have seen that the band is plainly a nonlineal entity; it cannot
621 even truly be called bilateral, as descent is not counted on either side
613 for practical purposes.[6] Lineages are known, and these are always
[611] patrilineages, but they seem to have little economic, political or even religious significance. The only time the lineage is mentioned with any frequency is when discussing the merits or otherwise of a proposed marriage, and then it is not the lineage name that is usually mentioned, but rather the names and relationships of the individuals concerned, their parents and grandparents. It can be seen from the plans, in any case, that the process of fission and fusion under discussion is not one that supports the integrity of unilineal descent groups, but rather one that cuts across such groups.

621 Nor can the nonlineal nature of the band or the flux of band
613 composition be attributed solely to the ecology. The situation is
184 comparable between the archers and the net-hunters, and yet each of these
[224] groups practices a different hunting technique, and the process of fission and fusion takes an opposite direction. Either the archers or
[174] the net-hunters could, in fact, operate perfectly efficiently without all the internal movement that we have seen, and they may very-well
621 once have operated as patrilineal bands. While in no way supporting
613 those who suggest that band composition is due to local ecology,
174 it is undeniable that there is an interest in lineage, evident in the attempt to balance lineages and prevent lineage dominance. Further, the camp plans indicate a general tendency toward lineage solidarity, particularly in times of crisis. For instance, with reference to Plans 9 and 10, the normally unsystematic camp plan that pertained (9) was abruptly altered and became divided along strict lineage lines when one of the sub-band members, Cephu himself, committed the unforgivable crime of placing his net in front of others during the hunt. The only significant relationship of the flux to forest life is
[182] that it enables the band to respond to changes in environmental
621 conditions by altering its size. It must also be admitted that it is

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[6] Some misunderstanding may arise owing to different usages of descent-system terminology. Some schools of thought consider "bilateral" as synonymous with "cognatic," and hold that the terms include all affines and do not imply any differences in the method of tracing descent. To such an extent, perhaps the Mbuti band may be termed bilateral or cognatic, but to me, and I believe to others, both terms imply one kind of descent *system* or another, placing an emphasis on lineage that is not characteristic of the Mbuti band and therefore to be eschewed.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

THE VILLAGE WORLD

[P.108-A]

P
C
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137

1. The village of Epulu, shady but constantly threatened by the encroachments of the forest.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[R 108-B]

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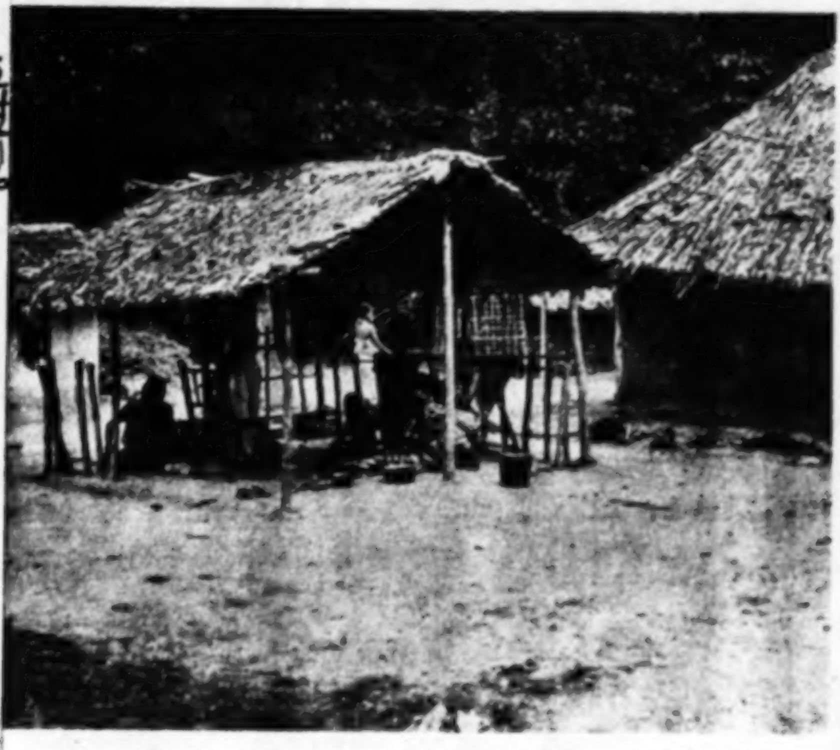

2. The village headman's *baraza*, used for receiving visitors and holding public discussions.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P. 108-C]

P
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3. An abandoned village, overgrown in a few months.

[P.108-D]

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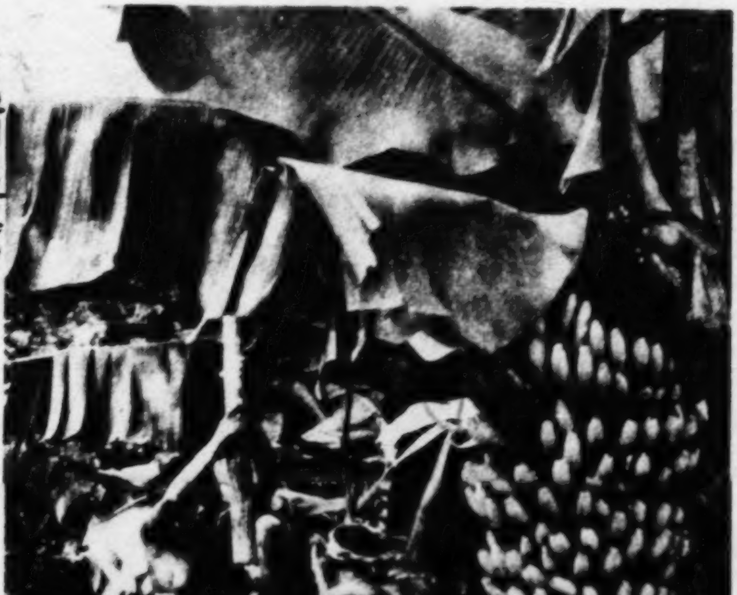

4. Mbuti girl helps village woman pound manioc in shade of plantain tree.

[P. 108-E]

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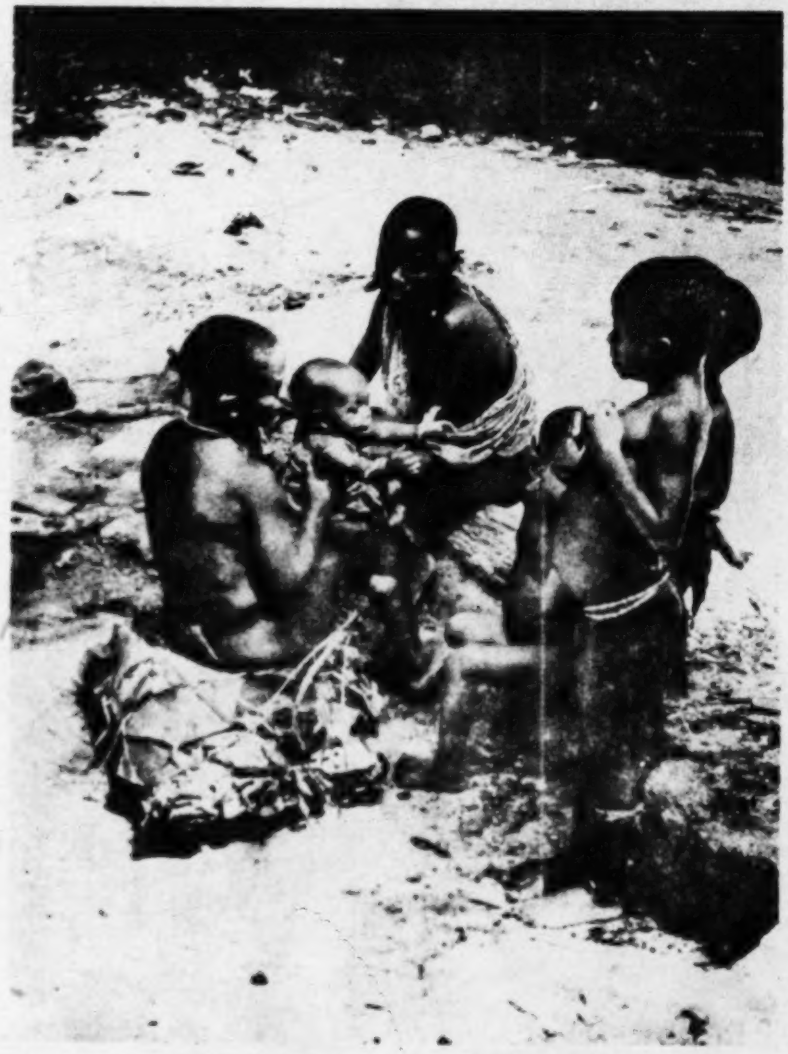

5. Mbuti women and girls rest as they bring roofing leaves into village for village houses.

[P.108-F]

P
C
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6. Mbuti men help villager build a new house, having cut and fetched the saplings for him.

7. Mbuti youths, in clothes provided by their *kpara*, are fed as part of their "payment."

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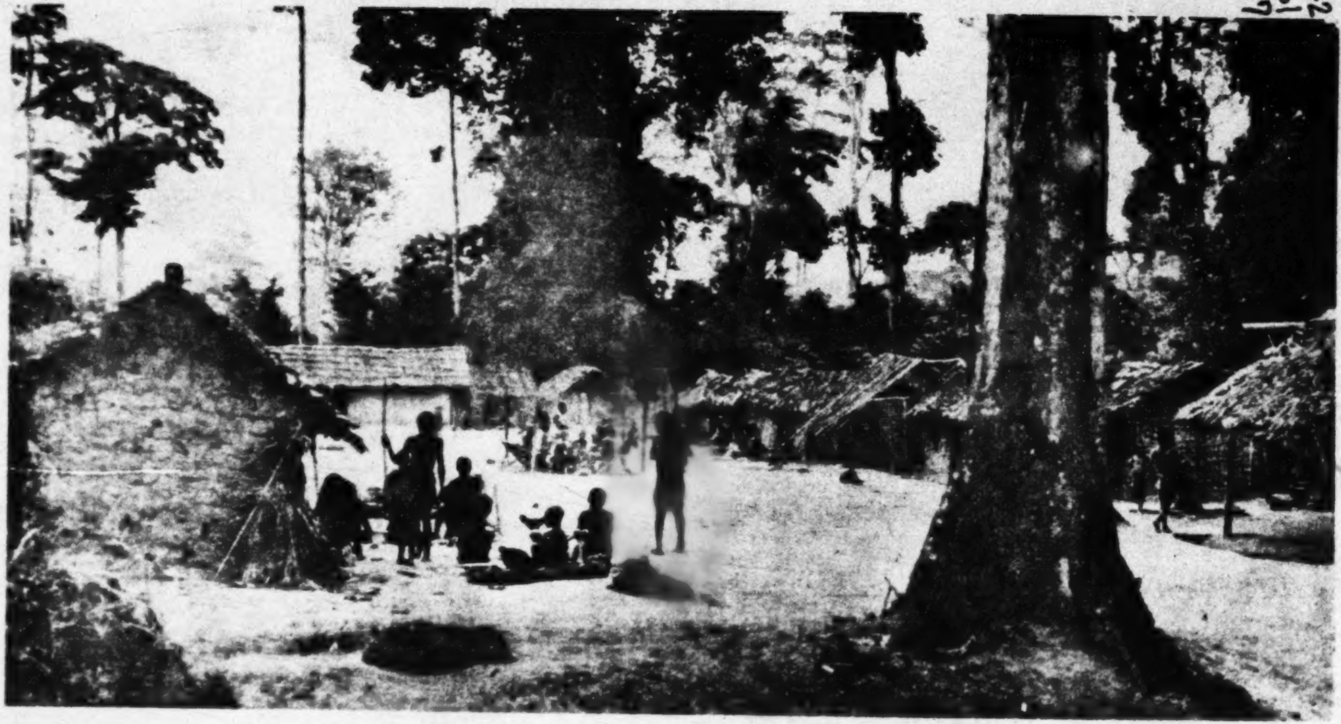
137

[P.108-G]



8. This village camp of the Mbuti at Epulu was built in imitation of the main village. It soon became fouled and was abandoned, succeeding village camps being built in the forest at the edge of the plantations.

[P.108-H]

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9. The Mbuti village *baraza* was never completed, and remained marked only by four posts.

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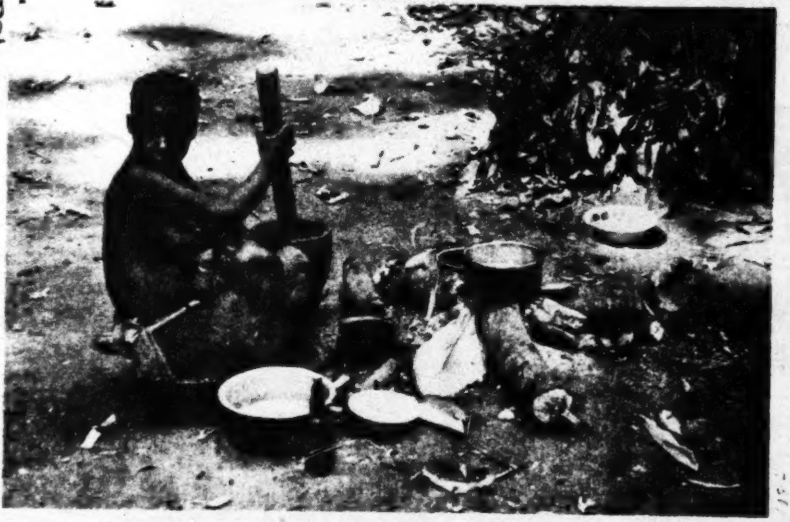
10. While in the village camp, an Mbuti mother borrows or steals many luxuries too bulky or heavy to carry with her into the forest. Of the mortar and pestle, stool, metal cooking vessels, enamel bowls and bottle of palm oil, she will probably return to the forest with only one vessel.



[P.108-I]

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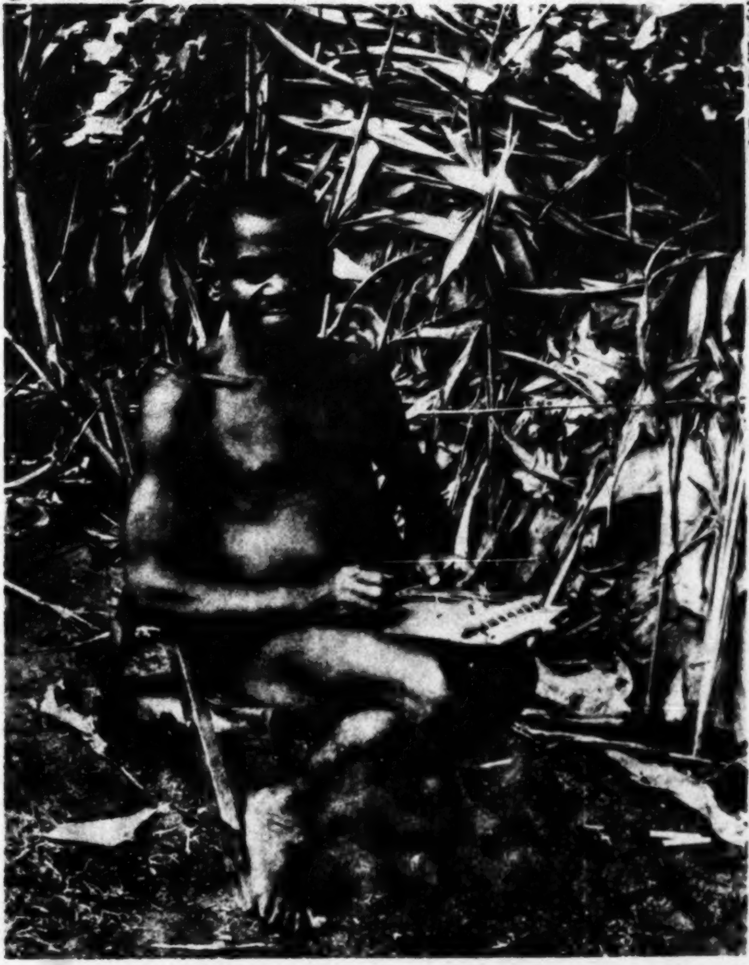

11. An Mbuti hunter amuses himself in the village by playing a village-made zither.

[P.108-J]

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*P
[177]

P
[302]
[386]

12. Mbuti women may take part in a hoop dance while in the village, but traditional forest songs and dances are forbidden outside the forest. Note the body decoration on the leg of the woman to the rear; the dye is obtained from the gardenia fruit.

C
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563
P
142
291
585
*177

13. A village wedding is arranged for the Mbuti hunter Makubasi. Here his bride, flanked by two sisters, stands in the middle of the village on banana-leaf cushions, fanned by her kpara's sister. By arranging such marriages, the villagers hope to maintain some control over the Mbuti they believe they "inherit."

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P. 108-K]

C
881
563
292
P
881
292
*177

14. The *nkumbi* initiation is another means by which villagers attempt to control the Mbuti. The initial dance here, with the sacred *makata* sticks, is led by the traditional doctor, Sabani, at the village of Eboyo. Mbuti and villagers take part jointly in the festivities, but the Mbuti are excluded from all ritual roles.

[R 108-L]

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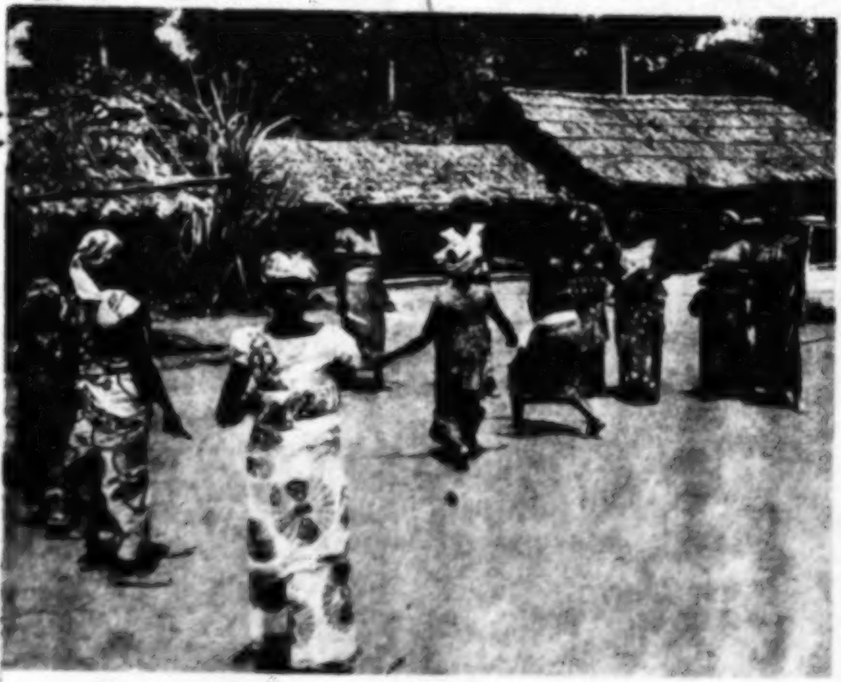
342



15. Village women of Epulu dance to celebrate an approaching *nkumbi* during which only Mbuti boys will be initiated, owing to lack of village boys of the right age.

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616
114
881
304
152
C
[152]

16. A boy, just circumcised, is comforted by an Mbuti hunter. This would be considered a lasting shame by either a village boy or an adult, but the Mbuti see no shame in acknowledging and healing pain.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P

important, for both net-hunters and archers, that a hunter should 621
know well the habits of those who are near him on the hunt. Insofar [868]
as children learn to hunt mostly but by no means entirely from their [224]
fathers, it is obvious that brothers are likely to be most familiar with
each other's hunting techniques, and will thus make the best hunting P
partners. But against this work many other practices, such as com- [857]
munal hunting games for all children, regardless of relationship, and [597]
the frequency of adoption, and of assimilation of adult strangers into [609]
the band. [563]

If we cannot find any explanation for the flux and instability that C
seem characteristic of the band in terms of kinship or economy, or 563
indeed in terms of any aspect of forest life, both become immediately 613
meaningful in considering the relationship between the band and 648
the village. Without going into this in detail at the moment, it must P 621
already be evident that the system, or lack of it, must be unhappily 613
confusing for the patrilineal patrilocal villagers, who claim both 166
lineal and territorial rights over Mbuti bands. For as we have seen, 177*
a band does not maintain any kind of unilineal integrity even within a single camp, let alone from one camp to the next. And owing to the wider flux, caused by the constant process of fission and fusion, the band has merely territorial reference and cannot be said to apply to specific individuals or lineages. A lineage such as Cephu's may be in the Epulu territory one month and in Ebiani the next. So with every lineage, as with every individual, there is an infinity of territories to which he may move if it pleases him, and the system, such as it is, encourages such movement to the point that no villager can ever be sure of what Mbuti lineages are hunting in "his" territory. Let us leave it for the moment, then, that at least one possible structural result of the combination of the nonlineal nature of the band and its tendency to flux is the counteraction of the village system, rendering the villagers' lineal and territorial claims impractical of assertion.

THE FAMILY

It would of course, be ridiculous to deny that there is any system P
of kinship, but it is certain that the kinship system does not have 181
the same importance as a focal point of social control as it may in 611
other African societies. To my mind this is undeniably linked to the P
ad hoc nature of the society, with its almost complete lack of concern [822]
for the past, as for the future. This is something we shall discover in

181 the economic and political life, and even in the religious life of the
611 Mbuti, who are supremely concerned with the present.

P
601 The effective kinship terminology at once reflects the situation, which only becomes confused when any attempt is made to relate the terms to their usage in village society. It distinguishes generations rather than kin, and cuts indiscriminately across actual kinship boundaries.
P
[561] Through its effective organization of the band into age groups, it emphasizes the economic basis of band unity rather than any kinship bonds. The only terms in general usage in the Epulu region, and among the Mbuti bands to the east-west extremes of the Bira-speaking net-hunting territory, are as follows:

Grandparent:	*tata*	for address and reference
Father:	*epa*	for address and reference
Mother:	*ema*	for address and reference
Sibling:	*apua'i* or *moko*	for address and reference

(*apua'i* is used rather than *moko*, though its connotation is one of close friendship)

Child:	*miki*	for address or reference

Except at the parental level, there is generally no sex differentiation. At times it seems that *taté* is used for grandmother, *tata* for grandfather. Similarly, *amua'i* is a possible variant to denote a female sibling. But as frequently, if not more so, and more consistently, I found *tata* and *apua'i* used for either sex. Differentiation is also made, if necessary, by adding the terms used for boy or girl—*moko* or *kali*, respectively. Thus *miki a moko* is a boy child; *miki a kali* is a girl child. There is also a way of distinguishing the younger from the older: *vomia* is older, *motoa* is younger, but the Mbuti generally only couple these designations to kinship terms in direct imitation of the village usage and only in village contexts.

C
601 Bira terminology, with minor dialectal variations, is similar to the above, but with the addition of terms such as *noko* for mother's brother; *kola* for father's sister; *om-epa* and *mot-epa* for the older and younger brother of the father; and *om-ema* and *mot-ema* for the older and younger sister of the mother. The Bira call an older brother *homioné*, an older sister *alwané*, and a younger brother or sister
P
simply *moto*. The Mbuti normally refer to their father's sister simply
601 as *ema* ("mother"), but if trying to refer to her for the benefit of

villagers, instead of using the appropriate village term, *kola*, they are P 601 apt to bring in the concept of relative age and specify *alwa'e na epa* or *moto e na epa*. For, not themselves distinguishing between cross and parallel relationships, the Mbuti see that the villagers refer to their mother's sisters according to their relative age (*om-ema* or *mot-ema*), and to the Mbuti this age differential is of recognizable significance.

In their own usage, however, their father's sisters and their mother's sisters are all equally *ema*, as are indeed any unrelated females who fall into that age group. So with other terms, for with the Mbuti age rather than kinship is the determining factor. I have known a man with a brother much younger than he refer to him as *miki*, and the younger brother refer to his older brother as *epa*. The older brother at that time was a married man and a great hunter; the younger brother was single and not yet a net-owner and not a great hunter. Their activities were therefore different, and each assumed the "kinship" term that included him in his appropriate economic age group.

There are appropriate corresponding structural differences between P 768 602 villagers and Mbuti; for instance, an orphaned child among the villagers is taken in by his father's brothers, with precedence being given [768] to the older brother. Among the Mbuti a child may be adopted by [602] any "father" or "mother," which effectively means anyone of the same P age group as his biological parents. Generally a boy or girl goes to [597] live with his mother and her natal family if his father dies, and stays [567] with his father, living with one of his father's married brothers, if his mother dies. This is assuming that the marriage has been patrilocal; P [591] if it has been matrilocal, as it frequently is, the reverse applies. But in every case there is great freedom of choice, and each instance is decided according to the context of the moment.

It is plain, then, that the personal terminology of the Mbuti stresses P 582 their relative age and economic status rather than their kinship, and 835 both for address and reference it is used mostly in economic contexts, 61 personal names being most widely used in other contexts. The only [601] time that biological kinship becomes an important factor in discussion [551] is in connection with sex and marriage. Relationships are then spelled out and traced through the "stomachs" from which the individuals concerned are born. People who are related through the stomachs of their mother or of their father's mother may not marry or have extramarital sexual relationships. This is the one and only

582 stated and observed rule of incest, and although genealogical mem-
835 ories are short, never rising further than two above ego, it is adequate
611 in preventing the marriage of first cousins.[7] This seems to be about the limit of the intended restriction, as at this level flirtation, accompanied by sexual intercourse, may take place with only nominal disapproval. The disapproval becomes more loudly voiced if the young couple seem to be forming too strong an affection for each other, such as would normally lead to marriage.

835 There is some expressed disapproval, of about the same degree of
[832] seriousness, if children of the same social mother, but not of the same stomach, flirt with each other, but such flirtations happen.

I found it impossible to discover a single admitted instance of incest closer than between first cousins, but there is some evident restraint between brothers and sisters, none between mothers and sons, little between fathers and daughters. To swear at someone by accusing
[578] them of having sex with their parent is mild; it is more serious to accuse them of having sex with their sibling of one stomach. Worst of all is to accuse someone of having sex with her or his spouse.
[755] (The degree of freedom between sons and mothers may be seen in the
[855] fact that a mother gives strength to her children, if they are ill, by sleeping in the same bed with them. This is sometimes done between a mother and her adult son, so long as he is unmarried, without occasioning any comment.)

602 Together with this lack of emphasis on the biological aspects of
[601] kinship and the accompanying generational system of terminology goes a lack of formal restrictions on behavior between different kin categories, and a marked unwillingness to clearly define kin relation-
[611] ships between individuals. One suspects at times that the apparent shortness of genealogical memory is almost deliberate, for not only would such memory have no use, it would, in fact, undermine the whole delicate balance of social relationships among the Mbuti.

561 AGE GROUPS

601 Table 6[A] shows quite clearly the effective difference between the village system and the system of the Mbuti, granting that they both share the same terminology. The fact that among the Mbuti all mem-

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[582] [7] It is often stated generally that one marries nobody related through either the father's or the mother's line, but in special situations the restriction is narrowed down as given here.

[A] [see page 328 -- Analyst]

bers of each age level may be *apua'i* to each other doubly underlines 561
the importance of this age grouping as a structural principle of their 601
society, because it not only effectively allies members of the same age group, but it cuts across any unilineal descent pattern. Even though, if pressed, any one *apua'i* can and will trace his relationship to almost any other, through either cognatic or affinal lines, among themselves this is never done. The functions of the age group, also, have little to do with kinship.

The age group forms the next unit above the nuclear family, each 561
having its own functions and its own sphere of authority. Above the 621
age group one might consider the band to be divided into alliances 857
of age groups, though their function would be less easy to define. 883
However, such alliances do take place, generally in major disputes,
where youths and children might ally against hunters and elders. Char- [192]
acteristically, disputes concerning premarital sexual activity, betrothal [578]
and *bopi* (playground) activity are the major occasions for such al-
liances. But the same element may be seen at work during the reli- [765]
gious *molimo* festival, where the group of adult men that sing around a fire at night may divide the hearth into two or three fires. The unmarried youths nearly always have one fire for themselves around which they dance their erotic dances; the hunters (the younger married men) may have a fire of their own, or they may join the *mangesé*, the elders, men who are no longer as active in the hunt as they used
to be. 621

Young married couples are held responsible for reproduction, but 594
only to a limited extent for the rearing and education of their chil- [561]
dren, for beyond the age of three or four a child becomes the responsi- [855]
bility of the band as a whole. As an economic unit the family is divided into the appropriate age groups as a co-operative part of the total band. Effectively much of its economic activity is directly for its own individual benefit, but there is nearly always some sharing even when there is no necessity for sharing, to emphasize the communal rights to forest produce. As a political unit the family only has internal jurisdiction of the most minimal kind. The punishment of a wife or a child, or the complaint of a child about its parents, quickly becomes a matter for communal discussion. As a religious unit the family is of little significance indeed. But every nuclear family is expected to participate in religious festivals, as symbolized when the *molimo* hearth is made up by taking embers from every family hearth, and when a camp is moved each family carefully takes an ember from

594 its own hearth to kindle its own fire in the new camp. The responsi-
621 bility of members of a nuclear family in times of crisis, such as birth, puberty, marriage and death, does not differ much from the responsibility of the band as a whole, the difference being one of degree or intensity.

561 The age group functions as a major institution of education, in-
86 structing the group junior to it in its ways, preparing it for advance to the next, their own, level. Thus the care and education of children rests largely with youths and the oldest of the elders. Youths and hunters depend on each other in the joint hunting and gathering activities, the youths learning from their mothers and fathers all they will soon need to know as hunters themselves. Hunters gradually associate more and more with the *mangesé* (literally, "the great ones") around the evening fires, to listen to the talk of the elders and, in time, to participate.

561 As an economic unit the age group is of supreme importance. Chil-
857 dren scavenge and help supply their own needs through fishing, trap-
883 ping, snaring and any other forms of collecting or hunting within
[476] their means. In this they may at times be helped by the youths. The youths are of vital importance to the hunt, the girls acting as beaters with their mothers, and also collecting, while the boys stand guard at the extremities of the circle of nets, having assisted in setting up the nets. Youths may also be expected to perform a number of chores such as fetching wood and water into the camp. The hunters are the prime unit responsible for the sustenance of the band; the *mangesé* are absolved from such responsibilities and may expect to be fed, housed and clothed by the younger age groups.

561 Politically each age group has informal jurisdiction over its mem-
626 bers, utilizing ridicule and ostracism, sometimes driving a member
627 to seek acceptance in the lower age level, or justification by the upper. For a lower age level to ridicule or ostracize a member of a higher level is a supreme condemnation and a most powerful sanction. Fur-
[765] ther, it will be seen that part of the *molimo* festival is a morning tour of the camp by the youths, carrying the *molimo* trumpet and disguised by leaves and branches, at which time they single out the hut of any troublemaker, however young or old, and threaten to tear it to pieces. Even if there is no such troublemaker, the youths will go from hut to hut stripping a few leaves off the roof of each, causing other minor damage, simply representing the accepted principle of authority, of law and order.

Youths also have considerable say in the settling of any dispute 561
concerning betrothal, though ultimately it is the *mangesé* who decide 627
such matters. The hunters control all activities concerning the hunt
and the movement of camp. The *mangesé* act as general arbiters and [888]
are effectively a court of final appeal, their age entitling them to unquestioning
respect. Particularly in matters concerning betrothal 561
are the *mangesé* consulted, for their genealogical memory can be [582]
stretched to suit the occasion. And in the *molimo* festival, as in the [765]
elima, they share the honors with the youths: the hunters have to do
most of the work, supplying the food and cooking it for the nightly
or daily feasting, but the singing and dancing, which are central to
the festivals, are led by the *mangesé* and the youths.

In matters concerning relationship with other bands, the band as 621
a whole, rather than any age group or association of age groups, decides 628
the issue. On such occasions even children will sit by and take 561
part.

We have already mentioned some of the religious functions of the 621
age groups, in association with their political functions, and it will 561
be seen that the two are closely interconnected. It might just be 765
pointed out here that in a *molimo* festival held for the death of an
Mbuti, age-group and band membership take precedence over family
membership. The youths will lead the dancing, and the leading youth [535]
will lead because he is the best dancer, not because he is related to
the dead person. Similarly with the singing led by the *mangesé*. The [533]
molimo horn may be supplied by anyone. The person who sings into
it is generally a youth, though sometimes a young hunter, again regardless
of kinship but on account of his renown and ability as a
singer.

Considering the very clear roles of the age groups, and their comprehensive 621
nature, it is plain that any unilineal system of descent 611
would be highly disruptive. The loose laws of marriage and adoption, 561
which are permissive rather than prescriptive, preferential or prohibitive,
and the nonlineal nature of band composition allow for the
flexibility that is obviously necessary to maintain the proper balance
of recruitment into each age group.

Although a bilateral recognition of descent does exist and is sometimes 621
utilized to provide the necessary balance of power, it can still 611
hardly be dignified by the term "lineage system." Owing to the nonlineal, [594]
territorial nature of band composition, and the frequency of
sister exchange, nuclear families may divide or remain united, regardless
of lineage, depending upon the context.

621 gardless of lineage, depending upon the context. Affinal ties are considered
611 just as legitimate, and used just as frequently in balancing
[602] power and in determining allegiance as cognatic ties. In this way
[182] security is guaranteed to any individual because of the number of
[571] recognized social groups to which he can claim membership. This
ambivalence is again an important structural principle, and is certainly
manifest in the social groupings observable in the building of
successive hunting camps.

621 If age rather than kinship fixes one's place within the band, then,
561 we have to consider how a band maintains any sense of continuity
from one generation to the next. There is the alliance of age groups
and the educational role of age groups which provide some degree of
continuity, but this would not be sufficient in view of what we have
said about the shifting composition of the band. It is undoubtedly
territory that gives the band its identity as such and enables that
identity to persist, and it is to his territory, as to his age group, rather
than to any kin group, that an Mbuti owes allegiance.

602 Kinship is recognized in assessing problems of inheritance, but
[428] with so little to inherit the problems are minimal. In general a man's
belongings are divided among his sons or, if his sons are too young,
they are held in trust for them by his brothers. Similarly with a woman's
[182] belongings. Kinship may also be used to maintain an economic
balance, just as it may be used to maintain a political balance, by
advancing claims to the spoils of a hunt on the ground of kinship, or
[611] indeed by advancing claims for the adoption of children. But again,
as such claims are advanced on grounds of both cognatic and affinal
ties, the principles of unilineal descent are directly contradicted.

621 In fact the nuclear family is best regarded as one of a number of
594 cells that make up the totality of the band, each cell reflecting the
same basic structure as the band itself. Within the family the factors
of territory and age also play a part, the locality of the hut symbolizing
the unity of the family and its separateness from others, the age
differential dividing the family in activity, authority and allegiance.
59 Even fission and fusion are a part of family life, as children are apt to
leave their natal family any time after they reach the age of three or
four, and either be adopted by or simply live for a while with another
family in the same band; or they may be adopted by a family in another
band and go to live there, even if their parents continue living
together in their home band. Such separations within the band do not
affect their relationship with other members of their family of the

same age group, and on maturity and marriage the old nuclear family 59
sometimes reaffirms itself as an extended family. The old parents may
build a separate hut adjoining the huts of their married children, or
even live in the hut of one of their offspring, who will probably build
an extension for the purpose. But during adolescence children may
well be separated from their biological parents by both time and
space. Similarly in adulthood there is not infrequently friction between
brothers, sometimes leading to fission within the band.

Finally, in connection with the importance of age as a structural 611
principle, it should be pointed out that the lack of a unilineal system 769
of descent among the Mbuti is associated with a lack of any 181
developed form of ancestor worship. Practices associated with death
will be dealt with more fully later; here it need only be said that far
from remembering the dead by word or action, the main objective
seems to be to forget them. They may never be referred to again,
particularly by name, and there is no memorial maintained in their
honor, no marked or tended grave site. However, they are by the same
token not feared, and insofar as they are remembered at all they are
remembered with affection. The concern of the Mbuti is almost exclusively
with the present. This is not to say that they deny a past or [829]
a future, either in this life or the next; it is merely to say that they
believe that by a correct fulfillment of the present, the past and the
future will take care of themselves. This correlates with the agegroup [561]
system and with the dominance and prestige of the two middle
groups, the youths and the hunters, for in their hands lies the fulfillment
of the present.

[P118]

CHAPTER 9

The Life Cycle

DAILY LIFE

621 The life of the nuclear family is so closely interwoven with that of
626 the band that it is not always easy or possible to separate which ac-
594 tivities and occasions are the concern of which. The difference is only
one of degree, for even the most insignificant and routine action in the daily life of the family is potentially of major concern to the band as a whole. Thus a man seeking to borrow his brother's pipe may provide the occasion for a petty jealousy to flare up and divide the brothers, if not the camp (this case is quoted in full in the section on
62 Government). In fact, in a society where there is no formal legal in-
183 stitution for the redress of wrongs, individuals resort to self-help and
forcibly bring their case to public attention by deliberately provoking an incident. It is important then that there should be a pattern of behavior that is generally accepted, and which covers every conceivable activity so that there may be some direction and constancy in the ensuing discussion. The degree of "general acceptance" is of course not of such rigidity as to preclude the flexibility necessary for the pursuit of justice. But beneath the evident ambivalence there is a recognizable pattern of things that should or should not be done. This pattern is sometimes most plain in matters that seem most trivial, such as the insistence that embers that fall from the fire should not simply be scooped or pushed back, but should be picked up and placed on top of the fire; the feeling that anyone passing through a stream should wash himself, or at least a part of himself, even if he crossed another turn of the same stream a few yards back. If anyone is silent and untalkative, this is considered unusual and unfortunate. If one trips up accidentally, or stumbles even while crossing the camp, without harming anyone or anything, there is a distinct air of reproach among the onlookers. Such patterns of generally accepted behavior

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are contradicted every day without necessarily causing any mention, 183
but in the event of anything more serious happening later, the earlier
incidents will be recalled and made into an issue that successfully
embroils, ultimately, the entire camp.

But more curious than this slight emphasis on normal, or mildly 621
abnormal and trivial patterns is the lack of emphasis at times where 183
one would have thought the occasion to be of major concern to the
band. Birth and marriage, for instance, provoke little comment, and
concern primarily the nuclear families and not the band. The rela-
tionship between these particular attitudes and the nonlineal and
fluid composition of the band is plain. The constant movement of [166]
families from one band to another, alone, opens up different and im-
portant avenues for recruitment that has the advantage of being
selective.

With this in mind, let us look first at the daily life of the Mbuti, 512
briefly, for it is of little structural significance, then at the life cycle.

Among both net-hunters and archers five days out of seven are likely 512
to include some hunting. Even though it would be possible for the 224
Mbuti to kill a surplus of game and dry the meat and store it for their
own future use, as indeed they do for the benefit of the villagers, such
measures are no more to their taste than to their advantage. On a
hunting day the family rises at dawn, the mother and her older [462]
daughters who are at the age of puberty go to the stream to wash [515]
themselves and bring back water for drinking and cooking. The men- [312]
folk go to a different part of the stream, and generally slightly later.
The older men might be excessively lazy and use the water brought [157]
back for drinking as bath water.

While the women cook the light morning meal and set food aside [252]
for taking with them on the hunt, the men shake out and inspect [264]
their nets, bows and arrows, their sons helping them or simply looking
on. If the forest is dry, the hunt may start leaving within an hour of
dawn, otherwise it may not leave until midday. Usually it sets off
about two hours after sunrise and may return anytime between mid-
day and dusk. There is no particular order for leaving the camp, but [372]
the youths usually go ahead, and not far away they light a fire at [782]
the base of a small tree, as an invocation to the forest for a good hunt.
Men and women alike stop by the fire on their way, but with no cere-
mony. It does serve, however, as a place for a more cordial exchange [576]
of greetings than generally takes place in the still sleepy camp.

Back in the camp some old grandparents, or maybe only a handful [561]

512 of youths, will be left in charge of the camp and of any children that
224 elect to stay behind. Any child old enough to make the decision does
561 so himself. If his parents do not want to be bothered with him he
[855] has a wide range of classificatory mothers and fathers to call on, or if
he is old enough he will simply join his own age group and set off
[462] with them. Girls always go with the women; boys go with their fathers, youths may go with their fathers or on their own. If a father has
a particularly long net he may welcome an extra spear or bow and
arrow nearby, and his adolescent sons serve in this capacity.

224 The hunt is described more fully in Chapter Ten. Here it is only
561 necessary to point out that among the net-hunters, where a net is
476 owned by married men or by extremely rare, gifted bachelor hunters
422 (youths), the hunt effectively divides itself into nuclear family groups
[594] but not into nuclear families, for each family, during the hunt, is itself divided by age and sex. The family-owned nets stretch out in a
long semicircle, end to end, and the women act as beaters, forming a
corresponding semicircle opposite. But each net is utterly dependent
on the others, as is each beater, and it is the co-operative aspect of the
age group that is emphasized, rather than the distinctness of each
family. The division of spoils similarly stresses band rather than family values, and the hunting songs and dances that take place after,
and sometimes before, the hunt further illustrate that the hunt is
considered an affair of the band as a whole.

224 When the hunt returns to camp there is immediate excitement as
183 those who stayed behind crowd around for tales of all that happened,
and maybe for a few tidbits of raw meat. In the confusion, men and
women alike, but particularly women, may be seen furtively concealing some of their spoils under the leaves of their roofs, or in empty
pots nearby. For although there will have been some sharing on the
scene, there is always more back in the camp, and family loyalty is
not that subject to band loyalty that there is no cheating.

224 The food is prepared and cooked right away, and while this is be-
535 ing done a hunting dance may take place, in which men and women
[252] and children all take part. This dance is frequently imitative of hunting activities, with older people taking the part of the animals hunted.
224 Any unusual event of the day's hunt may be reenacted, and this is
535 also an occasion where the sanction of ridicule may be applied to any
626 hunter, male or female, who is considered to have been unsatisfactory. It is not uncommon for a husband to lead a dance ridiculing a
wife who, through her laziness as a beater, spoiled his chances.

535

Women are equally quick to ridicule the menfolk when there is justification. 224 626

This is also a time favored by youths for slipping off into the forest 833 with their girl friends for some not very quiet lovemaking. Although 836 lovemaking is not performed openly, no great attempt is made to conceal it. The general feeling is that if surprised in the act, one simply says hello (*karibu*) politely and expects the intruder to continue on his way. Fathers, and mothers too, refer to the nuisance of a flirtatious son or daughter whom they might surprise in this way. The parent pretends to see nothing in such a case, and the youths claim, with more bravado than truth perhaps, not to be unduly disturbed unless they are making love to a relative.

Lovemaking generally takes place in the forest, though there is no 833 fixed rule. It is thought somewhat exciting to make love in a hut, but not very healthy. There are preferences that individuals have for making love near a stream, or in a splash of sunlight, or in the dark depths of the forest. It is evidently a purely aesthetic consideration, and I have heard a number of youths who stated that the best time was while hunting. But moonlight evidently attracts a great number, [839] and I have met several who talk, with great poetry, of the joys of masturbation when alone in the moonlight. On three rare occasions I have seen different individuals dancing, by themselves, in the moonlight and in the forest, away from the camp. The intimacy between [778] the individual and the forest—one might almost say the act of making [535] love to the forest—was expressed by one Mbuti who said, when I questioned him as to why he was dancing alone, that he was dancing with the forest, dancing with the moon. He then continued his dance with the utmost unconcern.

Not all lovemaking is quite so romantic, however, and when boys [832] and girls are following a trail together, the procession may degenerate into a good-humored but undeniably lusty orgy. A boy may rip off a 833 girl's outer bark cloth, if he can catch her, but he may never have 839 intercourse with her without her permission. I know of no cases of rape, though boys often talk about their intentions of forcing reluctant maidens to their will.

There are no formal bachelor huts, but many camps have informal 838 variants. They are sometimes built for an older youth by his mother, 513 or they may be taken over by adolescent boys or girls when the occupant [342] leaves for some reason. In such huts, and even out in the open, around the campfire, it is usual to see not only youths but also

838 married men sleeping together. The two age groups do not mix, but
513 among themselves members of the same sex think nothing of sleeping
close to each other and deriving mild sexual satisfaction from the
physical contact. They state very carefully rules as to how to lie, with
legs thrown backwards around the other's legs, or even around his
hips or waist, and they say one may entwine legs while lying front to
front, though it is not considered good to hold each other too closely
with the arms. The thought of any sexual intercourse taking place,
[578] however, is greeted with apparent horror, and homosexuality is never
alluded to except as a great insult, under the most dire provocation.
There is, however, a dance in which the sexes are effectively reversed,
and which is danced with the utmost humor, but the role of which
[535] I could never exactly determine. The dance, *ekokomea*, is dealt with
later in the context in which it occurs; namely, at the time of the
molimo festival.

837 If a considerable amount of sexual liberty is allowed the youths, a
834 fair amount is at least said to be taken by the younger married hunters.
I have not, however, been able to record a single instance of a
marital dispute involving the band that arose out of infidelity on
either side. There are few restrictions on sexual intercourse, though
the villagers state many on behalf of the Mbuti. The married hunters,
as do the youths, regard the hunt as an opportune time for activity
841 of this kind. At menstruation, which is a time when a village
[842] woman is under the strictest ritual prohibitions, the Mbuti attitude
is that it all depends on whether or not you want children, as this is
when conception is most likely to take place. There are those who
enjoy sex at this time, and those who find it distasteful. The only
restriction is that a wife should inform her husband, or a girl her boy
friend, that she is "with blood" so that he will know.

846 Immediately following childbirth is a rather vague period, some-
837 times stated as days, sometimes more grandiosely as years, when intercourse
is forbidden. Unfortunately I was able to follow up only on
three instances of childbirth, but in each of these the Mbuti fathers
did exactly what they said they would do; two of them refrained from
intercourse with their wives for about a year, during which time they
flirted with as many girls as they liked, and did not deny open gossip
846 that they were "sleeping around." This is the generally accepted pattern,
853 the reason being given that a woman can only feed one child at
a time, so she must not become pregnant again until her last child
is weaned. This may be from one to three years. If during that time

her milk dries up and the child is given to someone else to feed, or 846
if it is weaned early, then intercourse is apparently resumed. The third 853
father, however, while acknowledging this to be the accepted pattern,
began sleeping with his wife again within a month. This he did even
though he had the rare advantage for an Mbuti of having two other
wives. His action caused a major dispute. (See p. 207 *seq.*)

During pregnancy there are no restrictions; sexual activity in early 843
pregnancy is believed to hurry matters along, and during the latter
stages is merely considered uncomfortable, and possibly physically injurious
to the child and mother.

As the evening settles in, nuclear families sit around their family 512
hearths outside the huts, talking across the camp at each other until 521
they go inside to sleep, or simply lie down to sleep by the fire (the [594]
women nearly always sleep inside, but youths and men frequently
sleep on their hunting nets either by their own fire or by a central
fire). Even when families have retired inside their huts, conversation
continues between them. If there is any singing, other than of lullabies, [533]
the camp divides into age groups, each building its own fire. [561]
Unless there is an *elima* or *molimo* festival, there is no marked division
between the sexes.

On retiring for the night family hearths are brought inside the 512
huts, and any central fires are also brought inside unless someone is 354
sleeping by them. When a central fire is broken up, each family tends
to take an ember and add it to their own hearth. A fire is not left
untended at night. During the night a man may awaken and stoke
up a fire, warming himself by the blaze. At such times, when cold, [276]
the Mbuti smoke particularly heavily, and as a result they sometimes
fall unconscious. They may fall into the fire and suffer serious burns, [165]
occasionally fatal, and this is one of the few generally cited causes of
accidental death—other than falling from a tree.

On days when the hunt stays in the camp, because of rain or because 512
some dispute has caused a rift, both men and women attend
to specific chores. Men repair and add to their nets and make new [462]
bows and arrows; the women roll twine and work at basketry. Both [287]
may make and decorate bark cloth, a major activity on such a day.
A good part of the day is always given to singing, dancing, playing
games and storytelling. There is a constant shifting from family 512
groupings to age groupings, but mealtime is the only time when there 264
is a definite emphasis on the nuclear family. Even then, male [594]
youths, hunters and elders may take their food to a central fire and [561]

512 eat there with their fellows. There is no set mealtime, and any one
264 person eating alone is likely to attract his friends, who will expect to
[576] share his food. Only if a family is eating together by their hearth will
they be undisturbed.

854 Infants are allowed to crawl all over the camp, and will be picked
up and fondled by anyone, and even fed, if old enough. If they get
in the way, or crawl into a fire, they are picked up roughly by an arm
or a leg, slapped hard and brought back to their mother's hut. Even
[868] at this age their education begins, a concentrated effort being made
to teach them erotic dancing before they can properly walk.

857 Children have a *bopi* (playground) of their own, separated from the camp by a short trail. It is frequently by a stream in which the youngsters can splash and swim. If they make too much noise, however, they are severely criticized, and it is not thought good for them to spend too much time in the water. They have a number of games that are mainly for amusement, such as spinning tops, swinging on vines, and climbing on trees until they bend to the ground, then jumping off. But even these games teach quickness of reaction and body control. Other games are more strictly imitative of adult activities, and are a primary means of educating the children. They may be played alone or with the help of youths or elders, occasionally of the hunters. Generally, however, parents fondle their children rather than play with them.

From the time they can walk both girls and boys play "house." They wander off from the camp, though never out of earshot, collect the necessary saplings and leaves, and return making the pretense of carrying a heavy load. The girl then goes through the motions of preparing the leaves and sharpening the ends of the saplings while the boy, with a tiny bow and arrow, goes off hunting. While his "wife," as he calls her, sticks the saplings in the ground and makes a rather crude imitation of a hut frame, then covering it with the leaves, the "husband" is busy catching some kind of food—either a rat, if he is skillful enough with his bow, or else some slow game such as snails and grubs. If he is unsuccessful the two may go off together and, unlike adults, fish. If this is unsuccessful the boy will say he is going to "the village" and that they will "eat the villagers." He then creeps into the camp and steals a morsel of village food, a banana or manioc root, from wherever he can find it. The food is cooked and eaten together, and the young couple lie down together and pretend to make love.

Another important imitative game is the hunt, in which a youth 857
or an elder pretends to be an antelope, sometimes with another pretending 224
to be a leopard. An old piece of a real hunting net is used, 868
and once again every action is gone through in almost exact imitation
of a real hunt. The antelope and the leopard move erratically
and unexpectedly to test the reactions of the children, and any child
who fails to react properly is laughed out of the game. The game continues
up to the ensnarement of the antelope in the net, then abruptly
ends and starts again. Different localities in or around the camp are
chosen for these mock hunts, to show the necessity for varying the
hunting technique. If any Mbuti are keeping chickens for the villagers [231]
(this is often done when a camp is near a village, as the villagers
have reasons for wishing to conceal their wealth), the chickens
often become the quarry.

Girls imitate their mothers by carrying a stick of rough wood as a 857
baby, perhaps in a tiny hide sling. Any girls large enough to carry a 868
real baby do so. They make miniature carrying baskets and go off with
other girls on gathering expeditions, always returning with some real
food either found in the forest or begged or stolen from the camp.
With their hunting and fishing activities as well as this gathering, the
children make a small contribution to the food economy even at this
age. They also learn not only to rely on their fellow age mates for
help in food-getting activities, but to share with them. The sharing
is largely left to the girl's decision.

The boys also learn to live and work with their fellows of different 857
families rather than with their nuclear family, and will often be far 571
more intimate with an unrelated boy of the same age than with a 561
brother much older or younger. They play many games that develop 857
quickness of eye and co-ordination of the body, such as the spear 868
practice, where one boy stands in the middle with a large forest fruit
at the end of a six foot vine which he swings around him, trailing
the fruit about twelve inches above the ground. The other boys stand
in a circle around him, their fire-hardened spears poised. As the fruit
passes them they throw their spears at it. If they miss they have to
dash in to retrieve their spears while the fruit continues to swing
around, and other spears continue to be thrown. If a spear hits its
mark and holds firm, the boy in the center tries to dislodge it by
bouncing the fruit on the ground as he swings it around. This is an
additional hazard for the others, as the spear may come flying out at

857
868 them. Youths join the older children at this game, but never in a
[883] supervisory capacity.

Youths may also join the children on their swings in the *bopi*, and
883 will almost certainly build their swings for them, climbing high up
561 into adjacent trees to drape a long liana between them. They then
868 teach the younger children the wild somersaulting games on these
882 swings that are particularly characteristic of the honey season. On the other side the youths equally often join the hunters but, again, always as a separate group, sometimes participating fully, but still as youths. And as youths they continue the process already begun in childhood, of growing more away from their nuclear families and together as an age group. Their hunting and scavenging abilities are greater, and they sometimes even maintain a self-sufficient food economy. As youths they are allowed to stay up at night, instead of retiring with their mothers, and they build their own fire near the hunters' fire and cook their own food and sing and dance, sometimes with the hunters and elders, sometimes separately.

882 As youths they are also given increasing responsibility, especially
in the economic life of the band. They may listen to the discussions
of the hunters and elders, but even if they make comments, as they
do, they are not readily listened to unless it is a matter pertaining to
their age group. Then they are required to be able to voice their opin-
ions and cite precedents. They are expected to show an adult sense
[832] of responsibility in matters concerning sex and marriage, and although
[836] they may flirt quite openly and even audaciously, they never "play
house," and not until after the *elima* will a girl again show her favor
[584] by cooking for a boy. Then it is tantamount to an admission of be-
trothal.

224 After marriage a boy acquires a net. It may be made for him by his
884 mother, or his father may give him part of his net to which he will
885 add, with his wife's help. He has already demonstrated his hunting
561 prowess or he would not be married, but now he is a full hunter with
[422] additional responsibilities. Whereas economic activity is shared be-
[581] tween the hunters and youths, it is the hunters who ultimately make
the decisions concerning camp life, and about the hunt. Where to go
for the daily hunt, when to move camp, to what region, how to deal
with threats of physical danger, and how to surmount physical prob-
lems; such are the questions the hunter has to face. They all concern
88 the band as a whole. Nonphysical dangers and problems—that is to
561 say, moral, psychological and spiritual issues, those that affect the

nuclear family often before the band—these are more the concern of 88
the elders. As we are here considering the normal run of daily life we 561
are leaving aside special occasions such as the *elima* and *molimo* festivals, which are primarily religious in nature, but in which the hunters and youths play their own distinct parts together with the elders.

The hunters are generally in the middle of any dispute that occurs, 88
but in a serious dispute it is more likely to be an elder that will be 561
able to effect a settlement. It is, however, the disputes of the hunters 627
that establish the lines along which fission and fusion will take place, 554
and the elders have little influence over this process, nor do they even seem to wish to influence it. They content themselves by using the respect that is accorded them to maintain some kind of balance between the band factions. It is the hunters who initiate both fission and fusion, and who are thus responsible for the composition of the band. Relationships with neighboring bands and with the villagers, insofar as they are determined by band movement, are also largely in their hands, and in this sense the hunters may be considered the political leaders of the band. In this the women are almost, if not fully, the [562]
equals of the men.

The hunter's life is the most active and arduous, and this may in 888
part be responsible for his somewhat disputatious nature. In elder- [157]
hood there is a chance to relax. There is no shame in an elder having his children bring him back food, and in any case he may be needed to keep an eye on the camp while the hunt is away. It is an age group to which a man or a woman resigns himself with some reluctance, but in which he soon finds considerable satisfaction. He is able to inter- 888
vene in disputes without fear of physical violence, for one thing, and 627
often does so with enjoyment. The elder is undoubtedly the arbiter, 578
though by no means the only source of solution. From his position of immunity he is able to interfere in the most private and domestic affairs of anyone. Whereas a hunter solves his problems empirically, answering facts with facts, the elder solves those that face him with considered opinion, drawing from a lifetime of experience. A hunter [885]
would be laughed at if he could not support an opinion with fact. An elder is never expected to do so, and is consequently admirably fitted to deal with moral and spiritual matters. It is, however, opinion that he offers, not judgment. He will concern himself in questions of the upbringing of children, of their puberty and of their marriage. At any time of major crisis the elder will play the resolving part, though the

888 hunter may initiate the action. Thus the *elima* and the *molimo*, which
627 are crisis festivals, are initiated by the hunters, but it is the elders who
578 control them and give them their spiritual quality. It is the elders who
[881] act not only as arbiters between the members of the band, but be-
[765] tween the band and the forest, between this life and the next. Even in the most ordinary run of everyday life there is seldom a day that does not demand from one elder or another, man or woman, some opinion that will be couched in terms like "such and such is good for (or pleasing to) the forest," or "this makes my spirit (*roho*) feel good."

621 The greatest departures from daily life occur when the band visits
*177 the village, or when a villager visits the band. In either case it is as
512 though the whole social structure of the Mbuti were suddenly changed. A single individual becomes, all at once, a chief. Age groups break up and nuclear families come to the fore. The only central fire will be that of the "chief." But as this is not part of the forest world, exceptions occur within the forest context only rarely. There is sel-
621 dom any disaster such as the invasion of a camp by elephant, though
731 it happens sometimes. Hunting is generally more than adequate
512 throughout the year. But though hunger does sometimes come to the Mbuti, starvation is unknown. Sickness is not uncommon, but is rarely serious. Throughout the year daily life goes its usual way interrupted only by major, inevitable crises of the life cycle.

844 BIRTH

Birth is the first crisis of life, and among the Mbuti it is, as else-
[165] where, not without its attendant dangers. Though no statistics are available, it is the opinion of villagers and Mbuti, and of many Europeans, doctors and otherwise, who know both communities, that infant mortality is appreciably less among the Mbuti, and sterility
[164] less common. This may be due to the fact that their relative isolation has defended the Mbuti against the venereal diseases widespread among the villagers. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Mbuti evidently feel less need for concern at childbirth. This applies
844 to both the nuclear family and to the band. There is absolutely no
621 formal recognition on the part of the band, and only the barest of interest. Considering the fluid and nonlineal composition of the band this is not surprising, particularly since, for this type of band, birth is only one form of recruitment, and by no means the most sure or

effective. The only indication of band interest in birth is the pro- 844
hibition against married women procuring abortions, which are [621]
known and sometimes practiced among the unmarried girls, though [847]
rarely.

As far as the nuclear family is concerned the event arouses con- [594]
siderable happiness, and the mother's female age mates may gather [561]
with her to sing a few *elima* songs to celebrate the blessing of mother- [533]
hood; a childless woman is regarded as the most unfortunate of be- [554]
ings. A few of the younger youths may show some interest, as the new child will before long become their responsibility for protection and instruction. After a few days, when the child is brought freely into the open, the hunters and elders will fondle it and compliment the parents. The father is as proud as the mother, and just as likely to carry the child around to show it off.

Medical precautions are minimal. The mother is likely to be off on [843]
the hunt, or on the trail somewhere when birth takes place; there is no lessening of activity for her during pregnancy. Childbirth is said to be effected easily, with complications only rarely happening. Any woman may act as midwife; the father should not be present. If there is delay the expectant mother may be massaged to help delivery, or she may be brought away from the camp into the forest, and sat close to a tree against which she pulls with a vine rope. Within two hours of delivery, if birth took place in the camp, the mother is apt to appear in the doorway of her hut, with a bundle wrapped in bark cloth held in her arms. Within the same period of time, if birth took place on the trail, she will continue her journey.

Although the father is not present at the birth in person, it must 844
be one of his arrow blades, or formerly a wooden or leaf knife made 846
by him, that will cut the umbilical cord. The blade is kept with the 412
cord until the child is old enough to make a bundle of them both, take them to a stream and bury them where they will get carried away by the next flood waters.

There is also knowledge of a custom of couvade, though I did not 846
find anyone who had practiced it. If the birth is slow, the father takes 844
off all his clothes and his sister-in-law washes and rubs him. She then goes to the place of labor, and when the child is born returns to the father, who must make a token gift before he can clothe himself again.

The father, and the mother's brother, if he is in the camp, cut spe- 846
cial vines daily and sprinkle their juices over both the baby and the 751
mother, "to make them strong." Some of these vines contain so much

846 juice that when cut they have to be bent, with both ends upward so
751 that the liquid will not be lost. Sometimes they are cut into chunks
and soaked in water that is used for washing the infant.

856 A third precaution that is taken is to tie a vine bracelet around one of the infant's wrists, or around his waist. A small piece of wood may be roughly threaded to the vine, and the stated function is again to give the infant strength, except that with specific reference to the wood, it is frequently said that it "gives the child the strength of the forest."

844 With regard to preferences among the women as to where they
845 give birth, it varies. But there is unanimity that if there is any dif-
778 ficulty at all, then the right thing to do is to go off away from the
camp and into the forest, which will "help." The forest appears quite
778 clearly as helper and protector in the vine and wooden medicines and
755 charms, and in the scarification that will take place at the first sign
[751 of sickness. Even with adults this is done: the skin is cut in a number
[856 of small slits with an arrow, and some of the flesh is gouged out. The
ashes prepared from forest woods and plants are made into a paste
with spittle and rubbed into the wounds. When the skin grows back,
the black ash is still visible beneath, and is regarded as a source of the
strength and health and happiness that derive from the forest.

846 Both parents are under food restrictions until the baby is old enough to crawl, the main one and the only general one being that they must not eat meat. The father may go hunting, but any meat that falls into his net is divided among the others. More often he stays away from the hunt, sending his net out with some youth. However, somewhere between one and two months after birth, and when the family net has made a particularly successful catch, the father will usually announce that he is eating meat again.

853 The only other restriction placed on the nuclear family by the crisis
of birth is the restraint placed on the father, who is forbidden to have
sexual intercourse with the mother as long as she is breast-feeding
853 the child. The restriction is quite definitely linked by the Mbuti to
845 the supply of milk, which is also given as the reason for their rather
mild aversion to twins. I know of no record of twins who both sur-
vived into adulthood, and it is stated that one of them invariably
[847] dies. It is also stated that no woman would feed a child at each breast,
and I understand that if twins are born, one is simply not fed by the
mother, and is taken away and buried by her friends. But there is no
fear of twins, and no ritual in connection with their birth or death.

Finally it may be remarked that whereas in many African societies, 851 including those of the neighboring villagers, birth fixes the social [171] position of an individual through the structural ramifications of kinship, among the Mbuti it achieves the same end, to a less fixed degree, by placing the individual in a specific age group and relating the infant to a specific locality. The child might not be reared in that locality, but the fact will remain valid as a claim to band membership throughout his or her life. Adoption is often agreed upon in order [597] that a child, or even an adult, may return to his natal band, regardless of what kin remain to him there.[1]

It will also be noticed that in the absence of the magical and su- 856 pernatural protections that are sought for a newly born child among 854 the villagers nearby, there is a lack of concern with the possibility of disaster, and only a concern that the child should be strong. Insofar [751] as this strength is conveyed by washing the baby with the juice of forest vines, tattooing it with forest ashes, and binding it with forest [778] symbols, this may be regarded as sympathetic magic. But it is better regarded as the beginning of a lifetime of close intimacy between the Mbuti and the forest, an intimacy that may or may not give the physical strength it is believed to convey, but that is undoubtedly responsible for the cohesive social strength found in this one omnipresent, omnipotent symbol of Mbuti unity, the forest.

The absence of formal ritual protection and of the invocation of 844 supernatural aid and attention at birth is the first clear indication [782] that for the Mbuti the norm is the good, and that this goodness de- [778] rives directly from the forest, physically and spiritually. Although [594] birth is primarily the affair of the nuclear family, all members of the [621] band share the pleasure and the pride of the parents, concern themselves with the welfare and education of the child according to the functions of the different age groups, but they do not see that it is necessary to make of birth what we might here call a "spiritual" occasion. In referring to childbirth the men and women alike say, simply, that "it is the work of women, it is what they are for." There is nothing abnormal about the event, nor is there any expectancy of danger or complication, and so the band does not see that it is necessary to intervene with a formal religious festival.

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[1] See Table 11 for examples of adoptions of boys and girls among net-hunters.

P PUBERTY: THE *ELIMA*

881 At the next crisis in the life cycle, however, it is the band rather
621 than the nuclear family that takes charge. By early childhood the child
has already grown away from its family to some extent, and become
more a member of an age group cutting across kinship lines. At
puberty the boy or girl may not even be living with kin any more, let
alone in the nuclear family. But even if they are, the band takes control
of the situation. It is an occasion that concerns the band as
such, for adolescence leads into marriage, and marriage will inevitably
bring about a significant change in the economic structure of the
band. A member of the band may leave it, or a new member may join
it, or, if the marriage is within the band, then at least there will still
be an additional net, and a change in the hunting and gathering pattern
and perhaps in interfamily alliances. The process of fission and
P fusion might also be affected by the political implications of the marriage.
881 The *elima* is best regarded as a premarital festival. It does not
necessarily lead directly into a marriage that is marriage in the sense
of a final, childbearing union. It is rather a preparation for marriage,
P [584] an opportunity for the youngsters to find suitable partners. It does
not even have to end in betrothal, so there cannot be said to be a
[182] functional connection between *elima* and marriage.

C The arrival at puberty among boys being somewhat less easy to
881 determine, the signal for an *elima* is the first appearance of menstrual
blood in a young girl. This is something that fills the local villagers
with horror, and with fear of evil influences against which they take
elaborate ritual precautions to protect themselves. These precautions
are costly and inconvenient, and the girl who has brought both
shame and annoyance to her family is hidden and treated harshly.
There are elaborate cleansing ceremonies for the girl and her family.
P Among the Mbuti, however, the appearance of menstrual blood is a
881 sign that the girl is now a potential mother, and it is consequently
P a signal for rejoicing and for preparation for motherhood. Thus an
[584] integral part of the festival is the selection of suitable potential husbands.
Such selection demands that the boys prove their manhood,
since it cannot be proven as simply as is the womanhood of the girl.
In this sense, then, the *elima* is a joint initiation of boys and girls into
adulthood. Having dealt with it in descriptive form elsewhere (Turn-

bull, 1960[1]), I shall keep the description here to those essentials 881
concerned with the structural implications of the *elima*.

The fact that it is not an individual family affair, to be concealed
with shame as best possible, is doubly emphasized when two girls in
a band, of quite different lineages, "see the blood" within a few days
of each other. There will then be a joint *elima*. And there is also the
selection by the girl or girls of the *bamelima*, the friends she likes and
wants to accompany her for the duration of the festival, living with
her in the *elima* hut. They will be drawn from her female age mates, [561]
and may or may not already have had their own *elima*. If they have
not yet seen the blood, participation in their friend's *elima* will excuse
them from having one of their own when the time comes. If a girl
sees the blood, and a close friend thinks she is about to see it as well,
the *elima* will be delayed, perhaps for several weeks.

As with birth, this life-cycle crisis does not evoke any sense of need 881
for urgent ritual action, protective or otherwise. Its significance is of 182
a different order. It is regarded as essentially natural and therefore
good. Also as with birth, the personal importance of the occasion [778]
leads to an establishment of personal contact with the forest, a reification
of the direct bond between the individual and the forest world;
but the social importance of puberty for the band is recognized, so the
band as such takes certain measures, both social and ritual, to mark
the occasion.

The girl or girls with blood are expected to keep to their homes and 881
an extension may be built onto one of their huts, or onto that of
any friend or relative who is willing to house the *bamelima*. Every
elima girl with blood has to choose a personal assistant, and the
choice is left entirely to her, and again may fall on a relative, though
more often it is a very close friend, of the same age group. They then
invite other friends to join them in the *elima* hut, when it is ready.
The assistants share such restrictions as are placed upon the *elima*
girls, except that they are more free to leave the hut unaccompanied.
There are few restrictions anyway, it seems, and they are mainly concerned
with maintaining adherence to the schedule of instruction and
activities. There are some minor food prohibitions, based on the 881
personal taboos of the *elima* girls and their assistants, which in turn 262
are based on their individual reactions to these foods as young children.
If a certain food makes a child sick it may be forbidden to him
until puberty, when he may try it again and abandon the taboo if it
no longer affects him adversely. Sometimes, but not always, there is 881

881 an injunction against eating meat, and this seems to be when the *elima* activities are affecting the hunt and the supply of game.

The rest of the *bamelima* are merely expected to be in attendance, and come and go as they please.

In the very lack of restrictions we can see that the Mbuti do not regard the *bamelima* to be in any ritual condition of danger or impurity. At such times as they are free to be among other band members in the camp they behave perfectly normally, playing with young children, fondling babies, sitting by family hearths, and so forth. But they eat separately and wash separately, so we might say that at least they are in a condition of ritual respect.

881 To begin with, the *bamelima* spend most of their time either inside
864 the hut or else off with an instructress, in the forest. Inside the hut
867 they are taught the songs of the *elima* by any older women who care
to take part in the instruction. In the forest, I was told by a number of women, young and old, the girls are instructed in the arts of motherhood. This presumably includes such aspects of sexual life as are still unknown to them, which are probably few, but also use of the various herbs and treatments that a woman must know to insure fertility, an abundance of milk, easy childbirth, and abortion if necessary.

881 Girls say that certain of the *elima* songs are taught them in the
533 forest rather than in the hut, and as the festival progresses less and
less time is spent in the hut, and more in the forest. For the festival is said "to rejoice the forest," to make it happy and glad. If the girls are not singing well they are told the forest will be displeased. If they are dejected they are asked if they want the forest to be sad. Everyone is expected to be happy, and as the *bamelima* go through the forest they sing to it. As with so many of the other songs of the Mbuti, the *elima* songs are either wordless, being just plays on vowel sounds, or else the words are slight and without any evident significance, such as "Ibu is a dog," "Let's get leaves," and "Oh, the mud!" Other songs sung by the *bamelima* toward the end of the festival, when they sing in public in the camp, are rather different, making rather more sense and being distinctly spicy in nature.

But the songs that are considered as true *elima* songs and which conform to a musical style of their own, are evidently sacred. When they are sung in the forest, they are sung *to* the forest. A phrase is cast at the forest and an echo is awaited before the girls continue. Even an individual girl, usually the one with blood, will sing in this

way to the forest. If the *elima* happens to be in a village camp, as it 881
sometimes is for part of its duration, the girls will still go away off 533
into the forest to sing their songs. The older men and women say that [177]
the festival should be held entirely in the forest, but the younger
Mbuti point out that it is an occasion for rejoicing and feasting, and so it is much better to be near a village and eat off the villagers. Even when doing that, however, one is likely to come across broken saplings stuck in the ground alongside a trail many hours from the village camp, showing that the *bamelima* passed by there, "rejoicing the forest." Sometimes they may be heard in their peculiar antiphony with the forest, at other times the saplings appear swiftly and silently a few yards from an Mbuti youth as a sign that the *bamelima* are nearby and should not be disturbed. Sometimes youths, thinking they have left the *bamelima* safely in their hut in a village camp, are hours off in the forest in their usual boisterous, noisy way, and will find themselves attacked and chased by the girls, armed with sticks and whips.

Usually the girls are all together, but every now and then one of the 881
elima girls and her assistant will go off together into the forest, and stay there for half a day or more. At such times the others sit around looking dejected, and complain of being deserted. The older women then say that they should not complain, that it is good for the girl to go away sometimes and "converse with the forest."

As at birth, there is a certain amount of decoration of the body 881
with what might be considered as forest charms, and toward the end 778
of the festival the girls paint each other with a white forest clay. The [302]
personification of the forest, and the frequency with which it is referred to, and the way in which this is done as though its personality were an ordinary matter of fact are another indication of the intense personal importance of the forest in the life of the Mbuti, of its character as a parent, a friend, and a lover, the provider of all things. But it cannot be interpreted as forest worship, for to the Mbuti it is simply a matter of fact.

One thing that is particularly interesting in consideration of the 881
bamelima is that while it is very clearly an age group, it does two 561
things. It does not deny individuality to the *elima* girl, who in fact is 571
constantly displaying it and often causing friction as a result, but it 866
effectively consolidates an age group that might otherwise have been 182
rather lacking in cohesion. Girl's activities are, on the whole, less cooperative in nature than those of boys, and whereas boys are clearly formed into co-operative groups before arriving at puberty, this is not

881 561 571 866 182 quite so with the girls. But by the end of the festival bonds have been forged between the *bamelima* that will never be broken and that will provide a firm basis for co-operative activity throughout their lives.

881 594 836 182 The other thing achieved is that there seems to be at least a temporary obliteration of the bonds of the nuclear family. The nuclear family has no particular responsibility toward the festival, though they will generally contribute more food than others and may offer shelter, and it has absolutely no authority. Further, although relations between brother and sister are free at all times, it is worth noting that in the *elima* house the girls sleep with the boys of their choice openly and without shame, though their own brothers may be among the boys sleeping with other girls beside them. It is difficult, however, to determine whether or not sexual intercourse, which is permissible at this time, openly takes place under such conditions. I am told that it does.

881 602 Neither do kinship considerations seem to play any important role, and certainly no predetermined role, in the instruction of the girls. The only roles that are distinguishable as such are the provider of the *elima* hut, the mother of the *elima*, the father of the *elima*, the assistants and the rest of the *bamelima*.

881 561 571 602 [578] Of these, the *bamelima* are without question an age group with no kinship considerations. The assistants are primarily close friends and confidantes of the *elima* girls, and seem likely to be related distantly, but there are no stated preferences concerning this. It is said that the father of the *elima* does not have to be a relative at all; his job is to use force, if necessary, to stop the somewhat violent altercations that break out among the attendant youths or between them and the *bamelima*. It is said that the mother of the *elima* is usually an elderly relative of the parental or grandparental level, and that the provider of the hut can be anyone willing to put up with the noise. Table 7a shows the kin relationship between these various roles and the *elima* girls in an *elima* held among the Epulu Mbuti at the end of 1957 and into the beginning of 1958. It also shows the relationship of those senior girls who took the most prominent part in the instruction of the *bamelima*. Tables 7b–d show the same relationships on three other occasions among other net-hunting bands.

881 86 [561] Instruction, as already mentioned, is in song, and in such of the arts of motherhood as are yet unknown to the girls. The instructors, apart from the mother of the *elima*, are senior members of the same generation as the *bamelima*, and mostly married, or else they are el-

ders. Like the "mother," their role is also that of chaperone, however, 881
for the second most important activity, after song, is the selection of 86
and sleeping with lovers. 561

Sexual experimentation is certainly a major element in the *elima*, 881
but it is combined with a very definite move to widen the social horizons 864
of the girls, and to direct their attentions into what the parental 867
and grandparental generations consider proper directions. There are [836]
also certain rules about intercourse in the *elima* hut. The senior girls, or instructors, and the "mother" guide the *bamelima* in all this. Their decisions are never questioned, and never discussed by the rest of the band. It is not until the latter stages of the festival that the parental generation takes an active part in the proceedings.

The widening of horizons is achieved by taking the girls to visit 881
neighboring bands. On such visits they may stay for only a day, or for 836
several nights, depending on whether the girls find suitable lovers. It [574]
is considered important by everyone that the *elima* house should be a place of what is best translated as enthusiastic lovemaking. At first it is modest in scale, and, depending on the composition of the band, is likely to take place early on and within the ordinary hunting camp. The boys who will enter the *elima* hut will be the younger ones, not likely to be serious suitors. They may enter only if they are invited by
a girl, and the girl is forbidden to invite anyone related to her on her [835]
father's side or closely related on her mother's side. Effectively that means any descendant of the father's father or of the mother's mother; the children of any of the father's brothers or sisters or half brothers or half sisters, and the children of any of the mother's full brothers or sisters. Invitation is made by the girl, who whips the boy of her choice. The girls come out of their hut at regular intervals, during the day to begin with, armed with pliable young saplings. They seek out and soundly beat whatever boys lawfully take their fancy, if they can catch them.

Any boy so whipped is under an obligation, whether he likes it or not, to enter the *elima* hut later that day. When he does so he is subject to a further beating by the *bamelima*, and even then may not be invited to sleep with the girl who first selected him. Unless she gives him permission, he may not sleep with her. And if she allows him to lie with her, he again has to have her permission before intercourse can take place. The men say that once they lie down with a girl, however, if they want her they take her by surprise, when petting her, and force her to their will.

881 836 833 842 In intercourse the only restriction I could discover was some rather vaguely stated prohibition on a boy holding his partner in his arms. Some adults say that this prevents conception, others say that the girls take contraceptive medicines. Whatever the reason, there is no documented or even reported case of pregnancy arising out of intercourse in an *elima* hut.

881 836 [574] [584] The *elima* is given wide publicity (unlike the villager practice) and young men from neighboring bands are expected to come and participate. If they are whipped during a visit to their band by the *bamelima*, then they are obliged to return the visit. The latter part of the festival is the time when prospective suitors are sought, though there is still no feeling that betrothal must necessarily result. At this time even the younger married men may enter the *elima* hut, though they will sleep with the senior girls rather than with the *bamelima*. It is nothing unusual for the husband of the provider of the house to do this, nor for an elder brother of one of the *elima* girls themselves. But at this time the younger boys are kept out.

881 152 584 Access to the hut may still be had by being whipped, but now there is an additional possibility. In the late afternoons the mothers gather outside the hut, with their carrying baskets, and with a good supply of sticks and stones and any other suitable ammunition. Any youth that wishes to declare his affection for one of the girls is free to attempt to enter the hut, but he must run the gauntlet of the women, who are perfectly capable of beating him soundly and even of throwing him in a river if they do not consider him suitable. Depending upon how well they favor him they will let him pass with anything from token to stiff resistance. If the resistance is stiff the suitor may use his bow and fire fruit peel or small pebbles with it, and fight the women back in this way. When the women become particularly aggressive the youths make a combined attack.

Minor injuries are frequently sustained, and the Mbuti say that in the old days the "war" used to be real, with arrows used instead of peelings. The important thing is that it is still impossible for a youth to enter the *elima* hut, at this stage of the festival, if the older women decide against it for any reason.[2]

881 584 Once inside he still has to face the girls, and the same conditions as before pertain except that if he is allowed to sleep with a girl and

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[583] [2] The drama not only appears like a reenactment of the proverbial "marriage by capture," but some Mbuti say that they used to have to fight and carry off their brides in this manner.

have intercourse with her, he must then stay in the *elima* hut until the 881
end of the festival, and he will be considered as her betrothed. There 584
is no doubt that the girls are, like their mothers, anxious to find suitable
lovers who may become their betrothed, and it would indeed
only be a particularly flirtatious girl who did not hope that her *elima*
would end in betrothal. During the first weeks the girls have ample [836]
opportunity for experimentation, and it may be assumed that such
experimentation began even before the festival began. But in the last [832]
two weeks they are looking for a future husband, and they take great
pains to paint their bodies and make themselves beautiful for their
evening appearances outside the *elima* hut.

These occasions are formal presentations of the girls as adults. For 881
the first time they sing the *elima* songs and dance before the entire 832
band, and for the first time the youths who are considered as suitable 533
candidates sit together and join in the singing with the girls. Each
youth will try to catch the attention of the girl of his choice, and each
girl will try to respond, but the occasion is a serious one, and the mothers,
who sit with the girls and separate them from the youths, sharply
reprove anyone who is caught flirting. When the singing is over, the
girls are shepherded back into their hut, and unless they come out
in an attack with their whips, no boy may enter.

The length of the festival is anything from one to two months, 881
and it ends without regard to the successful betrothal or otherwise 783
of the *elima* girls. The girls are taken to a nearby stream in the early 515
hours of one morning, and wash themselves carefully a number of
times. I have heard them refer to this as "washing the blood," but
this is also a village expression for the ritual purification of a menstruating
woman, and it is impossible to be sure of the exact significance
of the term for the Mbuti until more material is available. The
washing, however, is unlike that of village ritual washing, being completely
informal, the *elima* girls washing together with all the others,
eating and drinking in between sessions of swimming and splashing
and playing in the water. When it is over they return to the camp, rub
their bodies with oil, sing and dance in public as much or as little as
they like and without adult supervision. They continue to stay together
throughout the day as a group, but in the evening they disperse
to their individual homesteads. For the next few days this is
repeated, without the washing, and then the camp returns to normal.

If a betrothal has been effected, the boy will wait for a suitable opportunity, 584
then make the proper approach to the girl's parents, asking

584 for permission for her to live with him. He will already have proved his manhood by running the gauntlet and by sleeping with the girl, and the fact that he has succeeded in these endeavors is alone proof of his acceptance. He now only has to prove himself as a hunter, and the act of betrothal is sealed by his killing one of the larger antelope and presenting it to the girl's parents, perhaps also with some other gifts, such as a bow and arrows, bark cloth, or a machete.

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The girl then goes to live with him, unless it is considered preferable, probably on grounds of band size, for the boy to join the girl's band. In either case, or if they both belong to the same band, the girl simply builds a hut without any ceremony, and they live in it. No particular note is made of the occasion, though there may be a few jokes made at their expense, and they will be allowed considerable
58 freedom from camp routine for a few days. No further change in status
[857] takes place until the girl becomes pregnant, at which time we might consider that the betrothal becomes effective as marriage. Separation before this takes place is perfectly possible and likely, and takes place without any comment, difficulty or restitution. Separation later, after childbirth, is more rare. If a couple have lived together for a long time (over a year) without having children, they will also be considered as married. This is unusual, however, for the object of marriage is in good part to have children, and if a couple fails, each will accuse the other of sterility and seek a new partner.

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In seeking a partner who has not slept with him in the *elima* hut, a boy goes through the same procedure, except that the band will be called on to give its approval, and the prospective union will be discussed, elders having the most say. If he is refused, and if he and the girl are persistent, they may elope, joining another band. In this case that other band will be expected to provide a girl in exchange, for the system, such as it is, is one of sister exchange in the widest classificatory sense of the term. It frequently does take place between full brothers and sisters, but equally frequently there is no attempt to effect exchange so long as the married couple remains within the band. If the marriage is out of the band, then any return marriage, regardless of kinship, is considered to restore the balance. Again, in view of the constant fluctuation in band composition, it would be of no advantage for any more formal system to pertain.

MARRIAGE

Betrothal and marriage among the Mbuti, then, are permissive. 583
Prescriptions and prohibitions are minimal, and even preferences are 584
not dominant. But permission of the band or bands involved is required. 621
In giving assent a band does not concern itself with the niceties of the kinship relationships involved, nor with the question of reciprocal obligations and privileges, except for the question of sister exchange. While not expecting an immediate exchange to be made, or even asking for a suitable future exchange partner to be named, the band bears this reciprocal obligation in mind and will demand that it be fulfilled the moment such fulfillment becomes necessary to band composition.

Considerations in approving a betrothal or marriage are personal 584
and economic, and to a lesser extent political. The affections of the 581
two individuals concerned is of the utmost concern to everyone, for 157
great mutual affection is considered to lead to a "real marriage" rather than an "empty marriage"; that is to say, affection is thought to carry the desire for children, and will so bring stability to the marriage. But the band is also concerned with the character of any individual, male or female, who will join them through marriage. A boy wishing to marry a notorious flirt and bring her to live with him is likely to meet considerable opposition, and may have to go to live with her band. In that case they will consider how faithful he is likely to be, or whether he will find he prefers his own territory to his wife, and will abandon her to return to his own band. In the general discussion that takes place when a betrothal or marriage is proposed these are the kinds of issues discussed, together with the personal habits of the newcomer —cleanliness, laziness, talkativeness and noisiness.

The hunting and gathering abilities of the individuals are also discussed, 584
first to decide whether they are able to look after themselves, 581
and second in relationship to the band economy. As with personal 157
considerations, the discussion is of particular importance if one or the 621
other of the proposed partners is a newcomer. If the marriage is within a band the same discussion takes place, but because both partners are known well the problem is much simpler and arouses less argument. There may still be differences of opinion, however, as to whether the couple are likely to have a real marriage or an empty one.

The band will also discuss the question of residence. If the band is 584 591 621

584 small it will wish a boy to stay or a girl to bring her husband to live
591 with her. If the band is large, however, it will prefer to lose a member.
621 If the marriage is within the band, and the band is large, the couple may still go to join another band, the choice of which being determined by size again, more than by any other consideration. The presence of friends or relatives and knowledge of the territory are important but secondary considerations. This question of residence falls primarily upon the hunters to decide; the elders have little to say.

DEATH

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602 In death, the final crisis of the life cycle, we again see a lack of em-
[177] phasis on kinship, though once more perhaps we should bear in mind that the contact between the Mbuti and the villagers has undoubtedly affected not only kinship and ritual terminology, but also kinship relations and ritual practice. Be that as it may, in the present context, death is of immediate concern to both the nuclear family and the
761 whole band. For the nuclear family, and for other members of the
152 family who have during their lives been close to the deceased person, it is an occasion for grief. This grief is freely expressed by young and old together, and may at times become apparently uncontrollable. In the same way that the Mbuti are given to excessive bursts of laughter, often developing into near hysteria, so when they weep they do so
761 with what amounts almost to violence. Children of the deceased,
763 without regard to age or sex, begin weeping the moment they hear
152 the news of death, or as soon as a sick person indicates that he is not going to live much longer. If news of sickness or death reaches a relative some distance away, the relative will shout and yell rather than weep, and will continue this way until he reaches the camp where the sick person is lying. Immediately on entering the camp he will burst into tears, and wailing loudly will enter the hut and throw himself on the ground at the bedside of the dying person. Sometimes a close relative will injure himself with self-inflicted knife wounds, or by tying a halter around his neck and trying to strangle himself. Others pay little attention to these demonstrations of grief and I have never seen
[887] any serious injury result. Elders look on, however, with some disapproval, and will intervene if there is any danger of such injury.

763 The rest of the adults in the band will sit around outside their huts,
152 watching the wailers run in and out of the sick person's hut, and while they themselves are likely to be serious and upset they are also likely

to make jokes at any excess of zeal on the part of any mourner. Young 763
children continue playing as though nothing were going on; youths 152
sit morosely by themselves, or wander off into the forest on foraging
expeditions.

The moment death occurs there is a renewed burst of wailing, then 764
the camp begins to quiet down. In the forest the practice is to scratch 768
a shallow hole in the floor of the hut and bury the deceased person [152]
there, pulling the hut down over the grave. The camp is then abandoned, nothing being left to indicate the grave site, nothing being
buried with the body except maybe a few very personal belongings
such as bark cloth, bracelet or necklace. All other property is divided
before the camp is abandoned. If death takes place in a village, then [177]*
the Mbuti leave the funeral arrangements in the hands of the villagers.

If death occurs suddenly, the same procedure applies except that 764
the period of wailing is shorter. In either case burial takes place the 152
same day, if enough daylight is left, or as early as possible the following day. During burial, either in the village or in the forest, there is
likely to be a final outburst of wailing from the relatives, particularly
female, and some may try to throw themselves into the grave. In the
village the eldest son is the chief mourner, and is supported by either a
friend or another relative, younger or older.

In the village the entire band takes part in the burial procession, 764
and those who dig the grave, under villager supervision, are youths and 177*
not necessarily connected in any way with the deceased, other than 152
by band membership. They laugh and joke, sometimes even when the
body is being lowered into the grave. Mbuti elders only take exception [887]
to this if they see that it is annoying the villagers. On the other hand
if the formal wailing becomes too loud and enthusiastic, as the villagers like it to be, the elders object strongly. Particularly do they object
to excessive demonstrations of grief from anyone who is not a close
relative. Their main objective, it seems, is to restore "quiet" to the
camp as soon as possible. The moment burial is over only the genuine
sobbing of the immediate family is permitted in the forest, and this
may be heard coming from their huts at any time of the day or night,
never in public. In the village, however, there is still an obligatory
mourning period, and about three times each day, for about two or
three days, sporadic formal wailing breaks out in the village camp.

If a child dies the grief is less widespread, and in the case of a very 766
small child the camp may not even be abandoned; only one hut will 768
be pulled down and deserted. The child may even be buried within

766 [768] two or three yards of the hut, which in that case continues to be occupied. The main difference between the death of a child and that of an adult is that the death of an adult is likely to be made into an occasion for a *molimo* festival; a child's death is seldom marked in this way, and if at all then only briefly.

761 765 621 Because the *molimo* has more to do with life than death it is dealt with separately in the section on religious life of the Mbuti. Here it should simply be noted that it coincides with the efforts of the elders to restore normality as quickly as possible. While personal grief is recognized and allowed, it is still resented and every effort is made to minimize it by those not so directly concerned. The majority of the band make every attempt to maintain a normal daily routine, and to ignore the death as far as possible. The *molimo* itself calls for vigorous hunting during the daytime, and equally vigorous singing and dancing at night. It involves the entire band except the children and through its very emphasis on life it reinforces band solidarity. Through the sheer pleasure found in *molimo* activities personal grief is lessened, and through the symbolic nature of some of the songs and dances the despair that death could otherwise awaken is averted. Death is acknowledged, in the *molimo* fire dance, as inevitable and as being unconnected with any unnatural force. The *molimo* songs stress that if death occurs it must occur at the will of the forest, and since the forest is good then death must be good. The *molimo*, however, goes [778] beyond a mere acceptance of death, and many of the songs and dances are sheer expressions of joy in life, and the stated objective of the *molimo* is to make the forest happy, "to rejoice the forest."

76 621 594 Thus death affects the nuclear family through the personal nature of the loss, and it is the duty of the nuclear family, in the forest context, to dispose of the dead. They are prevented by the rest of the band from giving way to any prolonged exhibition of grief, and in any case by the time death takes place much of their grief has been spent in the last moments of sickness. The family may be aided by others in the burial, though help is not generally needed. But from that moment on, the band takes charge of the situation and concentrates on restoring the normality of life. The extent to which the *molimo* is a band affair rather than the affair of the nuclear family concerned will be seen later. It will also be seen, then, how death is made into an occasion for reaffirming the bonds of age groups, and for establishing their distinct responsibilities.

761 765 If life begins, for the Mbuti, with little fanfare, it ends with one

of the most dramatic festivals possible. The *molimo* is not concerned 761
with the death of the individual, nor with securing safe passage for 765
the soul, but rather with affirming a belief in life and in the continuity [182]
of life and in the continuity of the band, despite the fact of death. [621]

It seems, from inquiry in all parts of the forest, that there were 764
many different ways of burying the dead and that no uniform custom 768
existed; rather that, as now, each band had its own preferences. The 184
most common method now, and apparently in the past, is simply to pull the hut down over the corpse, the body having been buried in a shallow pit dug in the ground or simply left on the bed, covered with leaves. In some bands the hut is then burned, in others it is left, but the general practice is to move camp at once. If it is too late to move that day, the family concerned will sleep out in the open until they are able to build a new hut in the next camp.

On some occasions bodies are buried up in trees, and in the southeastern 764
region of net-hunters this is how the Mbuti say they dispose 177*
of dead lepers. Nearly all Mbuti say that in the old days they buried [184]
their dead in holes in the ground, filling the holes in afterward so [766]
that the animals would not find the bodies. Today it is usual, throughout the forest, to wash the body before disposing of it in any of these ways. But this, and other practices such as scenting the corpse, wrapping it in a cloth if one is available, raising and lowering it three times before burial, and orienting the body in its resting place, vary according to the practices of the local villagers, and are almost certainly to a large extent borrowed from them. The Mbuti seem impatient and unconcerned about such details, and if they attend to them they do so only perfunctorily. They are particularly reluctant to allow anything of any possible value to be buried with a body, and if the burial takes place in a village and the villagers insist on using cloths and sleeping mats, the Mbuti will do their best to retrieve these unseen, at the last moment.

Similarly, head-shaving seems to be of little significance to the 765
Mbuti, though they frequently do shave when a member of the band 302
dies. But, unlike the villagers, they are not consistent in the practice, and they leave their hair lying around where it has fallen to the ground, whereas the villagers are scrupulously careful to collect their own hair cuttings, which they take off into the forest, or to a stream, and secretly hide.

The explanation given for self-mortification is that all the imme- 765
diate family feel responsible, to some extent, for a death in their 152
midst. [761]

765 midst. Family members also openly comment on all the things they 152 should have done for the dead person but did not do. At times when one individual is particularly repentant, such as one old lady I saw who tied a noose around her neck, others will assist her. In this case the old lady was attacked by her own family, some of whom jumped on top of her, beating her to the ground, others grabbing the rope and tugging it, tightening the noose around her neck. There was never any question, however, that this was anything but a histrionic display. On a different occasion, when another old lady started stabbing herself with a knife, the band looked on unconcernedly because even when the blood was flowing freely they knew she would come to no harm; she was merely scratching the skin.

761 By contrast there is no actual attempt to lay the blame for death 765 at any individual's door. The occasion may be made one for blaming people for not having behaved as they should have behaved, but death itself is accepted by the Mbuti as being perfectly natural. It does not [783] seem to be thought of as unclean or contaminating, and there is no purification ritual, or any ritual to speed the soul of the departed on its way. On one occasion a procession of Mbuti returning from the burial of one of their band proceeded directly to the wedding of an- [594] other member. The nuclear family concerned is under no restrictions, only under heavy pressure to forget the death as soon as possible. In wailing, instead of using the dead person's name the mourners will refer to him as "You who died in the morning," referring to whatever time the death took place. Those in the band not immediately related will not refer to the dead person even in this indirect way.

765 In various parts of the forest there are tales of a custom whereby 462 female relatives of a dead man used to close the trails leading to the camp and guard them, wailing and singing. Anyone wishing to pass had to pay by leaving an arrow in a piece of soft wood left there for the purpose. Among the Budo, in the north, this is known as *unai*, and the net-hunters in that region call it *butuma*. They say that while the girls are wailing and singing the men are silent. After a week the girls stop and the men take over and sing joyful songs. The women's job is "to remember," they say, the men's "to forget." The Budo and Mbuti insist this is an old Mbuti custom. (Among the Epulu Mbuti it is certainly true that most of the wailing is done by women, but it is not formalized in this way.)

[152] Among the Lesé the same custom is known as *ofa*. They say their [171] women wailed for two or three months, and during this time the men

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became bitter and went far away until they had killed and eaten some- 462
one. Their bitterness then left them and they returned and the *ofa* 152
ended. The Mbuti archers in this region deny they do this, but agree [171]
that it is a woman's job to wail. A man's job is to hunt. A man will
say, "We are glad you are dead, now you can guide us to good hunting." (The Epulu net-hunters claim to say the same thing when the *molimo* is over.) Some Lesé refer to the same custom as *chachima*.

Over to the east, I found that the Plains Bira have a similar custom 765
called *masoso*. Among the Forest Bira it seems to be a part of what 462
they call their *molimo*. Again the women of the family are expected 171
to wail formally and to exact tribute from visitors coming to the village of the deceased. The men argue about problems of inheritance, and conduct the burial and purification rituals.

Among all the villagers it is stressed that any such death ritual con- 765
cerns only the family of the deceased. Whatever other similarities 764
there may be between their practices and those of the Mbuti in this 621
connection, a restriction on participation along kinship lines is not 594
one of them. For the Mbuti a death is mourned and grieved by any
who have reason for feeling a personal loss. This means primarily the [561]
immediate family and age mates. These are the people responsible for the disposal of the body, though others will help if help is needed. The band as a whole reacts to the loss however, and it is the responsibility of the band as a whole to celebrate the death in such a way as to restore the normality of life. This is the *molimo*.[3]

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[3] The wider structural significance of the *molimo* is discussed in the last two chapters, "Principles of Organization."

[P.148]

CHAPTER 10

The Economy

THE BAND AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

621 613 602 We have seen the limited importance of the family in the lineage context, and that the band itself can only be defined, as a persisting entity, in terms of territory. Its composition and size fluctuate in response to a number of factors, among which the current economic context is of undoubted importance, regulating the size to a large extent, but also sometimes affecting the composition. We can clearly say that the band is not a unilineal institution, as seen in our camp plans for both archers and net-hunters, and in many instances even if we consider the band as a bilateral unit, lineage considerations appear to be minimal in determining its composition.

621 439 We now consider the territorial band as an economic unit. When discussing the Mbuti/Villager relationship (p. 33 *seq.*), we assumed that there was no economic necessity involved in Mbuti dependence on the villagers for plantation foods or village utensils. This is the first point to be considered here, in order to justify our treating the band as an economic unit without reference to village economy.

621 439 261 To begin with, it can be clearly stated that nowhere in the Ituri, except possibly in the triangle bounded by the three roads linking Beni, Irumu and Mambasa, have I ever come across a hunting band suffering from any shortage of forest foods, unless the band was at that time camped near the village. Further, in the heart of the forest I have come across many bands that are too many days away from the nearest village to maintain any kind of supply line, and that have existed solely on forest foods for from three to six months, with ease. It has been obvious, however, that in those bands there was considerable hankering for the luxuries supplied by the village, and there is no doubt that in time these luxuries will become necessities, given a continuation of the situation.

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The very fact alone that each band has clearly defined boundaries 121 and that each hunting territory borders on two or three others may 621 be taken as an indication of the self-sufficiency of the over-all region 628 and of each territory. Were such fixed and adjacent boundaries to exist with the accepted and generally practiced custom of non-trespass, then where each territory was not self-sufficient trespass or warfare would be bound to occur, and there would have to be some institutionalized manner of dealing with the situation. Mbuti society has no institutional means of dealing with any such situation, nor is there any indication that it ever has had either the institutions or the need for them. The social organization, such as it is, indicates that each band within its territory is to the largest possible extent independent of its neighbors in terms of politics and economics. It might indeed be argued that territorial self-sufficiency, and consequent territorial demarcation, were achieved only with the advent of the village tribes and their plantations. There is, however, not the slightest evidence for this, and the evident abundance of the forest is a strong counterargument.

At all times of year there is in the forest an abundant supply of P 261 mushrooms, roots, berries, nuts and herbs, some fruits and some [222] leafy vegetables. The very fact that the Mbuti exchange meat for [439] plantation foods and villager utensils indicates that there is at least ample meat for Mbuti needs, with a surplus for trade. And again it is P [461] worth noting the fact that the Mbuti themselves equate hunger with noise and laziness, both perfectly rational explanations of poor hunting and gathering.[1] On those rare occasions when the hunting, even far off in the forest, really is poor, it is considered exceptional enough to call out the *molimo* society, normally reserved for death.

As far as items of material culture are concerned, we have probably P 439 indicated sufficiently (p. 33 *seq.*) the extent of Mbuti dependence upon the village, and the degree of its necessity. It is more significant 439 and telling to look at the structural aspects of the economic rela- 608 tionship. Here we immediately see that the structure is very heavily one-sided. From the village point of view it is perfectly clear-cut, depending on the two alleged institutions of *karé* blood brotherhood and hereditary ownership, although, owing to the constant flux in

[1] The equation of hunger and death is a common one to the Mbuti, who say "Hunger kills me" instead of "I am hungry." But the symbolism goes deeper, and a surfeit of food is considered the sine qua non of a *molimo* death festival—the primary focus of which is not on death but on the continuity of life. P [761]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P 439 C 439 608 band composition, these institutions have little direct economic application. However, they do serve as a means by which any villager may assert a claim of any Mbuti. Villagers frequently enter into agreements and become involved in disputes with each other as a result, but nonetheless a villager whose *karé* or hereditary Mbuti is supplying another villager with meat may demand either compensation, a share, or rights to the services of one of his fellow-villager's Mbuti.

P 439 *177 This, however, is still from the villager point of view. From the Mbuti point of view the only relevant factors are strictly economic: they will exchange meat and their services whenever it suits them, for whatever goods suit them, with whichever villager suits them. The subsequent complications due to any breach of *karé* or kinship considerations does not affect them in any way. Owing to the variable nature of Mbuti wants and the whimsical nature of his behavior when dealing with villagers, there can be no attempt to establish any kind of equivalent rates of exchange.

P 439 621 571 C [439] Whereas with the villagers the exchange is institutionalized and integrated with the over-all social structure, with the Mbuti it is not. It is in the realm of individual and nonformalized behavior, not even necessarily linking the various members of a nuclear family. Since the exchange almost invariably takes place in the village, this may be taken as an indication of the breakdown of forest bonds among Mbuti living in a village. This fact is extended when, rarely, a villager visits a forest camp in the hopes of insuring at least an immediate and temporary supply of meat. His very presence, if permitted, changes the context from forest to village, and the hunting band becomes, with respect to the visiting villager, a village band, with corresponding social relations. The Mbuti only permit such visits if it is to their advantage, and even then they conceal with ease the game they catch daily and only give the villager what they wish to give.[8]

P 439 433 184 224 In view of the absence of any necessary dependence of the Mbuti upon the villager, for food or material, and even more in absence of any mutually accepted institutional relationship, we may regard such exchange as takes place with the village as having little or no bearing on the structure of the Mbuti forest economy, and we need consider it

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C [648] [8] Villagers consider it perfectly legitimate to cross their own territorial boundaries to visit any of "their" Mbuti who might be in someone else's village area, providing the visit is to a forest camp. This is one of several indications that the villagers clearly acknowledge the forest as belonging to the Mbuti; the offering of the firstfruits of a new plantation is another.

no further, except to point again to the obvious potential relationship 439
between hunting technology and village exchange, the net-hunters 224
being more easily able to acquire an excess of meat than the archers. 433
However, it is difficult to ascertain just how far this relationship is 184
effectual, for even the net-hunters maintain minimal exchange with
the villagers, and only on the same nonformalized individual basis.
There is rather more likelihood among the archers for there to exist a [622]
capita or *sultani* who will convey to his fellow-Mbuti the wishes of [621]
the villagers although he has no authority to take any other action,
and this may be seen as being due, in part at least, to the less productive technology of the archers, and in part to the greater prevalence of fragmentation into small sub-bands.

DIVISION OF LABOR

There is little to say about the division of labor in Mbuti society, 462
but most important is the fact that there is no religious belief or ritual 222
practice that relates any activity to any one sex, nor is there any con- 224
secration of those everyday tasks that normally fall into the jurisdiction of one sex or the other. This, of course, is what might be expected from the personal terminology, which differentiates the sexes clearly
only at the parental level. Basically men hunt and make hunting [765]
equipment, and organize the *molimo* festivals. The women gather [881]
vegetable foods and other forest produce, build the huts, prepare and cook the food; they organize the *elima* festival. Men make bark cloth, women make baskets. Children take part in all the economic activities. But women help make the nets, and they invariably make the twine from which the nets are made. Among the net-hunters the women, girls and young children act as beaters and are thus an integral part of the hunt, as they are among the archers in the archer *begbe* hunt. Men of both archer and net-hunter bands have no hesitation in gathering mushrooms and other vegetable foods when they have the opportunity. In both groups it is primarily and almost exclusively the men who gather the honey, for women seldom climb trees.

Women take part in the *molimo* and, although it is a small part, it 562
is a highly significant one. The *elima*, though organized by the women [765]
and stemming from the maturation of a girl, is of equal importance to [881]
the male youths who play a vital role in the festival. All in all, sex does
not seem to be of any particular significance in determining the struc- [433]
ture of Mbuti economic activity. Of far greater significance is age, 561
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[433] although once again the general pattern in no way implies an invariable
rule.

[854] Infants sometimes accompany their mother on her activities, or
are left in camp in the charge of youths or elders of either sex.

561 Children who do not stay in the *bopi* to play or to imitate adult activities
857 accompany their parents according to sex; however, boys who
cannot do much more than walk will, on the hunt, be more likely to
accompany their mother. Children up to the age of puberty frequently
prepare meals for themselves, not only in the process of "playing
house" but also when together as a group. They go together to the
streams to fish or crab, to the forest to gather and maybe to hunt for
small or slow game, and together they cook and eat these foods. Older
children may also co-operate in building a bachelor hut, though more
often they will occupy one that has been abandoned, if they want one
at all. But even before puberty they are beginning to help on the hunt,
the girls with the beating and the boys with guarding the extremities
of the nets.

561 After puberty the activities of youths are temporarily closer to those
883 of their parents, causing some friction and disaffection, particularly
between fathers and sons. The sibling groups, however, are reunited;
youths now have activities and responsibilities comparable to those
of their older married brothers and sisters. It is the younger married
couples and the older youths who are primarily responsible for hunting
and gathering, not only for food but also for the other material
necessities of life, such as saplings and leaves for the huts, bark for
clothing, wood for the fires. It is also this age group that manufactures,
[463] without any other form of specialization, the entire limited
range of artifacts that constitutes Mbuti material culture.

561 The older couples, widows and widowers, retire with regret but
887 without shame or stigma from communal life, and to the end they
589 will act in divers useful ways, in particular looking after children left
in the camp while the rest of the band is off on the hunt. Older people
[283] also spend a great deal of their time making the twine used in hunting
nets, plaiting vine belts and preparing food. They can expect to be fed
by the rest of the band, regardless of its kinship composition, and at
the same time they are free to undertake whatever individual hunting
732 and gathering they can. The sick or crippled enjoy similar status, being
734 also unable to keep up with the rigors of the hunt. That such
people are regarded as a potential danger to society is seen in the
legends of old and crippled people who die or who disappear or who

732 734 become spirits, but there is no evidence of the old or crippled actually being treated with anything but a care and respect that, judging from appearances, derives more from affection and a sense of responsibility (not unmixed with a certain amount of rare forethought) rather than from fear.

HUNTING TECHNIQUES

224 411 The iron tools available to the Mbuti since the inception of their relationship with the village tribes have not, apparently, tempted them to develop their hunting technology. They do not dig pits or make traps, nor do they erect spear-falls, techniques employed by the villagers. To make their traditional technology more efficient, however, the Mbuti do use iron blades for their spears, axes, knives and arrow blades. The spear blade makes the hunting of elephants much easier, though old Mbuti assert that they used to kill elephants with fire-hardened wooden spears. The knives and machetes undoubtedly make the cutting of leaves, saplings and vines much quicker and easier, and the honey ax affords simple access to beehives deep within hollow branches or tree trunks. The arrow tip is used more by the archers than by the net-hunters, it seems, but both groups rely primarily on poisoned arrows. The bows of neither group are large or efficient, accuracy is made doubly difficult by the limited vision of the forest environment, and hunters often aim at a sound or a movement of leaves rather than by sight of the actual quarry. With the poisoned arrow even a light graze will bring down the quarry, whereas with the metal-tipped arrow direct impact on a vital spot is essential. Even so, so chancy is Mbuti archery that throughout the forest the practice is to hold a handful of arrows in the hand that holds the bow; this enables them to be drawn and fired with remarkable rapidity. Naturally many are lost, but the loss of a poisoned arrow is of far less economic significance than the loss of a metal tip.

224 Traditional hunting techniques include archery, net-hunting and spear hunting, and occasional snaring (usually by youths, sometimes by old men). Nets vary in length from one to three hundred feet, and are about four feet in height. Seven small nets, together with beaters, might form a circle of over one hundred yards in diameter. Any area smaller than this would be impractical, as the game would be scared away before the nets could be set up and the beaters get in place. Even seven nets of average length would only form a circle barely two hun-

224 [422] [554] [162] dred yards across. However, thirty nets would form a circle, with beaters, which in diameter could be as much as a mile. Such a large area becomes difficult to control and dangerous. Since it is customary for nets to be owned only by married men, and exceptionally by a bachelor who has proved himself as a particularly fine hunter, it can be seen that a net-hunting band, to be an efficient economic unit, must be limited to between six or seven and thirty nuclear families.

224 476 [593] Insofar as brothers tend to learn to hunt from their father they make ideal hunting partners, and frequently stand in line in the hunt. It is important to know the habits of the hunter next to you, as he will be hidden by the undergrowth and his movements must be anticipated before shooting an arrow or throwing a spear in the direction of any game. Even when game falls into a net there is still danger, since the smallest antelope is vicious when trapped, and the larger animals capable of inflicting serious injury with their teeth and horns. A trapped animal has to be killed as quickly as possible, and anyone nearby will run to the spot with his spear at the ready. Injuries resulting to Mbuti in the resultant melee are not frequent, but when they occur it is almost always between two people who do not commonly hunt close to each other, and who have misjudged each other's movements.

224 476 561 However, there is no rule about brothers setting up their nets next to each other; the order of nets is determined primarily by age, the older hunters occupying the center of the semicircle of nets, the younger hunters at the fringes (conveniently separating fathers from their older sons, with whom there may be some rivalry). A young man is much more likely to choose to hunt beside an unrelated friend of the same age than beside a brother who is much older or younger than he is. A dispute in camp may upset the customary order, but generally the order, once established, remains fairly constant except for the retirement of older men from the center, and the movement inward from the younger men at the extremities. Temporary visitors to the camp usually hunt near the ends of the semicircle, but older men will probably be invited to join those in the center.

224 789 821 Magic associated with the net-hunt is slight. If rain threatens there are a few hunters who will try to blow the rain away by allowing moss to fall from their fingers while they blow at it and wave their arms in the direction they wish the clouds to go. Sometimes a whistle is blown, with the same arm-waving. If rain comes despite these activities, there is generally laughter, and the "magician" shrugs his shoulders as though he expected as much.

though he expected as much. Rather more serious is a medicine called, 224 in the Epulu district, *anjo*. It is a paste made from the heart, brain 789 and eyes, sometimes from other parts as well, of some highly prized 825 game. The paste is charred and placed inside the horn of that animal, which is then inverted and stuck in the ground, usually near the family hearth. The paste is put on the body, most often the forehead, of the hunter and of members of his family. Sometimes it is even offered to privileged friends. It is believed to convey to the hunter the senses of the animal so that he will be able to deceive the animal as well as foresee his movements. However, the use of this individual [577] magic is considered antisocial in many bands, particularly if it appears to be attended by success at the cost of others in the band. It [578] may cause disputes, and then generally all such medicine is collected and burned.

By far the most significant magico-religious acts connected with 224 the hunt are more of the order of religion than of magic. One is the 533 hunting song (with or without dance), and the other is the hunting 535 fire. The song or the dance may precede or follow a hunt. It is dis- 789 tinct from any other form of song or dance. The song form is rather complex and demands co-operation in a manner comparable to that demanded in the hunt itself. The dance is suggestively imitative of a successful hunt, but is by no means mere mime. Like the song form, the choreography is quite distinct, and is not used in any other context.

The hunting fire in the southern part of the net-hunting area takes 224 the form of a fire lit near the trail just before the hunt sets out in the 372 morning. It is generally lit by youths, always at the base of a young 789 tree. When blazing it is covered with leaves, so the heavy smoke is given off. Men and women, as they pass by the fire on their way to the hunt, may stop to gossip, or they may pay no attention. I have [778] not seen or heard of any accompanying ritual or invocation, the only explanation ever stated being that the fire is to rejoice the forest, and it would seem to have the same primary purpose as song and dance, that of attracting the attention of the forest. It is certainly believed that the fire will insure the protection of the Mbuti and help toward success in the hunt.

Further north, another form of hunting fire is used, associated with [184] rather more ritual. There the net-hunters build the fire within the camp, whereas in the south it is always just outside. The fire is sur-

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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224 rounded by a vine that is carefully staked into the ground by V-shaped
372 twigs. Within the circle long twigs, clean of bark, sometimes simply
789 burned to create a pattern, are stuck into the ground pointing in the direction the hunt is to take place. Any animal caught is brought back and placed within the circle before being divided.

P
224 There is undoubtedly village influence to be found in some of the
372 more elaborate magical practices. The Mbuti themselves consider
789 *anjo* as village magic, also the magic sticks within the hunting-fire
*177 circle. The fire, however, is used everywhere, and regardless of any other accompanying ritual, there is no ritual attitude toward it other than the belief that it will secure the attention, hence the blessing, of the protective forest.

P
224 One clear example of village influence is that in any village context
*177 the Mbuti are likely to state sexual taboos connected with the hunt.
834 These vary according to the village tribal custom, and may involve prohibition of sexual intercourse before the hunt, either as a permanent rule (which would be inconvenient for people who hunt almost daily) or for special occasions or classes of people. A menstruating
P
[841] woman and her husband are forbidden to take part in the hunt, according to some village customs. A pregnant woman may be under restrictions, as may be her husband, and childbirth involves further restrictions among many village tribes. To all such customary practices the Mbuti gladly pay lip service. In the forest, however, forest values prevail, and I have come across no sexual taboos associated directly with the hunt. Indeed, the hunt is considered by many, married and unmarried, as an excellent and exciting time to slip away into the bush and copulate. But sexual activity is above everything else a matter of personal taste. If a pregnant woman stays in camp, it is more likely because she feels unwell. If a father stays behind with his wife and her newborn child, it is probably because he wishes to be with them, though there are sometimes stated prohibitions on hunting or eating meat until the family net traps a large antelope. This will be made the occasion for lifting the taboo and for naming the child.

P
778 However, it is impossible to discover any consistent pattern of actual behavior, the only consistency appearing in stated behavior, and
*177 this relates directly to local village custom, which is based on the
C belief that the forest is ritually dangerous, unclean. Any villager in a
778 position of crisis, such as becoming pregnant, being born, suffering from sickness or even injury, during menstruation or while near

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 156-A]

THE FOREST WORLD

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17. A forest camp (a corner of apa Lelo) is far removed from the dust and dirt and heat of the village. When the Mbuti tire of the village, they can escape to the forest and build a camp such as this in a matter of a few hours.

[166]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.156-B]

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[929]

18. Apa Kadiketu, showing Ekianga's village-style hut, where he lived with his controversial youngest wife.[1]

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[1] (see pages 102-103 -- Analysis)

[P 156-C]

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[Ky]

19. In one of Cephu's camps, Aberi talks to his family. His wife, her face ravaged by yaws, holds their youngest child in a sling of fresh-painted bark cloth.

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[P.156-D]

20. Cephu the troublemaker,[1] but also Cephu the great storyteller.

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[1] (see pages 101-103; 104-108 -- Analyst)

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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death, will be kept well clear of the forest, whose malign influence 778 177 *
could adversely affect the outcome of the crisis.

C
While the net-hunt divides the band into nuclear-family units in- 778
sofar as each net clearly belongs to a nuclear family, there is no par- P 224
ticular order for setting out on the hunt. Nuclear families may split [624]
up right at the beginning, children joining their age mates, women [594]
going off together, the menfolk forming clusters of friends or broth- [422]
ers, in much the order in which they will hunt. It is always decided the night before, by common discussion and consent, where the hunt is to take place, and everyone makes his way there of his own accord, generally passing by the hunting fire on the way. On arrival the women will already be mostly separated from the men, and invisibly take up their stations while the men silently stretch their nets out through the undergrowth, supporting them on the foliage, the ends of each net being tied to those on either side of it.

The hunters generally take up their stand near the center of their net, but the practice varies according to their relationship with their hunting neighbors, and also according to whether they have any sons with them at the net. When the extremes are ready (the setting up begins in the middle of the semicircle) a signal is given to the women, who immediately start closing in from their opposing semicircle, beating the ground with branches, shouting, yelling and hooting. The men remain concealed until the very last moment. They always lie in wait behind the nets, and will only cross into the circle to go to someone's assistance when game is caught. Game is not generally shot
at or speared until it is in the net or until it shows signs of escaping. P
It is then that the Mbuti must know the likely whereabouts of all his [278]
fellows, as the strophanthus poison used most widely is as deadly to
human beings as to animals.[8]

P
Once an animal is killed, and each cast of the nets may bring in sev- 224
eral animals, it is taken by the wife of the lucky net-owner and put 482
into her carrying basket, to be shared out on return to the camp. If [462]
the animal is a large one, and too heavy to put in a basket, either one

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[8] When the poison is prepared, one test for its strength is to make a slight cut in the forearm and to allow the blood to trickle down for an inch. The poisoned wooden tip of an arrow is then touched to the blood below the wound. If, as the Mbuti say, the poison "walks up the arm," they claim to feel a tickling sensation and hurriedly wipe the blood away. If the poison does not "walk up the arm" it is not strong enough. So wary are the Mbuti of poisoned arrows that they carry them thoroughly sheathed in a bundle of leaves, in case they accidentally scratch themselves. Also, when they have fired and lost a poisoned arrow, they may spend a considerable time trying to find it rather than leave it as a possible danger to other hunters.

224 of the youths will put it across his shoulders and take it back to the
482 camp, or it will be divided on the spot. Such division, however, is not considered final, and further sharing may be demanded on return to the camp if the hunt was not fully rewarding.

224 The system of sharing is nowhere the same, and the frequent interchange of visitors between hunting bands renders sharing even more complex. Each band, however, will state certain rules, and will not hesitate to override them in order to bring about the recognized goal—equitable distribution of the spoils, with special consideration for the owner of the successful net and for anyone who contributed to the kill by using or lending his spear, and so forth. Elders and children are allocated certain parts of each animal, and this helps to insure that these nonhunters are cared for adequately, though their friends and kin will always provide them with more if needed. If the hunt is so successful that game falls into every net, then there will be no sharing, though there may be exchange simply for the sake of preferences of taste.

224 This is not to say that sharing takes place without any dispute or
578 acrimony. On the contrary, the arguments that ensue when the hunt
152 returns to camp are frequently long and loud, and appear to be al-
626 most deliberately sought. One such example is when someone will invoke the rules of sharing of another band, where perhaps she or he may have a relative. Indeed it is remarkably seldom that the Mbuti will admit to having had a completely successful hunt. As a result, the return of the hunters is the inevitable signal for personal grievances, however far out of context, to be aired and expressed in terms of sharing rights. There is no formal settlement of the dispute, but invariably there is a compromise and there will be an exchange, at least, if not a sharing. This is undoubtedly an important outlet for petty hostilities and jealousies, which are automatically kept well within bounds by the very fact that, whatever the nature of the original dispute, it is
[476] made to relate to the hunt. No dispute can be allowed to threaten the
co-operative pattern of the hunt, for subsistence depends completely upon the continuation of such close co-operation. This is of course particularly true among the net-hunters, whose hunting technology demands larger bands and closer and more constant co-operation between band members.

000 Following is an example of different rules for the distribution of game:

Following is an example of different rules for the distribution of game:

NET-HUNTERS

Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Epulu	Head	Elders, for wisdom
	Back	Male hunters, for strength
	Private parts	Children, to help them grow
	Shoulder, liver, heart	Owners of net, spear, and others who helped in kill
Wamba	Head	Sister or sister-in-law, or to dog if it helped in kill
	Back and forelegs	Shared all around
	Private parts	Owner of net
	Rear legs, liver, chest	Owner of net and those who helped in kill
	Stomach	Elders
Bissiku	Head	Women, or to owner of dog if it helped in kill
	Back	The woman who carried the animal back to camp
	Private parts	Children (who also get other intestines)
	Forelegs and liver	Net-owner and helpers
	Rear legs	Net-owner and helpers
	Stomach	Women
	Chest	Net-owner

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ARCHERS

Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Kilo	Head	Owner of dog
	Chest, legs, liver, heart	Owner of dog
	Back	Divided among all
	Rump	Elders, particularly to dog-owner's father, who will then further share it
	Stomach	Anyone who might have gone ahead and first put up the game

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Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Nduye	Head	Women
	Back and legs	Shared all around
	Private parts	Dog-owner (who will give them to the dog)
	Intestines	Shared all around
	Stomach	Elders
Biasa	Head	Owner of dog
	Chest and legs	Shared all around
	Back	Dog-owner
	Private parts	Children and elders
	Stomach	Elders

224 561 [562] It will be seen that the only element the various systems have in common is in the selection of certain categories of people. Women are separated from the men among all three net-hunting bands and one archer band. The net-owner corresponds to the archer dog-owner. Elders are singled out everywhere except at Biasiku, where the hunters said they would be obliged to give the elders whatever they wanted. Chidren figure in two net-hunting bands, and only in one archer band, where they are coupled with elders.

224 602 The only kinship relations specified are "sister and sister-in-law," which can perhaps be better interpreted simply as "women," among the Wamba net-hunters, and "dog-owner's father" at the Kilo archer camp, where the hunters were insistent that the rump would be given to the father, if alive, for him to divide among the other elders as he thought fit. In practice, however, sometimes using a village system of kinship obligations, the Mbuti men and women will make claims on grounds of kinship. In any case, as stated, the actual sharing generally is accomplished to suit the needs of the moment rather than to satisfy any system, stated or otherwise.

224 621 626 594 The net-hunt can then be seen not only as a determining factor on the size of the band but also as a major mechanism for insuring co-operation of band members, and for allowing daily expression of internal hostilities and providing for their resolution through the highly fluid "system" of sharing. While the net-hunt expresses the importance of the nuclear family in that the nuclear family is the basic hunting unit (the father owning the net, the mother beating toward

it, the children standing guard at the net or at the fringes of the hunt), 224
nonetheless the nuclear family is divided in the hunt, and both men 621
and women are forced to co-operate with their neighbors, who may 626
or may not be kin. The hunt above all is not an individual affair but 594
involves the band as a whole, as is borne out in the ultimate disposi-
tion of the spoils.

That the net-hunt is regarded as a matter of importance to the for- 224
est, regarding the forest in a religious sense, is evidenced by the hunt- 778
ing fire, the song and the dance, rather than by any elaborate ritual,
purification, or sexual taboo. The close relationship between the
hunt as an economic activity and the hunt as a religious act is seen in [304]
the widespread custom of rubbing ashes from charred forest woods
into the skin, sometimes slitting the skin first to achieve permanent
tattoo marks. This is stated to secure the protection of the forest.

Whereas I was never able to secure confirmation of Schebesta's de- 224
scription of food offerings being made to the forest, except through 825
villager informants, there is very definitely a strongly felt and stated 152
urge to use every part of the animal, and never to kill more than is [114]
necessary for the band's needs for the day. This in fact may be one [782]
reason why the Mbuti are so reluctant to kill an excess of game and
preserve it for exchange with the villagers. There is no expression of
joy in the capturing and killing of an animal, though the excitement
still runs strongly. The moment of killing is best described as a mo-
ment of intense compassion and reverence. The fun that is sometimes
subsequently made of the dead animal, particularly by the youths,
appears to be almost a nervous reaction, and there is an element of
fear in their behavior. On the other hand, a bird caught alive may de-
liberately be toyed with, its feathers singed off over the fire while it
is still fluttering and squawking until it is finally burned or suffocated
to death. This again is usually done by youths who take the same
nervous pleasure in the act; very rarely a young hunter may absent-
mindedly do the same thing. Older hunters and elders generally dis-
approve, but do not interfere.

The respect seems to be not for animal life but for the game as a 224
gift of the forest, and a gift that may be withheld if abused by waste.
It is further considered that good hunting is essential to the success [881]
of either an *elima* or a *molimo* festival, and during such festivals cer- [765]
tain hunts are devoted expressly to supplying the festival with food.

Among the archers, the system of sharing game and the respect for 224
game are comparable in their political and religious connotations: 621

224 magic seems to be somewhat more prevalent. Further, although
621 archery does not demand a relatively large co-operative band as does
[221] net-hunting, and although for most of the year the archers seem to
be split into small bands of maybe only three or so nuclear families,
the band is actually comparable in size and composition, and manifests its unity once a year for the annual *begbe* beat-hunt.

The *begbe* is remarkably like the net-hunt in technique and in social function. The major difference is the absence of nets, which makes for a much smaller circle for the same number of participants. Seven nuclear families could successfully hunt with nets; they could never form a *begbe* hunt. By the same token, more than thirty families could easily participate in *begbe* without inconvenience or danger, and if we define the archer band by stated territorial boundaries, and consider its composition as consisting of those who hunt within those boundaries during the year and form the communal *begbe* hunt once a year, then the average size of the archer band is probably larger than that of the net-hunting band.

The *begbe* demands large numbers; the men form a tight semicircle, each man well within sight of the next, the women and children forming a similarly tight semicircle opposite. The men are armed with bows and arrows, and with spears; the women make petards, which when beaten on the ground make a sharp, explosive sound. When the circle is complete, the women beat toward the men, who try to kill the animals before they break through their ranks, a procedure that is considerably more hazardous than the net-hunt, where the hunters can afford to wait until the game is at least temporarily held up by the net.

224 Among the archers the *begbe* is referred to as the beginning of the
221 new year, and the hunt coincides, it seems, with the honey season,
621 which for the net-hunters is similarly the beginning, or the end, of
the year. During this season, then, the archer band is consolidated and co-operative, though it seldom builds a single camp. Rather, there may be from three to five large camps, but built close to each other (within earshot) and connected by trails. This, however, is the one time of year when the band does meet and hunt as such, though even at this time there is no central authority.

621 For the rest of the year the band is broken up into smaller units,
221 each one economically and politically independent of the other. These
sections may vary in size from two or three nuclear families to as many as ten, or temporarily even a few more. Generally an archer camp contains from three to six families.

contains from three to six families. In the same way that among the 621
net-hunters the smaller camps built during the honey season show 221
rather more evidence of patrilineal bonds, so do the smaller archer 602
camps. They are still by no means exclusively patrilineal-patrilocal 613
units however, and although respect is paid to the lineage head, it is
no more than would be paid to any elder. Indeed, even the small
camps are frequently composite to an extent that lineal authority
would be unworkable. As we shall see for the net-hunters, authority
is widely dispersed through the different age groups, for different activities.

The archers make use of the dog to a far greater extent than do the 224
net-hunters, who only use it incidentally (particularly elders who go
off on their own with bow and arrows). The common practice is for
three or so hunters to lie in wait, possibly concealed up in trees, near
an animal trail. They will entice game with antelope calls, and shoot
at it when it has come between them. Dogs are used more by single
men or men hunting in pairs, who prefer to track rather than to ambush. [462]
Women do not participate in the hunt, and go off on their own, [222]
but never singly, to gather.

If one such minimal section of the band is not having successful 224
hunting or gathering, its first step will be, as with any hunting camp, 621
to abandon the site and move elsewhere. However, with the territory 166
split up among a number of similar sections, the freedom of choice
is not as great as among the net-hunters, where the band is encamped
as a single unit and may move anywhere else within the territory
without hindrance. Consequently one section may join temporarily 224
with another. Alternatively, it may send to another and ask for a share 166
of their spoils. Generally, however, contact between one section and 621
another is more for purposes of socialization, as the forest is no less 628
abundant here than in the region of the net-hunters, and the same [461]
axiom holds good—a hungry camp is a lazy camp.

Each section is free to move where it will and cannot claim any
right to any particular subterritory, and although it happens, it is
considered bad form to camp too close to another section without
asking permission simply because they have found good hunting. It
frequently happens that hunters from different sections find themselves
hunting in the same area between their two camps, and in that
case they either separate or else they join up, depending on the nature
of the game present.

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The presence of elephants may be made an occasion for two or more 628
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Congo - Kinshasa FO1

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224 sections to join together temporarily, and the archers share the same
628 two techniques of elephant hunting that are used by the net-hunters.
825 Some hunters like to make a kill on their own, not so much to gain
[554] status, for such status is virtually meaningless, but for personal satisfaction. They will trail an elephant, then run up underneath it and jab their spear several times into its belly, aiming at the bladder. If they see urine spurt out they know the elephant will die in a day or so, and they will return to their camp, which will pack up and trail the dying elephant and build a new camp around it.

Alternatively, four or five Mbuti will lie in wait, and when an elephant appears one will stand out on the trail in front of it so that it stops. At that moment one who is concealed behind will run out and slice the tendon of one of the rear heels. The elephant will spin around, partially immobilized, whereupon another concealed strategically will run out and slice the other tendon. The elephant can then be killed at leisure, though still not with ease.

The killing of an elephant will inevitably bring other sections of
P the band to the scene, and the meat will be shared among all.
[221] The moment it is finished, however, the band will again split up and remain this way for the rest of the year. Thus the *begbe*, during the honey season, remains the only time when the band assembles as such for the purposes of acting together as an economic unit. It is unlikely that more than one elephant will be killed during the year; the maximum I know of in one territory is three, and this was considered highly
P exceptional. Further, although elephant hunting may result in the
[621] assembly of a number of sections, or even of the total band, it does not involve communal activity.

P
224 Neither the archers nor the net-hunters, despite the abundance of
613 wildlife around them, acknowledge many totemic restrictions, though
614 they could well do so without suffering. But the very abundance also renders it unnecessary to have institutionalized methods of insuring
C even distribution. Among the villagers, whose supply of meat depends
[613] almost entirely on the Mbuti and is consequently unpredictable and
[614] erratic, totemic observances are common and rigidly enforced, and can
[439] be seen to affect distribution to some extent, as the totemic animals include those most frequently caught.

P Such totemic observances among the Mbuti that do not derive
224 from individual allergies are associated with membership in the
613 patrilineal lineage. The animals so respected are without exception
614 those least frequently killed, hunted or eaten. By far the most wide-
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825

spread totem is the leopard, and even those who do not have the 224
leopard as their clan totem, and can therefore lawfully kill the animal, 613
say they would never eat the meat. Some give the reason that the 614
leopard eats human beings, and in this way anyone eating a leopard 262
is also eating human flesh. 825
Whereas insofar as clans themselves are suspect as being possibly of village origin, so are the totems, and indeed totemic observance itself. But there is no doubt that the leopard is throughout the forest considered by the Mbuti as having supernatural connotations. More of this will be seen when we discuss the *molimo*, the men's religious association, which is active primarily at the time of death of a member of the hunting band. The derivation [192]
of the term is unknown, and it has no translation, but *moli* is the word used by the same Mbuti for the leopard. The animal is considered beautiful because of the grace of its movements, and in this context it is likened to a dancer. It is respected for its power and skill as a hunter. It is feared for the way it brings death, to animals or human beings, swiftly and silently and inevitably. There are many who do not claim the leopard as their totem, but who nonetheless would not even touch a dead leopard, let alone kill one or eat it.

The chimpanzee and the buffalo are probably the next two most commonly given totems, and they are also animals that have the least possible interest among Mbuti as a source of food. The chimpanzee because, they say, it is nearly human, and the buffalo simply because it is such bad eating. Other Mbuti who may eat these animals seldom do. Buffalo is tough and unpleasant-tasting, they say, and is eaten only if there is nothing else. Also, any sensible Mbuti will seek to get out of a buffalo's way rather than to challenge and kill it. There is no merit in killing a buffalo, as there is in killing an elephant. To seek one out is considered a foolishness, the mark of a stupid and conceited hunter. To be attacked by one and to escape are considered a sign of good luck; if the buffalo is killed in defense, however, that only brings incidental fame. If, as sometimes happens, a buffalo is constantly making a nuisance of itself in a particular part of the territory that cannot always be avoided, and presents a real danger to hunters and gatherers, then five or six of the great hunters will set out to kill it, with considerable trepidation. It is above all an animal to be avoided for every possible practical reason.

The chimpanzee, on the other hand, is avoided for more personal 224
reasons, largely associated with its semihuman appearance. Someone 262
who does not like to eat chimpanzee will also be likely to refuse to 825

224 eat any monkey. Sometimes older men will eat chimpanzee, and this 262 seems to be more so among the archers than the net-hunters. Cer- 825 tainly, chimpanzees are more likely prey for the archer than the net-hunter.

[614] Other animals stated as clan totems are similarly either undesirable for good practical reasons, or so rare that their exclusion is of little practical significance.

262 Restrictions sometimes cited as "totemic" by the Mbuti, and which include the more common and desirable game, have proven in my experience to be not totemic at all, but due to personal allergies. Any food that makes a child sick will be forbidden to it until it grows older. At puberty (i.e., when he or she is old enough to participate in the *elima*) he may try that food again, and either continue the restriction or abandon it, according to the results. Again at marriage he may try it. From then on he is unlikely to make any further attempts, though nothing is to stop him. There are plenty of alternatives, and exchange on grounds of taste is about as frequent as economic sharing. There is certainly nothing hereditary about such restrictions.

224 262 Apart from this, the Mbuti make ample use of the game offered by the forest. Their technology, limited by the same environment to nets, bows and arrows, spears and vine snares, is more than adequate for their subsistence. Perhaps some measure of the sufficiency of supply is the fact that little effort is made to tap the more difficult sources of food, such as the fowl and monkeys that throng the upper branches of the trees. An even more surprising rejection of a much easier source is the rejection of fish. Fish of many kinds fill the forest streams and rivers, and are caught with the utmost ease, yet they are considered as food fit only for children.

222 262 On the other hand certain ants, termites, snails and grubs are considered as delicacies and eagerly sought, though these are probably more properly considered under gathering.

222 GATHERING

[184] [462] Gathering among both net-hunters and archers is similar, and although primarily the concern of the women, there is no shame in a man gathering any vegetable foods he may come across. The gathering of termites, grubs and so forth is equally practiced by men and women.

The foods most commonly gathered for daily consumption are mushrooms, of which there are many edible varieties at any one time 222 throughout the year; the sweet *itaba* and similar roots, which are found by following its telltale vine along the ground, then grubbing with a stick for the roots at the end; nuts, of which there are again many varieties at any time of year; and divers berries. There are also succulent fruits and a few leafy vegetables, though the latter seem rarely used except as herbs. However, they are likened by the Mbuti [252] to the village manioc top, which is cooked as a spinach, and perhaps it is because of the availability of manioc tops and their more pleasant taste that the indigenous vegetable is falling into disuse.

Among the net-hunters, gathering takes place during the course of [224] the net-hunt, on the way to and from the hunt, and between each cast of the nets. Women carry baskets on their backs, with a bark [482] tumpline over their foreheads, as do their young daughters. In the same way that the boys form an age group during the hunt, so do the girls. The boys split into two sections and guard each extremity of their hunting semicircle; likewise the girls split into two groups and beat at each end of the semicircle of beaters. Only the older boys and girls are expected to act as adults, and even they need not necessarily act with their parents. The girls go off on foraging parties on their own, and women go off in twos and threes to do their gathering. There [602] is no recognizable kinship pattern, at least among the Epulu band, to these gathering associations. Women or girls who gather together are likely to be friends of approximately the same age; that is about the only generalization possible.

Men, not having baskets with them, are less able to gather effectively, but if they pass a bank of mushrooms they will pick whatever they can carry without encumbering themselves, and they will send the younger boys back to camp with their arms full.

Gathering, then, is a much more individual affair than hunting among the net-hunters. Even among the archers, where the women are not required on the hunt, they only go off in twos or threes to gather, and the same freedom is allowed for the men to gather whenever they have the opportunity. The spoils are similarly regarded much [422] more as individual property than as communal, though sharing does take place.

There are no rituals and no magic associated with gathering, but 222 insofar as it is primarily a woman's occupation, *elima* songs are fre- 533 quently sung on gathering expeditions. As with hunting songs, the 789 *elima* songs are designed to attract the attention of the forest deity. [778] [776]

222 533 761 [771 779] and since the forest is benevolent the songs thus are thought to secure protection. In point of fact they do, for the throaty chorus of even two or three Mbuti women is enough to scare away any game. When not singing the women beat their hands together, shout or talk loudly to each other, for the same purpose. I know of only one woman injured while gathering. She was alone, which was the first mistake, and the first question asked when news came back to camp that she had been attacked by a buffalo was the apparently surprising one, "Was she not singing?" She was not, nor was she "talking to the forest," and that was her second mistake, the consequence of which was death. The Mbuti are practical enough to recognize the "noise" value of song, but they see more in it than that.

262 When the Mbuti are near a source of plantation foods and can acquire them by one means or another, then their daily diet is largely vegetable. The meal taken before going hunting and the snack on the hunt are both likely to be entirely vegetarian, meat being eaten only at the evening meal. Even then it may be served with one or another [222] vegetable. Even when the Mbuti are far away from a supply of village foods and living entirely on the forest they still rely heavily on vegetable foods, and gathering must be considered at least equally important with hunting as a subsistence activity. From what I was able to see, this is true among the archers as well as among the net-hunters. It is also true that throughout the forest the supply of forest vegetable foods, though varying, is constant and sufficient, frequently ample. If there is any time when there is a greater abundance than at other times, it is during the honey season.

HONEY

221
222 Falling approximately in the middle of our calendar year, and lasting a full two months, the honey season is of vital importance to the Mbuti not only from a nutritional point of view but structurally. [621 579] We have already seen how at this time the net-hunting bands split up into minimal sections, separating hostile or factious elements and consolidating existing friendships, so that when the band re-forms it will have resolved most of the internal dissensions built up over the previous year, on the whole reaffirming old loyalties but always asserting some that are new. The archer band, normally segmented, joins together during the honey season in what is essentially the same process. It is significant that the honey season should be marked

It is significant that the honey season should be marked
among the Mbuti by a special type of song, musically distinct from 221
the other types, and by a ritual dance involving ritual use of fire. I 222
have seen this dance throughout the forest, and heard the same dis- 533
tinctive honey song, the latter being made all the more distinct by the 535
use of special wooden clappers called *ngbengbe* by the net-hunters of [372]
the Epulu region, *epopo* or *koko* by the archers further east. [534]
[192]

Many different kinds of honey are recognized, and each has its own 222
distinctive taste. All that I tasted were exceptionally sweet except for [114]
the *apuma* honey, which is very liquid and highly fermented by the
time it is collected late in the season. Most honey is found high up in
boles in the upper branches of the tallest trees. This is always col- 221
lected by men and youths who can climb trees, unless the diameter is 481
too great, simply by exerting lateral pressure on the trunk with their arms while they move their feet up, pulling themselves close to the trunk with a jerk as they move their arms up. If a tree is too wide to climb this way, they may loop a vine around it, holding the ends with their hands, or they may climb a smaller tree nearby and jump across where the branches meet higher up. Hollow trunks or branches are used by bees as hives.

Other honey is found a few feet above ground level, again in a hol- 222
low tree trunk, and this is the only kind of honey, except for the rare [192]
sundu, which is found in the ground, that a woman may collect.

The actual collecting procedure is the same. If the entrance to the hive is small, it has to be widened with an ax. Then a leaf tube in which there are smoldering embers is introduced into the hole, and by blowing through the other end, the Mbuti fills the hive with smoke and drives out the bees. Most of the bees do not sting at all, and those that do sting do not seem to cause any great pain. Even before they have all left the hive the collector puts his arm in and pulls out handfuls of honey, eating it on the spot, sharing it with friends who may be helping him. When they have had their fill they throw down what
is left to those waiting below. If by themselves, they fill a special bark [415]
honey container or a basket lined with leaves, and bring the rest back
to camp. There it is shared by all, either being eaten in the comb or 262
warmed in leaf containers over the fire. If it is full of white maggots it is particularly prized, and will almost certainly be warmed to loosen the honey until the maggots wriggle, at which point it is consumed with relish.

If the honey is very dirty, full of rotten bark or leaf mold, it is 262
wrapped in a leaf container and immersed in water. When it is pulled 252

262 out the liquid that drains from it (*kombo*) is caught in leaf cups and
252 drunk. Never is any honey wasted, never is it kept or used in the preparation of other foods; what is not consumed on the spot is eaten or drunk the moment it is brought back into camp.

261 There is a craving for honey during the season that never seems to
262 be satisfied. No amount of alternative foods, even meat, can reduce
222 this passion for honey. Each band has its own way of listening for
[825] the telltale sound of bees swarming. Among some, a leaf is rubbed
between the hands, which are then rubbed across the forehead to enable the hunter to see the bees high up in their hives. I found this practice among the eastern archers. Elsewhere, throughout the net-hunting
[184] region and also among the western archers, at least, the chameleon
[825] (*ameuli*) is believed to lead the Mbuti to honey by uttering a long-drawn-out throaty cry. Chameleons, however, are not known to be
[136] capable of making any such noise, and the noted ornithologist Dr. James Chapin claims to have tracked this weird sound down to the *Sarothrura elegans*, a bird with a skinny pouch in its neck that enables it to give an unbroken wail lasting fifteen seconds or more.

221 But most noticeable among a people who take the success of
222 hunting and gathering so much for granted is the presence of honey-
53 collecting magic, and an inordinate emphasis on song and dance,
789 legend-telling and other recreational activities. There is no doubt that whatever else it may be, the honey season is also a festive season where celebration is the order of the day, even at the cost of a relatively empty stomach.

221 Some activities are purely recreational, such as spinning tops made
222 of nut sections, and gambling with dried seeds thrown on the ground
524 to make up a total number that is a multiple of four. Others are edu-
[525] cational, and in particular the honey swing is for training youngsters
[868] in agility at heights, as are the informal contests at climbing dangling vines. The honey swing is suspended from two high branches, so that it has a long, powerful arc. The youths line up and one jumps into the bend of the vine that forms the seat and sets the swing in motion. As the swing moves backwards, a youth runs forward, catching onto the side of the vine, giving it added momentum. As it carries him off the ground, he throws his legs forward and up over his head and into the swing just as the previous occupant jumps to the ground.

The younger children also play with smaller swings, and they have their own game of climbing saplings until there are so many of them that the young tree bends to the ground. The children then leap to

the ground, and any who are timid or slow get whisked back into the 221
air again as the sapling rebounds, and are much laughed at for their 222
failure. 524

The tug-of-war separates the sexes, and although it is primarily an 221
adult game, youths and children sometimes join in. However, it is 222
likely to become rough, and youngsters are not encouraged. A man 524
may, and sometimes does, pull on the side of the women, to make a 562
better match, but he may also go to their side as if to help and then start pulling in the opposite direction. It is then up to the women to decide whether they are better off continuing to pull, or whether it is worth their while for two or three of them to attack the man. They themselves will sometimes leave their side and go to the men's side and simply try and pull them away from the vine rope. No restrictions were evident, and each contest continued until the complete collapse of one side or the other. If anything, among the Epulu net-hunters the women seemed to win more frequently. An immense amount of energy was dissipated in this way, yet one tug-of-war would follow another for sometimes as long as an hour.

The division of sexes visible in this contest, and the same implied 221
symbolic conflict, was also visible in the *ekokomea* dance which I 222
saw among the Epulu net-hunters during two honey seasons; but 562
I have also seen the dance in the same band during the course of a 535
molimo festival. I found it to be known among all other bands I 831
visited, though I never actually saw it practiced among the archers. With these other bands it is said to be danced on occasions of great importance to the band, such occasions not being specified.

Ekokomea involves a reversal of the sexes, and everyone from the oldest to the youngest may take part. Usually the children follow the youths and adults and imitate the dance on their own. Women put heavy objects in the bark cloth between their legs and stride along in a way that emphasizes the swinging motion of their "genitalia." The men indicate their assumed female sex by performing divers actions typical only of women, often pretending to clean their private parts as women do. Both men and women, but mainly men, may take a leaf or a small strip of bark cloth or skin, make a slit in it, and proudly display it, occasionally putting a finger through the slit so as to leave the symbolism in no doubt.

The dance begins spontaneously, without preparation, with two or three individuals assuming the reversed roles and marching in line from hut to hut, singing, "*Ekokomea*." No satisfactory translation

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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221
222 of the word was ever given to me; it simply refers to an elbow, a
562 chicken or a fallen tree, according to pronunciation. It is pronounced
535 all ways, and all forms of translation are given, stories being invented
831 ad lib to explain the dance.

As people come out of their huts or leave their hearths to join in the line, the movements get more and more suggestive and rhythmic, and when the line is complete couples will break away and dance into the center and there imitate the act of copulation according to their reversed roles, while the others dance around, singing and laughing loudly. Each couple tries to outdo the others in exaggeration and suggestiveness, and just about every conceivable abnormal situation is imitated, dogs, chickens, children, even infants being dragged into the act if they are within reach.

P [522] The end of the dance is the usual near-hysterical laughter that is brought on by any form of exaggerated mime or storytelling, with the dancers rolling on the ground and clapping their hands to show their amusement. As soon as this has subsided the dance is likely to start all over again for a second or even a third time.

Ekokomea, however, is by no means danced every day, even during
P the honey season; more than once or twice a week would be rather
965 frequent. It is similar during the *molimo*. So throughout the year the
C dance is not likely to take place in any one band more than a dozen
585 times. This is one dance that I have seen danced both in the forest and
in the village. It is never danced by the villagers, who regard it as a sign
186 of Mbuti depravity, but who nonetheless watch it with the greatest pleasure. The older Mbuti say it would not be danced in the village, but even to them either its exact significance is not clear or else it is something they were unwilling to discuss.

P
221 Much more directly connected with the honey season is a mimetic
222 dance in which the men enact the honey gatherers, the women the
535 bees. The men form a line and dance around the camp as though going through the forest looking and listening for bees. Parallel to them, and sometimes on the verge of the camp or even in the forest, is a line of women. The men sing a honey song, the women buzz like bees. When the men pretend they find the honey and are about to take it, the women descend on them and beat the burning embers they carry above the men's heads so that the sparks fall on them—stinging them like bees, they say. This is often followed by a good-natured fight which may develop either into the tug-of-war or *ekokomea*.

000 Because of the rarity of ritual performances there is one which

Because of the rarity of ritual performances there is one which should be mentioned here, though it seems unique and known only to 222 net-hunters as far as I could ascertain. The ritual involves the build- 372 ing of a fire, with much greater care and concern than the hunting fire 789 or the *molimo* fire, and it is believed specifically that the correct per- 796 formance of this ritual will lead the Mbuti to honey and/or bring the [184] bees, and their honey, closer to the Mbuti. A full description is given in the section on religion and magic (pp. 231–33). Here it need only be said that the preparations, including the digging of small trenches for water and the use of special woods and leaves, are designed to give the maximum amount of smoke. The lighting of the fire is accom- [534] panied by blowing on the *madé** (efe: *segbe*) whistles, through which water is first poured.

All being taken into consideration, the relative lack of magic or 105 ritual associated with food quest, the lack of interest shown in certain 22 readily available forms of food supply such as fish, and the lack of food 262 taboos all confirm the abundance of forest foods and the adequacy of Mbuti technology. This is important in considering the over-all economic system.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TERRITORY

131 While the environment does not, through areas of shortage or 621 abundance, determine the location of hunting bands, it does provide 628 natural boundaries which form convenient borders between each hunting band. The total territory is more than ample for the total population, and the even distribution of game and vegetable foods means that there are no preferential areas that might make for rivalry between one band and the next. There is, in any case, a safety factor in that the bands are arranged side by side, in several vast circles, in the center of each of which the boundaries are so loosely drawn that there is effectively a no-man's-land, in which anyone may hunt and where bands occasionally, though rarely, may come in contact with each other.

The only territory to be considered, then, is that of the individual hunting band. This is again, in all cases except possibly the area

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* The *madé* is a conical pipe, open at both ends, made of two hollowed-out cross-sections cut lengthwise, bound together either by *nkusa* twine or by strips of vine. The pouring of water, which is comparable to the pouring of water through the *molimo* trumpet (see Chapter 14) may have ritual significance, but is explained invariably and unhesitatingly as being necessary simply to get a better sound. It swells the wood and binds the sections closer to each other.

131 621 628 bounded by Beni, Mambasa, and Irumu, more than sufficient for the economic needs of any band, however large. The size of the band is determined more by hunting technology than by territorial food-producing capacity, but each territory does provide, within itself, a means of regulating the internal movement of the band or its subsections.

621 224 166 131 Game, while not migratory in the wider sense, nonetheless tends to move about from one part of the forest to another nearby part, as it temporarily exhausts one area of supply after another. The game itself is in this respect comparable to the band, which similarly is forced to move, not only as it gathers out an area but also as it hunts it out. The same topographical barriers that provide natural boundaries to the Mbuti also often provide natural boundaries to the game, and so in any one hunting territory there is a definite pattern to the movement of both Mbuti and game, the one following the other. The Mbuti may break the pattern either by eating village foods or by abandoning one section of their territory for another, for there may be several "game territories" within one hunting territory.

621 131 There are then general economic aspects of territory that influence the movement and division of the hunting band, but they in no way compel it into one specific pattern or another. Far more important is the simple fact of the ample economic self-sufficiency of each hunting territory, and the fact that this is a factor recognized, appreciated and utilized by the Mbuti.

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ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HUNTING BANDS

131 It is only extremely rarely that one band has any kind of economic relationship with its neighbors, and the nature of the relationship depends entirely on the context. As already observed, while there is a recognized custom of not crossing into another band's territory, this may be done if that band is nowhere in the vicinity. The likelihood of this happening depends on the nature of the boundary (how easily it may be traversed) and the nature of the quarry. It is unlikely that any but the most desirable game would be pursued. If such game is caught, however, then a share of it is due to the band in whose territory it was killed. While it would be unusual for one band to inform another of such good fortune, if discovered there is no hesitation at sharing in the prescribed way.

9: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

The movement of bees seems to be somewhat less even than that of 628
game in the Ituri Forest, and it sometimes happens during the honey 222
season that one hunting territory may have a glut of honey while a 131
neighboring territory has a scarcity. In that case the less fortunate band will either poach, and hope not to get caught and so have to share, or else it will ask permission to camp on foreign territory. In the latter case there will probably be an exchange of residents between the two bands, the host band thus being able to insure its rights. (As [621]
often as not, due to the composite nature of the bands, the en- [602]
croaching band will have among its female or even its male members a relative, if not an original member, of the resident band. However, the loyalty of such individuals is divided, and is generally given to their present hunting band; otherwise undiscovered poaching would be impossible.)

The camps are generally as far apart as possible, unless the en- 621
croaching band is small, or a mere subsection that is tentatively seek- 628
ing a re-alignment with the resident band. Similarly with hunting, 224
joint hunting camps are exceptional, and to my own knowledge oc- 476
cur only if there is a common desire to hunt elephants which may be in one or both territories. The purpose of such joint hunts generally [439]
involves village economics, in particular the supply of ivory to the villagers. In itself elephant-hunting demands only a handful of men at the most, and more than one dead elephant would be an *embarras de richesses*, to say the least.

It is not surprising, then, that there are no institutionalized means 438
of regulating economic relationships between bands. Such co-opera- 628
tion as does occur is completely outside the normal economic frame of reference. There is certainly no exchange of goods or food between bands, except insofar as a visiting family generally brings with it some meat, honey, nuts or mushrooms to share with their hosts. Each territory not only provides a sufficiency of food but an equally ample sufficiency of all the other material necessities of life.

The only true economic relationship that persists between bands 621
is concerned with maintaining each territorial band at its optimum 628
economic strength of composition. The overenlargement of one band and the diminution of another leads to a relocation of some of the families of the larger band in the territory of the smaller. Owing to the constant flux in composition, however, this is only a temporary relationship between two temporary populations, and does not in-

621 volve any reciprocal rights or obligations, the increased efficiency of
628 each band being the reward of each.

P 439 ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BAND AND VILLAGE

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121 This has already been dealt with to some extent, and has been seen
C to involve a question of mutual convenience rather than of economic
439 necessity. What needs to be emphasized, perhaps, is that there can in
621 effect be an effective economic relationship only between a territorial
121 band and a territorial village, without regard to the composition of
C either. The territorial village is likely to be far more consistent in
[611] composition, moving less frequently, less far and less at random than
[591] the band, and above all *following* a clearly patrilineal/patrilocal system
of descent and marriage. Any village, then, may be said to be in an
economic relationship with any hunting band whose territory includes
that village. In addition, it may have a relationship with other bands
whose territories are sufficiently close to allow easy exchange.

P The band is similarly in relationship with a village or villages according
439 to territorial considerations. Within that band each individual
621 will also have personal-exchange relationships with his villager
608 *karé* brother, with his *kpara*, and with any other individual villager in
571 the local village if neither his *karé* nor his *kpara* are there. He may
maintain any, all or none of these individual relationships as it pleases
him; there is no institutional means of compelling him one way or
the other from either the band or the village. He decides entirely in
terms of his own needs, those of his family and the general needs of
the band. If he finds himself in conflict with the band then he either
forms a subsection with two or three others or he goes to visit another
P band. Generally, however, a band tolerates complete individualism in
[156] this respect. The obligation to share, however, does not apply to village
foods. Any Mbuti who does not enter into an exchange relationship
with a villager, or who does not steal what he wants, goes
without unless his relatives or friends voluntarily offer him of their
own.

P The decision of the individual Mbuti often shows rather more fore-
439 thought than is shown or called for in his other economic activities.
608 The probable length of absence of or from his *karé* or *kpara* is taken
571 into consideration. If an Mbuti has a particularly generous exchange
partner, he will, in that partner's absence, maintain at least nominal

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exchange with his partner's next of kin. If his partner is within a day's 439
walk or two he may visit him briefly, bringing a suitable gift of meat 608
with him. Even on returning to his *kpara's* village, an Mbuti may 571
maintain exchange with a generous villager elsewhere.

There is no system of equivalents, only the obligation to reciprocate. P
Indeed it is doubtful if we can really even talk of it as theft when the 439
Mbuti raid a plantation and carry off what they want, back to the 978
forest, without leaving anything for the villagers, whom they may or 648
may not even know. The villagers recognize their need of the Mbuti C
if they are to be spared the necessity of going into the forest them- 439
selves. They also recognize that the territory, even that on which the 829
village and plantation are built, was formerly, and in a sense still is, 648
all Mbuti territory, and that they therefore have special privileges.
When a raid takes place, the established villagers assume that a reciprocal presentation of forest foods, other forest products, or of service will be made at a future date.

On the village side, *karé* and *kpara* relationships may well operate C
and persist over long periods of time if the individuals are wise and 608
just. If they are not, then the same relationships, in village society, 571
afford an institutional means of regulating the situation with any [626]
other villagers with whom the Mbuti may take up. Among the Mbuti
no such considerations or mechanisms pertain.

In the latter days of Belgian administration, when increasing de- C
mands were made upon the villagers to produce certain cash crops 177
and to supply labor, the villagers found themselves in correspondingly 464
greater need of Mbuti labor to help them with their plantation work. 241
Demands would be made of a whole band to come and camp near the 563
plantation for several weeks on end, to help with the sowing or the 648
harvesting. The demand would be made by the village chief or head- P
man to the appointed "*capita*" or "*sultani*"[*] of the Mbuti band. Once 648
notified, the band then decided the matter by common discussion, 621
any dissenters being free to leave and go their own way without any 571
attached stigma. The considerations involved in arriving at a decision 464
were entirely practical and material, and a decision always stood ready to be reversed at a moment's notice if it was found not to be in the favor of the band.

The work entailed on the plantation in no way involved groups P
comparable to those formed in hunting or gathering activities; con- 177*
sequently in the village a different set of interpersonal relationships 571

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[*] These terms derive from the Belgians and the Arab slave traders, respectively.

*177 exists among the Mbuti, and mutual obligations that exist in the for-
571 est are no longer practicable and so are no longer considered as bind-
[439] ing. Generally there is a fractioning into individual family or even
smaller elements, each individual or family having a villager exchange
+177 partner. However, some villagers with larger and more productive
571 plantations, or with other assets (such as the blacksmith), may at-
476 tract a number of Mbuti who thus form a temporary co-operative group while in the village. Any such bonds formed are purely of the moment and in that context, and are shed immediately on return to the forest. For the moment, however, they are real and binding, falling
+177 under village sanctions and even to some extent subject to village
627 jurisdiction. To this latter, however, the Mbuti only submit so far as
648 it is convenient. In a case of inter-Mbuti dispute in the village context, the litigants are likely, for personal and individual reasons, to accept villager arbitration. In the case of a dispute between an Mbuti and a villager, however, it will be the convenience of the band that is considered as well as that of the individual.

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ECONOMIC AUTHORITY

621 Such organization as exists for economic purposes arises in direct
121 response to the immediate demands of the present context. It is constant only as long as the context is constant, and any continuity derives from contextual continuity, not from any hardening of traditional arteries or inherited patterns of leadership or behavior. The only structural aspects of the economy that persist in other realms are those related to the principles of territory and age.

121 Ecological and technological considerations determine the general
433 pattern of subsistence activities, hunting and gathering; this pattern
438 is modified according to the desire of the Mbuti for village luxuries
*177 or to the pressure put upon them by their villager neighbors. As any of these considerations changes, so does the pattern. There is no attempt to control or dominate either the geographical or human environment.

571 Insofar as organization is in the nature of a response, then, leader-
121 ship is minimal, in the economic realm. All major decisions are taken
621 by common consent, as in other realms of Mbuti life. Men and
554 women have equal say, hunting and gathering being equally impor-
[illegible] tant to the economy. Young married couples and youths have the most to say, being the most active hunters and gatherers, but while ability as a hunter carries some weight, too much ability may lead to

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ridicule. That is, a man who displays himself as a great hunter, and 121
boasts of his achievements too loudly, is somewhat distrusted, and 621
any attempt on his part to use his reputation to gain more say than 554
others will lead immediately to ridicule.

One other consideration determines the extent of influence of a 571
man or woman in economic matters, and that is their knowledge of 554
the territory. Thus, no matter how deserving of respect as hunters, a
visiting Mbuti family who do not know the territory well will have
little to say regardless of their kinship, age or other considerations.
They will nonetheless be expected to take part in discussions.

It is not possible to talk of organization of economic relations with 621
other bands, for such relationships are so rare and diverse. And insofar 439
as the exchange relationship between the Mbuti and the villagers is an [438]
individual one, there is little call for organization or leadership there [628]
either. When there is call for a joint decision concerning the village, [571]
even if it does not directly concern hunting and gathering but, say,
the desire of the villagers for entertainment for a wedding feast, or for
harvest labor in the plantations, it is still treated by the Mbuti as a
hunting issue and it is the same people, the younger married couples,
who have the most say. It is made clear in Mbuti discussions con- 621
cerning a projected move to a village camp that, for them, the village 166
is regarded as another hunting ground. A move villageward of the
whole band is to be considered in terms of the amount of energy and
the nature of the effort to be expended, and of the consequent, prospective rewards.

The same pattern of organization and leadership pertains only in 621
the making of the decision, however. From the moment of arrival in the village, the band ceases to operate as such and will only assemble for general discussion, in the forest manner, when contemplating a return to the forest, or if it is deemed profitable to organize a hunt for the specific intent of securing meat for the villagers.

It is only in the village, then, that the nuclear family can really 621
be considered as a separate economic identity (this is particularly 594
true of the net-hunters, rather less so for the archers). In the realm
of forest subsistence the individual and the family are subordinated
to the band or, perhaps better, become immersed in the band, for
they almost lose their identity. Family membership is of no consequence in determining economic responsibility; age and territoriality
are the more important factors. Any tendency toward charismatic 554
leadership is countered by ridicule, and any persistence on the part of 157
the hunter may lead to his being given the job of representing the

554 band to the village as its *capita* or *sultani*. In the Epulu band, Njobo
157 was an undisputed great hunter, knew the territory as well as anyone
554 and had killed four elephants single-handed. He was a good enough
157 Mbuti not to attempt to dominate any hunting discussion in the
156 forest, merely to take a normal part. If he ever appeared to be overly
571 aggressive or insistent he was shouted down and ridiculed, although
highly popular. He was also the one chosen to represent the band to
[578] the villagers. Ekianga, on the other hand, was less generally popular
and was the source of some friction, having three wives (one the sister
of another prominent member of the band), but he was a fine
hunter, endowed with exceptional physical stamina, and he too knew
the territory well. Even at the height of his unpopularity he was one
of the most effective "leaders" of the hunt. So was Nikiabo, a youth
who had achieved some notoriety by killing a buffalo when barely out
of childhood. Although a bachelor, he had a net of his own and took
a prominent part in all hunting discussions. Makubasi, a young married
hunter, was also accorded special respect because of his hunting
prowess and his physical strength, combined with his knowledge of
the territory. But while these four can be singled out as exceptional,
they could either separately or together be outvoted by the rest of the
hunters. On such occasions they were compelled either to give their
assent to the popular decision or to refrain from joining the hunt that
day. None of them had the slightest authority over any others. Nor
was any moral pressure brought to bear in influencing a decision
through personal considerations or respect. The only such moral consideration
621 ever mentioned was that when the band arrived at a decision,
571 it was considered "good," and that it would "please the forest."
798 Anyone not associating himself with the decision was, then, likely to
displease the forest, and this was considered "bad." Any individual
intent on strengthening his own argument might appeal to the forest
on grounds that his point of view was "good" and "pleasing"; only
the ultimate general decision, however, would determine the validity
of his claim.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that while the forest is appealed to
almost as an arbiter, and is considered as imposing the standards and
even the leadership, which all Mbuti follow, this only holds good in
the forest, where the forest directly "feeds its children." Once in the
[183] village, actions concerning the village are never judged by whether or
not they are pleasing to the forest; a totally different set of values
*[171] pertains.

[P.181]

CHAPTER 11

Government: Internal

INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

Before attempting to understand the over-all system of government 621
in Mbuti society, it is necessary to distinguish between different fields 121
of authority, for each field of activity has its own leaders, drawn from 571
a particular segment of the community. It is in this way that authority 554
is dispensed throughout the band; every adult is accorded special
respect in one field or another, but none can claim respect in all fields.
Individual authority is unthinkable, and not only are there no chiefs [622]
or headmen in Mbuti society; there are not even any councils of [623]
elders or any ritual specialists such as prophets or diviners. Such [791]
adults as have respect in any particular field at any particular moment
do not even have any authority; they can merely claim to be heard.
Their decision is likely to be given general assent and, as in economic
matters, that decision is then said to be "good," and "pleasing" to
the forest. The forest personified as a benevolent divinity remains 778
as the only recognized authority, one which sometimes expresses its 571
feelings with unmistakable clarity; an excessive storm, falling trees, 787
poor hunting and ill health may all be taken as signs of displeasure,
while good weather and good health and good hunting are indications
that all is well. But often the forest remains silent. Then the
Mbuti have to sound its feelings out through discussion. Dreams
may be taken into account, but there is no question of waiting for
visible signs of the forest's pleasure. The delegation of authority is 778
clear; the decision of the whole band, the very fact of unanimity, 571
is sufficient sign of the favor of the forest. There is always diversity [829]
of opinion, freely expressed, but prolonged disagreement is considered [192]
as "noise," and offensive to the forest. Unanimity, therefore, is
a powerful and positive value, equated with the opposite to noise—
quiet, or *ekimi*.

554 121 The various fields in which we can speak of authority fall into three main categories—economic, ritual, and legal. In the first two, by authority is meant prominence of activity and participation in discussion in what is, generally, a normal situation. In the last category, legal, the situation is abnormal, one of dispute, and by authority is meant prominence in the settling of that dispute. Nowhere does it have any validity unless backed by common assent. Yet it is more than mere influence, for in each field certain classes of individuals are recognized as having the right and ability to interpret the pleasure of the forest.

554 561 [562] Table 8[1] indicates the distribution of this "authority" throughout the band. It will be seen that it is evenly divided between the sexes and among all adult age levels; only the children are not accorded any authority except among themselves. Further, authority is located at one age level or another or with the nuclear family, with few exceptions. For the life crises (excluding birth), authority is divided between the youths and the elders. Youths and elders also share responsibility for the camp while the hunt is away, even if some of the hunters remain behind.

554 [668] There are many examples of Mbuti who have appeared in the role of leader vis-à-vis the village, but as their authority was nil in relation to forest life, they need not concern us here. Their only function in the forest, other than their normal role as hunters, was to communicate the wishes of the one group of people to the other.

554 156 572 626 627 The only individual who might be recognized as occupying a special political position in the life of the hunting band, on any ground other than age, is the camp clown. He is usually a hunter, and his position is unofficial, depending on his abilities as an actor and a clown. He is not appointed, and there is no special name for him or his position. However, every band seems to have its clown. His function is to act as a buff between disputants, deflecting the more serious disputes away from their original sources, absolving other individuals of blame by accepting it himself. Frequently he will end a dispute simply through the use of ridicule, and although such ridicule may be taken as a form of judgment, the essential point is that once again its objective is to divert attention from the source of the dispute and also to divert blame from anyone who is clearly in the wrong. The major concern of all, except possibly the prime disputants, is that the dispute shall be ended, and frequently by creating or reviving another, lesser dispute the clown brings the disputants into the same frame of mind.

[1] [see page 330-- Analyst]

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Everyone recognizes that the slightest rift in the band can lead directly to hunger through failure in economic co-operation.

The clown, however, never passes judgment or exerts authority (except through ridicule); he is better considered, in this role, as a professional scapegoat, a person outwardly not deserving respect or authority. Because of his antics, and the Mbuti love of mime, he is popular, but the blame he takes upon himself is often expressed with feeling, and it is only his ability to turn ridicule upon himself and to laugh at himself that rescues him from what would otherwise be constant opprobrium. His status as a hunter is unaffected by his role as a clown, and depends solely on merit. 554 592 157 156 [626]

There is one type of person, however, and there were two examples in the Epulu band, who leans toward the assumption of individual authority. Every Mbuti is nothing if not a powerful individualist who expresses his opinions with force and clarity. But he generally does not claim any support for his opinions other than his own experience and ability. Some men, because of exceptional hunting skill, may come to resent it when their views are disregarded, but if they try to force those views they are very promptly subjected to ridicule. Ekianga and Njobo were two such hunters in the Epulu band. Ekianga was constantly being ridiculed for his matrimonial difficulties (he was a rare Mbuti, with three wives, living in the same camp with his in-laws by sister exchange). Even his elder sister ridiculed him at times. Njobo was sometimes rather unkindly ridiculed for infertility. Out of four successive wives he only managed to sire one child, a son, who became crippled in adolescence with tuberculosis of the leg. His current wife had given birth to a daughter who out of politeness was generally accepted as Njobo's, though all the evidence pointed in other directions. He was, at least, accredited as the social father. 554 156 157 [555] [626] [595] [593] [626] 156 554 842

Of the two, Ekianga probably had the more influence in the band, and his unique position as a polygamist was undoubtedly related to both his prowess and his pride. There is, however, no parallel with the situation acutely described by Lévi-Strauss (1955, pp. 325–39) for the Nambikwara. Ekianga was indeed a potential leader, but the band did not derive its major characteristics from him. Still less was generosity demanded of him (in return for his three wives), and by no means was his undoubted dynamism contrasted by a passivity of the rest of the band. Nonetheless, his three wives and all the consequent "noise" were accepted by the band, and although it was not spoken of as an exchange, it was expected of Ekianga that he would be a 554 156 157 595

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157 particular asset in the hunt. This was his world. He had little or no interest
[595] in the village.

Njobo, on the other hand, was excellent at dealing with the village and seemingly enjoyed it, for brief periods. He was much closer to the Nambikwara, who "delights in responsibility" and who "finds enough reward in those burdens that their fellows shy away from" (*ibid*).
554 Although his wives were successive, it is worth mentioning that his
156 penultimate wife, mother of his crippled son, was not remarried and
593 was still considered by all, including Njobo, as his senior wife. Although she lived with her natal band, she sometimes visited Njobo (particularly when he was in the village), and he also visited her, at which times they acted in all respects like man and wife. Njobo refused to allow her to live with him in the forest hunting camps.

156 Njobo's father, Biyonga, had not been outstanding in any way. He
554 had been dead a number of years, and nobody seemed to remember
555 him for any particular qualities.[1] Njobo, on the other hand, was
157 among the finest hunters, and unique in having killed, single-handed,
[224] four elephants. He had also participated in successful communal elephant and buffalo hunts, and apart from being a hunter of the utmost courage, he was also a man of the utmost integrity. He possessed, in abundance, all those qualities the Mbuti admire most except a good singing voice. He himself was modest, and usually self-effacing in the
[648] hunting camp. He came to the fore in relations with the village, and frequently acted as "headman" of the band in that respect. However,
156 if ever he spoke too loudly in camp, he was either shouted down or
152 laughed at; ridicule he accepted and even welcomed. I only heard him
554 make a retort once, when reference was made to his son's inability to walk without a stick. He said, "It is never good for one man to talk too much, particularly if he is right. But if an Mbuti has something to say, what else can he do?"

156 Njobo had no brothers, but his sisters had produced a number of
604 children, several of whom, married and single, were members of the
596 same band. The only sister who was in the band was a widow, and her children were elsewhere. She acted as mother to all her nephews and nieces, among which were two youths, cousins to each other, and each recently married. When Njobo was away from the band for a

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[1] Although there was a general reluctance to mention the dead by name, or even to talk about them, there was no rigid prohibition. It was a question more of there being no particular occasion for such mention. If Biyonga had been exceptional in any way, it would certainly have arisen sooner or later in ordinary conversation, and equally certainly in response to questioning.

When Njobo was away from the band for a 156
number of months with his son, these two nephews moved in. Normally 604
they were not resident. Asuku brought not only his wife but 592
also his father. He insisted on Njobo's wife looking after them, building
their hut and so forth. Although Asuku was not liked, he would [554]
have been tolerated had he not tried to assume the status of Njobo, [571]
but this assumption moved him into an age group to which he did not [561]
belong, and he was consequently always being shouted down.

On one such occasion, Asuku was annoyed at the hunt for not 156
leaving as soon as he would have liked. He strode up and down, telling 152
everyone that they were lazy. When they shouted him down, he 578
told them he was Njobo's son, so "I *am* Njobo, and this is Njobo's 554
camp." When he was ignored he then turned from one great hunter
to the other, and they all ignored him except one, who placed a stick
on the ground at Asuku's feet and said, "There is a stick; if you are
so big, pick it up and hit me." Asuku then turned to the elders, and
Moké, the most influential of all, laughed in his face. At this, Asuku
entered his hut and stayed inside for the whole day until dark.

On another occasion Asuku tried to say that his net was Njobo's 156
net, and he was therefore entitled to Njobo's position in the hunt 554
and should not be out on the fringes. He had chosen a time when 422
his mother, Njobo's sister, was visiting, and the hunters did not want 578
to make a dispute of the matter in front of her, out of respect for
Njobo. However, one of them, Njobo's paternal cousin Manyalibo,
went up to Asuku and said that if Asuku wanted that position it
would mean setting his net next to him, and if that happened he
would set up his net alone rather than stay in the hunt. This temporarily 156
checked Asuku, and that evening old Moké gathered the 554
senior hunters around him and, for once not smiling, he raised his 558
arm and pointed across the camp to Asuku. This is considered a grave 627
indictment, and the whole camp fell silent. Moké, very quietly, and 201
talking as if only to the hunters but never lowering his arm or taking
his eyes off Asuku, said, "That is a completely bad man. I have been
watching and I have seen with my eyes, and my spirit [*roho*] makes
me speak. He makes noise all the time, and he is the cause of all the
noise in the camp. I would like to throw him out forever. But he is
a relative of Njobo, and we should wait and see—and watch. That
person is a child and has no right to share conversation with men. He
is not of us. He comes from far off. I don't like people from far off.
They are bad for any camp; they kill any camp completely." He then
changed his attention and pointed at Ekianga, the other hunter of

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554 renown, the man with a troublesome trio of wives, himself a frequent
558 cause of friction in the camp. Shaking his finger at Ekianga, Moké
627 said, "And that is a man, completely clean. He pleases my spirit
201 [*roho*] very much."

After the evening meal Moké stood in the middle of the camp and pointed to the hearth of each great hunter and male elder in turn, naming them, and saying, "This is my man, this is my hearth, for it is his hearth; but it is not Asuku's." He even pointed over to Cephu's camp, and included Cephu. He then went back to his hut, leaving Asuku at the central fire with two elders.

Despite this display of disaffection, however, Asuku remained on. He had not only been pointed at, but named in public, and another had been named as good while he had been named as bad—a double disgrace. Ridicule, after this, was pointless, and although everyone wanted to be rid of Asuku, their respect for Njobo, coupled with Njobo's continued absence, prevented them from doing more than ignoring the offender as far as possible. After some three months,
156 however, Asuku began to frequent the village for long periods. Although
629 this meant he was at least not in the camp, which was thereby
621 much improved, the hunters found this the ultimate insult and disloyalty.
648 When he refused a summons to return to the hunting camp,
554 old Moké once again stood in midcamp, an honored position from which any Mbuti, young or old, is free to claim the attention of everyone. He said that since now Asuku had become a villager, he was no longer an Mbuti, no longer "ours"; he belonged far away, very far away indeed. Pointing to the central fire in the section of the camp that included Njobo's wife and three great hunters, and divers others both related and unrelated, he said, "This is a matter of the forest. This is our hearth. It is Njobo's hearth. It is not Asuku's hearth. He belongs in the village or completely and absolutely far away."

156 There were murmurs of assent from everyone, and Moké looked
627 around to each individual hearth, asking, "Is my spirit [*roho*] right?"
Agreement was unanimous, though subdued, and Moké simply said,
"*Asi-to*"—"It is finished." The next day word was sent by a youth to
[202] Asuku's father, in the territory of Effundi Somali, a few miles on the far side of the Epulu. I was told that the youth simply gave a verbatim account of what had happened. Asuku never returned to the Epulu band, and left the village, returning to his father's territory.

156 His cousin, Mbaaka, was not such a stranger in the band, but soon
554 after his marriage, and some six months after the Asuku episode, he
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began more and more frequently to talk from midcamp. Like Asuku, 554
he complained about laziness and bad hunting, common enough 578
complaints but seldom aired from midcamp. When he began to claim 156
special attention by virtue of being Njobo's "son," however, he was 554
promptly ridiculed. People stopped listening to him, even from mid- 578
camp, and dared him to name them—a procedure that commands 558
attention. Even unmarried youths called out, "Your noise will kill us 152
all," and children began to imitate his whining voice. Masisi, a cousin (626)
of Njobo and, with Manyalibo, about to move from the status of
hunter to that of elder, took Mbaaka aside at one point and talked to
him quietly, recalling what had happened to Asuku.

Seeing that Mbaaka at last had begun to listen to reason, his 152
brother, who up till then had never interfered, made a loud and rude 156
joke that brought the whole camp down with laughter, then said, 626
"Everyone is crazy—I'm going to sleep," and promptly went to sleep. 522
Masisi then returned to midcamp with Mbaaka and said that if any- 554
one else tried to be funny he would turn himself into a villager and bewitch everyone. A youth took up the thread and said that the village was responsible for all the noise anyway, because his girl friend never listened to him any more and was a bad cook (a typical pygmaean non sequitur). This rather forced good humor persisted throughout the next day, with the women telling jokes and laughing loudly the moment the conversation drifted in the direction of Mbaaka's former complaints. There were a few more remarks to the effect that the village was indeed responsible for all the noise, and the rest of Mbaaka's stay (two further months) was unmarred by any repeated claims to privilege through kinship to Njobo.

It is plain, then, that while any movement toward individual au- 554
thority, conscious or otherwise, is sharply countered, and while in- 626
dividual authority is virtually nil, there is nonetheless a clear basic framework to support the values of the hunting band. There is the division of leadership, according to field, throughout the entire band, yet there is the midcamp site from which anyone may harangue all present. Although he has no means of compelling attention, it is generally accorded, and may be further compelled by pointing to or naming the individuals concerned. Further it is plain that the elders, in- 554
cluding those hunters whose position is being gradually taken over 627
by their children, act as final arbitrators, always careful to stress that [561]
what they say is a matter of their opinion, or of their heart. Only [778]
when unanimity is beyond question is an opinion or an action con-

627 sidered "pleasing to the forest." Asuku had placed himself, physically
[778] and morally, beyond the forest.

[152] In the two instances cited so far, although the kin relationship of
602 Asuku and Mbaaka to Njobo was the source of their claim to special
604 privileges, this was recognized as a village attitude, and a valid vil-
554 lage argument. It is noteworthy that the details of the relationship
were never spelled out once, except by Asuku and Mbaaka. The attitude of all the Mbuti was one of respect for Njobo, but of equal recognition of all those who shared the same central hearth, including some who were not even affines. It was stated very clearly by Moké
[621] that though Asuku was a member of the band by virtue of having
shared the same hearth, he had no more privileges than anyone else of that hearth, and was under the same obligations of respect and responsibility to his elders.

554 There was one other elder who could claim the same respect as
602 Moké, by reason of age, and that was Tungana. But Moké had the
added advantages of being a widower and virtually unrelated to any-
[608] one in the band. He claimed fictitious relationship with Tungana, it
being said that the same foster mother fed them both, and he frequently gave Tungana's "clan" name as being his own. Clan names
[614] were seldom mentioned in disputes, except in a village context, and
even then they in fact referred to a unit that was either nonlineal or cognatic, and not confined to one clan. Rather than differentiate be-
[621] tween lineal units, the Mbuti used the concept of the hearth (*kuma*).
[354] Each family had its own hearth, but there were also several central
hearths, each shared by a number of families.

602 Each camp, except the smallest, was distinguished by several such
621 central hearths, effectively breaking the camp into subcamps that
[354] usually revealed a line of fission or fusion, but which frequently ran
counter to all kinship considerations. As far as the Epulu band was concerned (and I believe this to be true of many other bands), authority was again, as with other aspects of life, more associated with age and territory than with kinship. Each section of the camp was,
621 in a limited sense, a political unit, and sometimes disputes would
578 remain confined to one section without spreading to others. A man
626 could invoke kinship or friendship to go to the aid of a disputant in
another section, if he wished, but somebody like Moké was even more free to wander wherever he liked. The rules of self-help among
[152] the Mbuti are quite simple. It is perfectly proper to hit someone with
anything wooden; it is not at all proper to draw blood, nor to hit any-

one on the forehead, which is considered a dangerous spot. In the 621
frequent marital disputes, any man who hits his wife on the head or 578
in the face promptly loses any sympathy he might have had from his 622
fellows. A dispute that follows such lines almost invariably ends [593]
with an elder, male or female, physically interposing himself between [522]
the disputants, who then revert to hurling abuse which becomes more and more exaggerated until it is so humorous that even they join in the laughter. Alternatively they may lapse into a sulk, which will last for the rest of the day and through the evening, but will be gone in ample time for the next day's hunt to take place as though nothing had happened.

If a dispute becomes widened in scope, however (and this is gen- 578
erally achieved by one of the disputants naming someone, either in 621
his own support or as a supporter of his antagonist), it will ultimately 626
involve the entire subsection of the camp, and quite possibly the whole camp. In either case the process is the same. Whatever the cause of the dispute, it is still regarded as essentially the concern of the individuals concerned. Rather than attempt a probably impossible reconciliation of the excited participants, the rest of the band joins in an effort to divert attention away from the actual cause of the dispute. If this fails, they attempt to dissipate the blame by raising all sorts of minor but associated disputes, so that a number of
people become involved. If blame still seems inescapable, the camp [522]
clown is likely to try and take it on himself, or else it will be put upon him by the others. The disputants, in my experience, accept this device as a genuine solution. There is no attempt whatsoever, nor have I heard of it in other bands, to make any restitution other than verbal.

As already mentioned, a dispute may be stopped simply by making life intolerable for the disputants by miming them and throwing them into ridicule. If these measures fail and the dispute persists, the hunting automatically suffers, and if no reconciliation is effected, the band splits, either forming two subsections or remaining as a single band, with the splinter section joining another band, at least temporarily.

Not only is the attachment of blame avoided or dissipated as rig- 627
orously as possible, and restitution largely ignored, but punishment is almost completely unknown. There are one or two instances where a youth might be thrashed by communal decision, but they are rare and foreign to Mbuti nature. Closer to an indigenous system of pun-

Closer to an indigenous system of pun-
627 ishment is the morning rampage of the youths' section of the *molimo*
[765] society. Disguised behind leafy branches they charge through the camp with the *molimo* trumpet on their shoulders, and attack the huts of any truly recalcitrant offenders. Even then, as a token of the responsibility of the entire camp, the youths attack *every* hut to some extent, taking a token leaf from every hut. And still in keeping with the notion of dissipating the blame, they are likely to give the worst beating to the hut of the disputant who is least to blame.

681 There are two threats that form the ultimate sanctions against
684 the most serious offenses. One is the threat of ostracism, for such crimes as incest, and this is spoken of as leaving the matter to the forest. Ostracism means refusing membership in the band. If one band does this, other bands are likely to follow suit, and the offender
688 will be left alone in the forest, and alone he will die. The other threat
765 is the direct threat of death, but this is reserved among the Epulu
533 Mbuti and other net-hunting bands uniquely for the crime of failure on the part of an adult male to sing (a crime sometimes conversely described as sleeping) during the *molimo* festival. The sacred singing takes place late at night, and its efficacy depends on participation of all the men and youths. It is said that anyone found sleeping (the only conceivable reason for not singing) would be killed with two spears in the stomach and buried beneath the *molimo* hearth. The women would simply be told he had gone away, or been taken by a leopard, and he would never be referred to again.

627 The different ways of dealing with a dispute depend so much upon
578 the context rather than upon the precise nature of the dispute that the legal process can best be illustrated by citing a number of cases. It will immediately be apparent that in the vast majority of instances there was no visible conclusion to the disputes at all; they evaporated as quickly as they arose. There were few instances where anything resembling a general opinion was expressed, and even fewer where any positive action was taken. The cases that follow, then, are classified according to the most common causes of dispute. Of such causes food and sex are by far the most common. Territorial disputes are confined to married couples with different territorial affiliations, but whereas food disputes are also largely found among the young (married) hunters, they are by no means always marital, but often between unrelated hunters or their wives, and occasionally among youths. Disputes concerning sex involve both the young married couples and youths, as do the everyday disputes over apparently

meaningless trivia. Such disputes I have put in a class by themselves, 627
though wherever a deeper underlying dispute was known to have lain 578
behind an apparently trivial dispute, it has been classified accordingly.

DISPUTES CONCERNING FOOD

1. A mortar was borrowed by Njobo's sister, Teningbengé, from 252
Amaloku, Amabosu's wife. There is no kin relationship. Teningbengé's 152
subsequent cooking did not please her son (Maipé, actually 578
her nephew), who complained that the mortar must have been dirty. Amaloku, who by then had retrieved the mortar, said that on the contrary it was the food put into the mortar that was dirty, and not the mortar itself. Maipé promptly seized a log of wood and started fighting with Amabosu. Amaloku and Teningbengé fought with sticks. Amabosu's mother, Sau, joined the fight, against her daughter-in-law's
oldest sister, old Asofalinda. The dispute remained thus confined and [626]
was watched with much enthusiasm and laughter by the rest of the camp until Ekianga, brother to Amaloku and Asofalinda, stepped in and stopped the fighting by seizing the sticks and logs and throwing them away. Everyone returned to his hut and continued the evening meal.

2. Masisi, a great hunter, complained that the hunting was bad 224
and said the band should move to the village and eat there. His 578
cousin, Manyalibo, moved to midcamp and began a tirade against Masisi and everyone else for always complaining there was not enough food. He cited ten antelope caught that morning as evidence of the good hunting, and said that everyone should be happy and should be making the forest happy by singing, with so much food. And if they wanted more food they should hunt more and make the hunt even better. He said that if Masisi's noise continued he was going to leave.

Moké then took his place and quietly told everyone that nobody 224
should leave for anywhere, that nobody could deny that the hunt was 626
reasonably good, and that therefore the forest was pleased. If they [578]
moved or made too much noise it would be displeased. The forest would be happy if the whole band were to set out the next day on
the biggest hunt of all. Then when the weather was better (it had [821
been raining for some days, always a cause of discontent and dis- 152
comfort) and nobody was making a noise, the whole band could move 166
wherever it liked (knowing that in such a mood it would move fur- 648]

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626 ther away from the village, and thus further away from a source of
[621] friction).
[158]
[165] There was no singing, but it was done as Moké suggested. Mur-
[148] murs of assent came from all over camp, with both Masisi and
Manyalibo agreeing loudly.

578 3. Particularly at the beginning of the honey season, when ten-
621 dencies to fission are already well marked, disputes over food, par-
221 ticularly over hunger attributable to poor hunting, are made occasions
for enlarging the rift between the camp segments. Thus one day old
578 Tungana's younger son, named after his distant relative Njobo, came
593 flying back from the hunt in hot pursuit of his wife, Nakoranja.
152 Nakoranja, much to everyone's surprise, had lost her bark cloth and
221 was holding a leaf in front of her private parts, occasionally removing
621 it to emphasize her cry of "I am naked!"

Having made her point she disappeared into her hut and modestly continued her description as to how her husband had torn her bark cloth off to shame her because she wanted to join her "sister" (who was a member of another segment), Ekianga's youngest wife. Young
[224] Njobo, standing outside the hut, told the camp that his wife was
useless on the hunt, that she could not run as fast as even the slowest animal and let them all escape. Now they had no food and they would be hungry all day. Evidently she could not run as fast as her husband either, for he had caught her and given her a sound beating, ripping off her bark cloth when she tried to escape. He did not deny this, and Nakoranja said that this entitled her to pack up and leave.

578 Evidently this was something that had been brewing for some
593 time, and when the hunt came back and it was seen that the dispute
621 was forming along the line of fission, Tungana intervened and said
166 that there was no sense in everyone making so much noise, that the next day he and his wife were going to leave for the village, and that young Njobo and Nakoranja were coming with them to look after them. The discussion immediately turned to the dangers of the trail, with the two segments siding with each other in common and equally insincere but polite opposition to Tungana's suggestion.

621 4. At a later stage, when fission became inevitable, discontent being
626 so high that the sections were not uniting in the hunt and therefore not getting any meat, old Moké intervened. He stood in midcamp and harangued each section in turn, facing it and naming its mem-
[221] bers. He emphasized that this was the honey season and that hunting
should be stopped anyway, and everyone go to the forest in search of their honey trees, "you in this direction, you in that."

their honey trees, "you in this direction, you in that." But Moké did 621
an unusual thing. He said it was all right for the camp to split, but 622
it would displease the forest if it split badly, and it was splitting badly ("*apa ndano abí sinema*"). Tungana had gone to the village; Masisi, siding with Tungana but not wanting to join him, was planning to go east, Ekianga to the north; Cephu was going to leave the territory altogether; and Manyalibo's head "walked without sense" (said in KiNgwana: "*kichwa yaké a na tembela wazi-wazi*") and he didn't know where he was going. This was all bad. For this was one camp, it was Kolongo's.

Kolongo had been dead some three years, and the names of the 621
dead are rarely mentioned. The whole camp fell silent, and very qui- 626
etly Moké recounted the history of the friendship between Kolongo 223
and Njobo, and how they used to hunt together and kill lots of ele- 762
phant and catch lots of antelope and how they always had full stomachs. "Kolongo never allowed noise, Njobo never allowed noise. Now there is nothing but noise, and we are hungry. Kolongo is dead, but that person there, Ekianga [Kolongo's younger brother] that person is now Kolongo. Njobo is not here, but that person and that person [Manyalibo and Masisi were indicated but not named] are Njobo. Let us all go our own ways and get lots of honey and sing honey songs and dance honey dances, then come back to one camp as before and hunt again."

The immediate bickering was stopped, and everyone agreed loudly 621
that Moké was indeed right. But as it turned out Manyalibo made 622
Moké's speech an excuse for siding with Ekianga in a hunting-honey 571
camp, and a deep rift opened up between the hitherto inseparable 578
cousins, Manyalibo and Masisi. Moké threw his lot in with Ekianga, in an effort to dissuade them from any grosser sacrilege, with exhortations to Masisi to make a good camp and gather lots of honey. Ekianga's eldest sister, her daughter, and Njobo's wife and some of his nephews and nieces joined Masisi, as did a young married nephew of Cephu, Kelemoké. Others joined Tungana, who prudently moved close to the village, where he could, by virtue of his age, claim gifts of food from all the sections and from his village *kpara*.

5. During the honey season, with the band divided into four sec- 621
tions, Masisi and Manyalibo were again at odds. Manyalibo, with 221
Ekianga and Moké and old Tungana, among others, formed a power- 224
ful section at the far northern extreme of the territory, and offended 578
Masisi's much smaller section by continuing to hunt. Masisi argued

621 [illegible] that this was not customary during the honey season, and was displeasing to the forest. He also added that as his section was too small to hunt, Manyalibo was under an obligation to send him a share of all the meat caught by his part of the band. At the same time he set about trying to encourage the usually unwanted Cephu to join him, and swell his section to an economic hunting size. Cephu, always unpredictable, refused, though he agreed to send three nets as a token of goodwill. He never did. These communications were made through a series of visits made by Kelemoké, Cephu's nephew, between the three sections. The fourth section was in the village, and did not enter the dispute.

629 621 Two neighboring bands, hearing[2] that (a) the Epulu territory was exceptionally well endowed with honey that year, and that (b) Masisi was looking for reinforcement, took advantage of the situation to trespass judicially in the southeastern extreme of the territory, well away from all the others. Their overtures, made in the one instance by a meeting on neutral ground, and in the other by a personal visit to Masisi's camp by Herafu, a distant affine, were coldly rejected, and they were told to leave the territory or there would be war. In each case they responded that the territory was not Masisi's, and that in any case they had rights to the territory through affinal ties. They added that in view of the surplus of honey Masisi was offending the forest by trying to steal it all for himself. [202] [712]

This put Masisi very much in the wrong. He then raised an issue, long known, to divert attention from himself. He pointed out to his own section that Manyalibo's camp had a drying rack in it, sure indication that he was trading with the village. This was a major crime, and two youths went to investigate. They found it indeed to be so, and without much argument Manyalibo offered them food to take back to Masisi. After a great deal of further argument, and threats by the youths that they would tell the rest of the villagers of what appeared to be a secret alliance between two of their members and Manyalibo's section, the youths were allowed to take all the meat they could see, and Manyalibo promised to send a net to his "brother" so he could hunt for himself. Two days later he did this. Attracted by the meat, Cephu sent two of his section to join Masisi, and eventually joined himself. The rift between Masisi and Manyalibo, however, remained, and they did not re-form in the same camp again that 222 224 621 578 [751] [628]

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[203] [2] News of this kind travels between bands via the villages, and through the constant exchange of visits between cognates and ffriends.

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year. While Manyalibo's crime was serious enough, desecrating the forest in the honey season by hunting for the villagers, Masisi's was equally, if not more, serious, in his attitude to the trespassing bands. The night before Cephu joined him, Masisi was made the subject of discussion, from the middle of his own camp, by several youths and young hunters. They all asserted the right of their in-laws to enter their own territory, to hunt or gather honey, whether they were wanted or not. They agreed that permission should have been asked first, but that in light of the surplus of honey in the forest it was hardly necessary. The discussion ended by everyone agreeing that all the noise[8] of the past weeks was plainly the fault of the villagers who wanted the meat that caused the rift to begin with. This decision was followed by a plea from Masisi for much singing to make the forest happy again. The honey songs were immediately taken up with renewed vigor, and Masisi was prominent in maintaining them right to the end of the honey season.

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6. Largely through preoccupation with Cephu, Manyalibo and Herafu, with the Effundi Somali band and now yet another trespassing band from the neighboring Eboyo territory, Masisi's camp had several days with little honey and little food of any kind. All men in the group took turns in stating their complaints from midcamp, each promising to find out who was responsible and threatening to name them. On the fourth successive day of such "noise," the singing having deteriorated, much to the disgust of the youths and the women, Masisi was particularly irritable and began a long harangue about how bad the whole thing was, including his present camp, and saying that he could name those who were responsible for it all being bad, but instead he was going to name those who must go out the next day and collect lots of honey and make it well again. He then named all the hunters. But he continued arguing and, getting more and more irate, began to imply that those he had just named were in fact those responsible. There were growing murmurs of protest, which only excited Masisi further, and there would almost certainly have been a fight had it not been for the intervention of the youths and the young women. Two of the women and one youth seized the *ngbengbe*,

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[8] "Noise" is a direct translation of the word *akami* in the local dialect of KiBira, or *belele* in KiNgwana. It is used in ordinary parlance, but always with an unfavorable connotation. It is given special significance by adding the comment that noise is bad (*sinana*). This is tantamount to a moral judgment, invoking the supernatural sanctions of the forest, for noise is also said to kill the forest (*akami a ma ndura*), just as it is said to kill the hunt (*akami a ma mukira*).

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626 wooden clappers used only for the accompaniment of honey songs,
621 and started clapping them vigorously while singing. Masisi found the
578 competition too strong, shrugged his shoulders, chased the women
222 away and, taking a pair of *ngbengbe* himself, joined in the singing.
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[533] The next day the men and the older youths went honey gathering
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[431] and brought back enough honey to send some as a gift to Cephu.

7. Laziness is highly criticized among the Mbuti, and is always related to hunger. It is one of the few qualities (noisy hunting is another, "blindness" in the honey season a third) that is countered by public assertion, in mime, dance and song, of the opposite value. One morning, shortly after dawn, there were murmurings of discontent because of the dampness of the forest, and suggestions that there was enough food in camp to allow for a day without hunting. One of the older hunter's wives stalked out into the center of the camp and began an elaborate wordless mime, showing that she was not going to be lazy and stay behind and play and dance "empty" games and dances. She was going to take her husband's spear and go off and hunt (she reenacted a successful hunt) and return with lots of food and share it all around and make her *roho* good and make the forest happy. Then when *she* sang and danced, it would not be empty.

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It was a good show, and the whole camp looked on and laughed, then went hunting.

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8. One morning, at the beginning of the honey season, a number of hunters set out, as usual, at scattered intervals. Several seemed to be staying behind, so I also remained. After about half an hour the hunters returned, one by one throwing their nets on the ground in the center of the camp. When they were all back, a bachelor youth who had gone with them began a tirade against the hunters who had stayed behind. Hearing his voice, and wondering why he was taking such a prominent part in a hunting issue, women began sleepily coming out of their huts. It was evident that too many had decided to stay home, and the hunt had not had enough beaters. The youth, Pepei, not only criticized the women as lazy animals for not coming on the hunt but also criticized the rest of the hunters, pointing out they had been even too lazy to send their sons with their nets, and had left people like himself, an orphaned youth, to do the work of men.

The hunters had nothing to say, but the women responded vigorously that they were not going to carry nets and spears for the men, they had work of their own to do, and that if enough youths had

gone there would have been enough beaters. As usual the women 224
were loud in their complaint, and two of the hunters who had stayed 461
behind with their nets now joined the side of Pepei and said that they 626
had not gone because the women made so much noise, all the game 578
was scared away and the hunt would have been empty anyway. Even
Cephu had meat (a highly dramatic statement, for Cephu was usually
meatless, or considered so), and the neighboring Lesé pygmies had
meat, and everyone knew what poor hunters they were. But we were
all starving because everyone was lazy.

The discussion went on for about an hour, it being made an excuse
to raise all manner of minor sources of discontent. The hunt did not [535]
go off again, but in the afternoon there was a big hunting dance, and [482]
the next day the women made a special show of setting out, carrying
their husbands' nets and spears, at least until they were out of the
camp.

9. While many of the disputes concerning food arise out of gen- 578
eral shortage or dissatisfaction, usually owing to poor hunting, and [261]
are made occasion for bringing up almost any topic, they are more
often made occasion for criticizing specific groups. Thus children will [857]
find themselves criticized for making too much noise in their play-
ground, or for splashing too loudly in the stream and so frightening
the game away. Youths are accused of idling and playing with girls on [883]
the fringes of the hunt instead of guarding the edges against escaping
game. Women are blamed for being lazy or inefficient as beaters, men
for relying too much on women "who have other work to do." Elders
are blamed for not keeping the camp quiet while the hunt is away,
and always the whole camp is blamed for causing poor hunting by not
singing and dancing properly.

There are innumerable petty squabbles over division of food, but 626
these are always settled by those concerned. Never once have I seen 578
such a squabble become an affair for the whole band to discuss. The 224
only cases of disputes concerning food that have centered around
specific individuals, and have not been mere expressions of marital
disharmony, have concerned hunting "crimes." These are few and far
between, and rather than accuse someone of being a poor hunter it is
more often just pointed out that his net is always empty. There was
one occasion, however, on which Cephu set his net up inside the
hunting circle, therefore in a better position to catch the game being
driven in by the beaters. A full description of this is given elsewhere
(Turnbull, 1961, Chapter 5). Its essentials are as follows:

626 578 Cephu was neither a very good nor a very popular hunter, and it may
224 be that he was afforded less cooperation by his fellow hunters as a
result. Toward the end of a particularly unsuccessful day, Cephu
626 slipped off and set his net up where it would catch the first wave of
627 animals put up by the beat. He was caught with his spoils, however,
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578 and when back in camp there was a gathering of all the youths and hunters and elders (except Moké) at the *kumamolimo* (hearth of the *molimo*), to which Cephu was summoned by calling his name across to the small camp he had built for himself. He was named in the most uncomplimentary terms, and when he finally came to defend himself he was subjected to indignities, even by the youths and children. He was openly accused of stealing food from his fellow Mbuti, and this was something only animals did (note that the anger was of the band at someone having stolen from the band; this to the Mbuti is true theft). All manner of other grievances were brought up
[765] against Cephu, particularly his lack of participation in the *molimo* for Balekimito, Ekianga's mother, paternal aunt to Manyalibo and Masisi. Cephu responded that Balekimito was not his mother, and this was the trap into which he had been led. By saying this he disclaimed membership of the hearth, and so his theft became more logical but his act even more reprehensible. Finding himself now both a thief and an outsider, Cephu broke down and offered to return all the meat he had caught. The hunters went with him and stripped not only his hut but those of the three other families in Cephu's camp, leaving Cephu complaining that he would die.

That evening, however, Masisi slipped over in the dark with a peace offering of cooked food[4] and not long afterward Cephu made his way to the *kumamolimo* and joined in the singing for his "mother," Balekimito. This was one of the very rare occasions when a dispute was ended by what might be considered as direct retributive and punitive action by the band.

685 10. This is not to say that theft of food never takes place. It would
157 be a rare Mbuti woman who did not conceal a portion of the catch
[224] in case she was forced to share with others, and occasionally a bachelor like Pepei, with a reputation for being somewhat *wazi-wazi*, was caught stealing a small quantity of food from a cooking pot or from

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[431] [4] Prestation is an important though unformalized part of Mbuti life, and a major
[182] means of establishing social relationships. Any property except the most personal items, such as used bark cloth, bows and spears, are likely to change hands, and even these personal items may be offered or sought.

someone's hut.[5] The woman would be roundly criticized, and maybe 685
named. Pepei was either ridiculed or caught by other youths and given 157
a mild thrashing with a thorny branch. But that did not stop Pepei, and at one time he was becoming such a nuisance that there was considerable discussion as to how to deal with him.

One morning a leg of meat was found missing from a rack where it 685
had been smoked in readiness for a visit to the village. The owner of 157
the rack had been one of Pepei's most outspoken critics, Makubasi, 578
a son of old Tungana. Pepei, incidentally, was a discriminating thief, [251]
and he was generally tolerated because his thefts frequently operated [627]
as unofficial sanctions against people who had incurred public disapproval for some reason or another. However, Makubasi was a highly [554]
respected member of the band, and Pepei had overstepped himself by committing a theft that could not be construed as a mark of disapproval of some mild misdemeanor on someone else's part, but that was plainly an act of personal vengeance. Instead of thrashing him, [627]
Makubasi simply pulled down his meat rack, tumbling it into the fire below and burning it along with what was left of the meat. It was a dramatic gesture, and although his wife was seen to sneak some of the meat out of the fire before it was consumed, it was an effective move.

Makubasi's mother collected all the meat she and Tungana had, 685
brought it over and threw it on the ground in front of Pepei's house, 627
saying it was a gift for animals and insects, and for Pepei to eat it if 578
he wanted. This was too much for Pepei, who started crying and [152]
saying how terrible it was to be an orphan. Everyone ignored him and for the rest of the day not a word was spoken to him. The meat lay rotting outside his hut, where it remained until consumed by animals and insects.

That evening, again at dark, a peace offering of cooked food was 627
brought to Pepei by Sau, the old "witch" from whom he most fre- 431
quently stole. Thus did Sau, like Masisi, restore harmony and *ekimi* (quiet) to the camp.

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[5] The acknowledgment of theft as a crime might well be taken in support of Nip- 685
pold's (1954) contention that, together with other hunters and gatherers, the African 157
pygmies, and the Mbuti in particular, have a highly developed sense of private property. 421
It is a debatable point, and largely a semantic problem, and if labored too much only [114]
obscures the essential structural fact that regardless of the extent to which property is "privately" owned (and if it is, where are any corresponding patterns, let alone laws, of inheritance?), the obligation to share is an important recognized value, recognized in practice (cf., constant reciprocal prestations). There is frequent show of reluctance, but

754 11. Sau was the mother of Amabosu, who had exchanged sisters
578 with Ekianga. Sau was regarded by the villagers as a dangerous witch,
a role she filled with zeal and which the Mbuti found useful in two
ways. It provided them with a scapegoat in the forest just as it was a
handy excuse for any misadventure in the village. In either situation
the latent dramatic possibilities appealed enormously to the old lady's
histrionic susceptibilities. One day Sau asked the wife of Mbaaka, a
[535] nephew of Njobo, for some food. She was refused. That night she
did a little dance in front of Mbaaka's hut, her usual way of showing
[224] her displeasure. The next day, on the hunt, Masisi's son was about to
run in bare-handed to catch a sharp-toothed *sindula* (chevrotain), but
Amabosu persuaded him to take his spear. He did so, and then collided with Mbaaka, spearing him in the side.

There was actually some bad feeling between Amabosu and
Mbaaka, and in case this was brought up (making it seem that
Amabosu had deliberately caused his injury) the discussion of the
incident was quickly turned to the refusal of Mbaaka's wife to give
Sau food. She thus became the prime target for blame, with Sau acting as a secondary scapegoat, being criticized for dancing her "bad
578 dance" outside Mbaaka's hut. In case anyone should take it too seriously,
522 Manyalibo promptly started making fun of Sau's dance, flapping
626 his hands to imitate Sau's pendent breasts. This was taken up by
the children, who would not be content until Sau herself gave a demonstration.

626 That evening several hunters stood in midcamp[6] and said what a
683 good camp it was, and commented on the good hunting. No further
648 word was said about the spearing, except in the village, where the
571 respective *kpara* went to the tribunal to effect reconciliation (between
608 themselves) and blood payment. Amabosu's *kpara* agreed to pay sixty
[186] francs to Mbaaka's *kpara*, Masisi's *kpara* paying only forty. This news
caused great hilarity in the camp, and the comment that villagers were
626 animals, always "eating" each other. Between the Mbuti themselves I
683 could find no evidence of blood payment of any kind, though any
incident involving the drawing of blood is bound to provoke discus-

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[685] failure to share in time of need is considered a far greater crime than is petty (i.e., indi-
[157] vidual) theft.
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[6] The importance of the "midcamp" position is that it defines the viewpoint of the
[621] person talking. An individual talking from his own hearth talks as an individual. If he
talks from midcamp he is taking a band rather than an individual point of view. Similarly
[156] the *kumamolimo* is central, but more restricted in area and viewpoint, being used as a
vantage point to discuss with the whole band matters pertaining to the *molimo*.

sion, during which any latent dispute might be aired. I could not definitely trace any heightening of reciprocal prestations between the individuals concerned, but it could have taken place in divers ways without my knowing it. 626 683

12. A number of disputes arising over food indicate trivial domestic disagreements, and seldom reach major proportions. A wife is late in cooking her husband's food, or cooks it badly; he spills some precious oil or fails to catch any game on the hunt. Such disagreements are confined almost entirely to the younger married couples, and they usually settle them by beating each other. If the beating gets too severe then the older women intervene, slapping both boys and girls soundly. If a marital dispute is more serious it may still emerge through a trivial incident in the hopes that it will be settled peacefully. If it is ignored, or mistaken as another petty squabble, then a more serious incident has to be created. 593 578 152

Baumbao, Tungana's eldest son, was having trouble with his wife, Tabakali. She was frequently away, back with her parents, and was suspected of having innumerable liaisons with other men. Baumbao said that this was particularly bad because of the *molimo* that was going on at the time. She had changed her hearth when she married him, and was now a member of this hearth, and she had to contribute to the *molimo*. He first brought the issue up simply by accusing her of cooking badly, and slapping her so hard that an old widow intervened, hitting Baumbao on the back with a burning log. Then everyone agreed that Tabakali was indeed a bad cook but that Baumbao knew that when he married her. 593 578 152 765 [837]

Baumbao took drastic measures. He took down the baskets full of offerings to the *molimo* from the *molimo* hearth, uprooted the sticks and the vine marking the site, and threw the lot onto the ground. While doing this he was busily saying that the *molimo* was empty. He said he had dreamed that his dead sister, Beselinda (naming her), had appeared to him in a dream and told him it was time someone made a good *molimo* trumpet and stopped using drainpipes.[7] She told him to make one and, having made it, to use it and then keep it carefully and not let it rot. He had done this and had been supplying 765 593 578 [787] [534]

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[7] As described elsewhere (Turnbull, 1961), the Mbuti on one occasion made use of some metal drainpiping they found in the local administrative center. Recognizing its musical potentialities, they stole two lengths and used them as *molimo* trumpets. Everyone agreed that the main thing was that the sound was undeniably good, but the more conservative elements strongly felt the lack of the identity between the conventional trumpet (made of a forest wood) and the forest itself. [177]*

765 the food for the festivities, but nobody was helping him. At this
593 point, instead of naming his wife, he named another sister, living in
578 the same camp, and said that she had not done her part. He added, as an afterthought, that his own wife was equally responsible, and stepped down.

765 Moké took his place and began a long harangue, telling the camp
626 that the *molimo* was nothing to play with, that it was big and it was
593 dangerous, and it could kill you. He pointed out that there had been no singing for two days and two nights, because of rain, and that indeed the *molimo* had become empty. The men should have built a hut for the *molimo*. But even so it was bad for Baumbao to take down the baskets. These should have been kept full; an empty *molimo* basket is bad for the forest. Moké then turned to Baumbao and said, "Your wife is one of us, she belongs to this hearth; it is for you to see that she keeps the basket full." Baumbao then stalked off in a temper, and Eyalo, his sister's husband, said that Baumbao never dreamed of anything but his wife's bad cooking and the whole *molimo* was empty and he was not going to contribute to an empty *molimo*, nor was his wife.

Moké replied, "Empty or not empty, that is the *molimo* hearth and it has to be looked after as long as it is there." He left, and a number of youths began to restore the sticks that had held the baskets, and then carried the baskets around from hut to hut, collecting offerings from each one. That night there was some singing, and for the next few nights. Then the festival was brought to an end. It was noticeable, however, that Tabakali was constantly being helped by her youngest sister-in-law both in collecting food for the *molimo* basket, and in cooking it.

834 DISPUTES CONCERNING SEX

578 13. There is a great deal of latitude in any Mbuti band on the sexual behavior of its members, but there are certain things that are known to cause offense. One is the playing with the private parts of a woman in front of her kin or her husband. One morning the camp clown, Matungi, was playing in this manner with Kengé's half sister, married to Kokoyo and mother of two children. Kengé was nearby and took great offense, and said that if Matungi wanted to play with the girl elsewhere that was all right, but not in front of her brother. Matungi replied by becoming even more intimate, whereupon

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Kengé called out loudly that the only kind of person who would do 578
that was one whose mother's private parts were smelly.

Matungi leapt into the center of the camp and challenged Kengé to a fight. Kengé refused, until called a coward. He and Matungi then each raised one foot against the other, and grappled. At this point the older men intervened and pulled them apart. By then it was time to go hunting, and the incident was forgotten.

14. Two of the most popular people in the band were Moké and 589
Mayuma. The one was a widower, the other a widow. Mayuma wanted 581
desperately to marry Moké, and as fond as he was of her, he equally desperately wanted to remain single. He had reared one family, he said, and had grandchildren, and that was enough. He wanted quiet, and women were noise.

But everyone else thought it would be a good match, and they plotted to help Mayuma. They tried to shame Moké into sleeping with her, at least, by getting her to ask him publicly to do just that. Moké refused.

Shortly afterward Mayuma became ill, and Moké was blamed. It 589
was recalled by Mayuma's kin that after her husband had died, Moké 581
had slept with her and offered her marriage. Now his refusal to fulfill 753
that promise had brought about her illness.

Moké sat and listened, then restated his reasons for not wanting to marry Mayuma, but said that nonetheless he was very fond of her
and would help to feed her and make her well. This was accepted, but [577]
it was still considered that thwarted love is a very bad thing, and nobody should deliberately mislead another in such matters.

15. Sexual relations between unmarried youngsters are counte- 836
nanced happily unless they approach the rather hazy realm of incest, or unless they create a disturbance. Parents were constantly complaining of the noise their children made while engaged upon amorous expeditions; they preferred being able to turn a deaf ear. One youth went too far when he called out from inside his girl friend's hut to the group outside (which included her parents), and begged them to continue singing because "it is so sweet to [make love] to song, just like
in the *elima* hut." His phrase for lovemaking was somewhat intimately [578]
descriptive, and brought cries of protest and his immediate ejection from the hut.

There are numerous other examples where parents become en- 836
raged simply at having their attention forced. Manyalibo's daughter, 578
Mebapepé, was courted by all and sundry, and it was not this that

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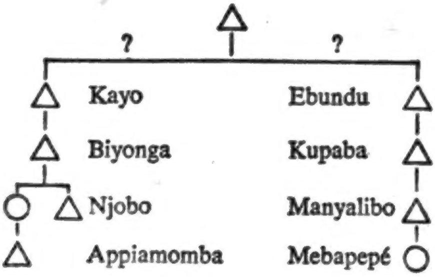
578 upset her father so much as all the accompanying noise. In particular he was irate when waked up by a suitor crawling over him in the middle of the night to get at his daughter. In this instance he gave chase, and woke the whole camp up with a harangue from midcamp. The accused's reply was effective—that if he had made noise and wakened Manyalibo, it was not as bad as Manyalibo's noise, which had awakened the whole camp for nothing.

16. By and large all that the parents can complain about in the sexual life of their children is the noise. If the noise becomes too much, however, it then becomes a matter for the band.

836 Such a matter became the affair between Appiamomba, nephew
578 of Njobo, and Mebapepé, Manyalibo's flighty daughter. The situation
835 was aggravated by the relationship between the two lovers, Appiamomba's mother being descended in the male line from the allegedly
61 same great-grandfather as Manyalibo. When accused of being of the same clan (using the village term) as Mebapepé, Appiamomba denied it and said they shared different hearths. He was then asked, "You cannot deny your mother was a Mupuemi; then so are you."[8] However, his argument about being of a different hearth carried weight, the more so as Njobo was not at this time in the same section of the camp as Manyalibo, and had not been for nearly a year.

One night Manyalibo's adopted son, Madyadya, chased Appiamomba away and called on the other youths to beat the offender. The others demanded what offense had been committed; there had been no noise. This was the beginning of a major argument which quickly spread all over the camp. Manyalibo went to the midcamp site and said, "Appiamomba is my child and he does not listen to me. Mebapepé is my child and she does not listen. My children are sleeping together and this is bad, for they are making noise all the



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[8] An example of a common confusion concerning lineal descent among the Mbuti.

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time. They sleep together every night. Why do they not make up their 578
minds and get married? Then Madyadya can have Appiamomba's 835
sister for wife and there will be no more noise." 61

The next day the issue was taken up by the elders, who gathered together and called on Appiamomba and Mebapepé to say what they wanted. The question of relationship was quickly dismissed by Tungana saying that nobody knew whether Kayo and Ebundu were brothers or not; who was alive to know, so what did it matter? It was "completely far away." The only question remaining was one of intent, and all the elders agreed that the children had been troubling their parents and spoiling the hunt with their noise, and that they must make up their minds and either get married or stop playing around. Appiamomba seemed unsure and said he would ask Mebapepé in his own time. Mebapepé, under pressure, denied that she loved Appiamomba and said she did not want to marry him at all,
or indeed have anything else to do with him. She burst into tears and [152]
ran to a friend's house.

This relieved the tension somewhat, but Tungana brought up the 578
fact that there were far too many young people around who should be 579
married, and he started naming them. Each in turn began to state his 152
case, but various jealousies quickly came to the surface, and fighting 883
broke out among the youths and their girl friends. Tungana and Moké [582]
shrugged their shoulders and retired to their huts, sitting outside and watching with interest. The parents mostly left the scene completely, Manyalibo loudly complaining that the noise would kill him completely. Ekianga remained and tried to restore order, but quickly became involved himself. He shouted for Kengé to get a stick and beat some of the youths away. Kengé shouted back, "Later," and ran to join the other uninvolved youths on a hillock, to get a better view.

By evening the fight had ended, and everyone was too exhausted 578
to renew any discussion. Moké and Tungana suggested it might be 833
good to break camp and go and visit the village for a few days. Kengé 834
said he thought this was an excellent idea, for then all the girls could 177*
sleep with the village men and that would keep them quiet for a time.
He diverted the conversation to a discussion of village sex techniques, [829]
and the camp quickly regained its good humor. The next day half the band left for the village, the rest going further off into the forest. Without exception, the five young couples in question were divided by this move, though nobody referred to the fact.

17. A recently married Mbuti girl, while in the village, slept with a 000

A recently married Mbuti girl, while in the village, slept with a
837 villager. On returning to the hunting camp the first youth she met
627 (Pepei, totally unrelated) beat her up severely, throwing her to the
ground, holding her by one arm and kicking her. Nobody intervened, even her parents, and not a word was said about the incident.

833 That evening Pepei complained to the camp that no girls would sleep with him because he was an orphan, but when he began to make allusions indicating that this was one reason why he beat up the girl, Moké broke in and said that the only reason girls didn't sleep with Pepei was that he was so old. He was about nineteen.

832 18. It is seldom that within a camp a girl will go after one of the
837 married men as blatantly as did Biyokenama, one of Tungana's
578 daughters. Moreover, Biyokenama's father was distantly related to
Masisi, the father of her lover, Ageronga. One morning she went so far as to follow Ageronga down to the section of the stream where the men bathed, taking off her cloth as she went. Ageronga's wife, Ambelema, a husky maiden, went in pursuit, hurling abuse. Biyokenama was heard yelling that Ambelema had no business suggesting such dreadful things; how could anyone think that she, Biyo, would
[579] flirt with her "brother"? But Ambelema had seen enough and began
fighting. Tough as she was, she lost three teeth and came running back to the camp in tears. Biyokenama prudently took off for the village.

837 Everyone waited for Ageronga, who eventually came wandering in
626 and went up to Biyokenama's mother and said he wanted three hun-
[683] dred francs, one for each tooth her daughter had taken from his wife.
He said Biyokenama followed him without reason, that he wanted nothing to do with her, that she was a nuisance. Nobody believed this, but it was clearly a statement of loyalty, and sympathy swung to his side. It was agreed, in a discussion in which mainly youths took part, that Ambelema should not have said such dreadful things to Biyokenama, that even if true they were better not said; but the blame was more firmly placed on Biyokenama, and her mother was urged to take better care of her in future.

593 19. Marital disputes that are overheard but not deliberately forced
578 on the attention of the band are ignored for the most part. If they
are noisy and keep people awake, there may be complaints or there may be some ridicule. Certainly a fight going on between husband and wife inside a hut is followed with zest by all the youths and some of the younger married couples. These may even stand around watching

the hut shake, ready to catch whoever comes flying out first and prevent further damage. 593 578

Sometimes after such a squabble the young man and wife will equally loudly make up, so that everyone can hear, and will then emerge from the hut hand in hand and walk up and down the camp in ostentatious amity. This is considered a very good thing.

The custom of sister exchange, and the lack of any system of patrilocal residence, however, lead to conflicts of loyalties, and brothers or sisters find themselves drawn into disputes that are not strictly theirs. Ekianga was the cause of one such situation that continued for months, manifesting itself in a whole series of apparently unrelated disputes. 595 578 [582] [591]

He had three wives, the youngest of which, Kamaikan, was the sister of Amabosu. Amabosu's wife, Amaloku, was in turn Ekianga's sister. Kamaikan was not only the youngest of the wives but by far the prettiest, and Ekianga ignored his marital obligations to the other two wives, even to the point of retaining favored portions of the game for Kamaikan. And only with Kamaikan would he sleep.

The other two wives responded in different ways. The oldest, Arobanai, ostentatiously built her own house and did nothing for Ekianga's. She said she was finished with her husband; if he wouldn't sleep with her she would sleep with his child. She phrased this in a way that made it sound rather incestuous as a form of insult, but everyone agreed that it was good for her to keep herself and her children out of Ekianga's hut. [626]

Loku, the middle wife, had no children, and she retaliated simply by occasionally going off to join another band and letting it be known that she was available for temporary liaisons, owing to her husband's incapacity. This again was a blow at Ekianga's vital spot, his pride. But still he slept on with Kamaikan. [837]

When Kamaikan became pregnant, Loku and Arobanai both rejoined Ekianga, thinking this was surely their chance. But when a boy was born, Ekianga still showed no signs of changing his ways. Arobanai brought her complaint to the band by striding up and down the camp listing all her grievances against her husband, one after the other. Moké came out and agreed that it was bad but that it was something that should be settled by them, and not made an issue for everyone else. But Amabosu now felt he had to intervene, and he sided with Arobanai, saying that Ekianga was doing a bad and dangerous thing continuing to sleep with Kamaikan. Everyone agreed 595 578 626

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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626 834 846 Everyone agreed that after giving birth a woman should be left alone for a while, and that her belly should not become big again until her child became big.

595 593 578 626 One of the many fights that occurred because of this relationship is described in *The Forest People* (Turnbull, 1961), at the end of Chapter 6. There it is seen that Amabosu sided with his sister, and consequently shared what everyone agreed was at least partly her guilt. Arobanai and Amabosu's mother, Sau, were the two who intervened to stop the fight when it began to get beyond bounds.

Amabosu, who intervened to help his sister, now found himself associated with her in her obstinate disregard of public opinion, so he ignored her and contented himself with continuing, from time to time, to make uncomplimentary remarks about her husband. This created a strain between Amabosu and his wife, Ekianga's sister, and while Sau became the protectress of her daughter-in-law, Arobanai became the protectress of her young co-wife.

One night Arobanai grumbled loud and long throughout the small hours until, about an hour before dawn, she came out into midcamp and woke everyone up with a torrent of abuse that was delivered with such vigor and evident sincerity that men came tumbling out of their huts holding their spears, ready for a large-scale fight. Arobanai had named just about everyone in the camp for some kind of offense,
[201] all of which contributed, she said, to Ekianga's delinquency. To emphasize her points she clapped her hands each time and pointed.
[522] Masisi tried to quiet her down by imitating her and laughing at her, but all but a few were too sleepy to see much humor in the situation, and when he saw he was not achieving anything he abruptly told Arobanai to "close her teeth" and then walked away. Ekianga came out of his hut and also quietly tried to pacify his irate wife, but was equally unsuccessful. Others tried similarly and made equally little impression. Sleep was impossible, and everyone sat around huddled over their family hearth, cold and miserable, listening to the still undiminished flow of invective. Occasionally a finely turned phrase brought some nervous laughter, but on the whole Arobanai was not going after dramatic effect, she was merely cataloguing all the disturbances of the past few months and laying them at her husband's door. After over an hour of nonstop tirade Arobanai began to wind up her argument with an indictment of both Kamaikan and Amabosu. Kamaikan could have resisted Ekianga's attentions, she said, and she added that she had resisted them often enough herself. But Kamaikan

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had either given in or had actually encouraged Ekianga, and Amabosu 578
had supported her. This brought a mild cry of protest from 626
Amabosu, and hearing it Arobanai rounded on him and asked him 593
whether or not he was an Mbuti, for he had not behaved like one.
What did it matter whether he was out of the same stomach as Kamaikan [601]
or not, were they not all *apua'i* (the term of friendship that
covers brothers, sisters and age mates)? And was it not more important
whether something was right or wrong than whose stomach
who came from?

Finding this an unexpectedly dramatic declaration, and one which
made Moké visibly sit up, and almost certainly feeling somewhat
fatigued, Arobanai suddenly stopped and brightly said that she was
going to get some sleep, the rest could do as they pleased. As she
strode into her hut Moké came over and stirred at the central fire.
Not addressing anyone in particular he said that this thing had gone
on long enough, and that he did not want to hear another word about
it. He said that if disputes continued they would kill the camp completely [778]
and absolutely, that the forest would refuse to accept the [224]
band and would send all its hunts back empty. And what Ekianga did [843]
was a matter for him to think about, for if he continued sleeping
with Kamaikan it would almost certainly kill their child, and that
would again displease the forest. He ended by saying, still staring carefully [778]
at the fire, "It is no longer a matter for us, it is a matter for the
forest."

20. A month or so later Kamaikan's young son became ill. Arobanai 755
was not in the camp at the time, but Loku was. Nobody mentioned 595
Moké's warning that the boy would become ill if Ekianga continued 578
sleeping with Kamaikan (as he did), and Amabosu was shouted down 304
when he appeared about to say something to this effect. He changed [843]
his mind and went over to Loku, and said that she was to blame; [754]
she would have to cure the child by cicatrizing it. In the village this is tantamount to an accusation of sorcery, cicatrization being an admission of unknowing guilt by which the accused at the same time absolves himself and does all that is possible to negate the curse. The Mbuti know the belief and the custom, and sometimes, as in a case like this, they follow the custom without following the belief. Loku put up the expected resistance to the idea, and Amabosu chased her with a stick. The youths and hunters followed the show with enjoyment, and Manyalibo made jokes about nobody daring to come near him because he was the biggest sorcerer of all. Eventually Loku

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595 feigned to run into a tree and fall unconscious. She was carried into
578 Cephu's hut, where she stayed until the next day. Then, in a very
304 matter-of-fact way, she emerged, went over to Ekianga's hut and
picked up the sick boy. In front of the few who cared to look she made a few incisions with an arrow tip. The boy seemed better, and Loku happily played with him. Ekianga came and inquired how her head was where she hit the tree, and persuaded her to go and lie down. They disappeared into the hut together and that settled the matter. Manyalibo pointed to the hut and observed that it was shaking somewhat. "Sorcery, indeed!" was his comment as he turned his back to go into his own hut.

595 Ekianga settled down, from then onward dividing his attentions equally among his three wives, though seldom again was there a camp when all three were with him at the same time.

578 DISPUTES CONCERNING TERRITORY

[593] 21. There were only four such disputes that I recorded during an entire year, all of them slight and apparently indicative of marital disagreements; that is, excluding discussions as to whether or not to break camp and go to the village, a stock suggestion and a good arguing point whenever another issue turns up that is better avoided.
578 Once, however, when such a suggestion was seriously made and the
621 general opinion seemed to be that it was time for a move to the vil-
166 lage, an elderly widow, Nakwanji, came out of her hut and harangued
854 the band from midcamp. She said that a child had been born in that
camp and that the child was well. Its food was there, in that camp and in that part of the forest, and it should not be taken from its food. Everyone agreed except Tungana, who said perhaps they could compromise and go halfway to the village and make a new camp there. Nakwanji was insistent and said no, this was the child's forest and this was where it must stay as long as it remained well and happy.

621 22. During the big rift in the honey season, Moké was up in the
593 northern part of the territory with Ekianga and Manyalibo. Isa, his
578 son, and Isa's wife, Pikenasona, were at Masisi's camp staying with
602 Njobo's wife. Partly because of the noise Masisi made every evening,
and partly because he wanted to be with his father, Isa kept insisting that Pikenasona leave and journey with him to the north. His wife, Njobo's niece, and therefore much at home in Masisi's camp, refused to go. Asofalinda, Ekianga's sister, told Isa it would be bad to go, as it

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is bad to split a camp because of blood. Usually the metaphor of 593
"stomach" is used in such cases to express kinship, but it was plain 578
that this was what Asofalinda meant. 602

Masisi joined in and said that all members of a camp were of one hearth, regardless of stomach, and they belonged to the hearth; so Isa belonged to this hearth and his father to that. Until the next move of camps that was how it should be. Isa capitulated and continued to stay on.

23 and 24. Mbaaka fell from a tree and broke his arm. While in- 593
capacitated in this way, his recently acquired wife took off to join
Cephu, who had invited a number of his Lesé-speaking in-laws to
hunt in the western borders of the Epulu territory. When Mbaaka
was well enough he went to Cephu's camp and brought her back. On
arrival back in the camp, he threw her to the ground and said he
had brought back rubbish, and he didn't know why. His wife got up 593
and sat down in the door of the hut, upright and rigid, in a posture 516
widely used by Mbuti women to show their utmost displeasure.
Mbaaka told her to get his supper but she ignored him. His pleas and threats fell on deaf ears, and even when he slapped her once she barely moved. Masisi's wife eventually brought over some food and put it down between them. Mbaaka offered some to his wife but she pretended not to see it, so in a burst of temper he ate all he could and threw the rest away behind the hut. His wife found this too much to bear, and went inside the hut sobbing. She sat upright still, holding a tiny oil lamp in her hand. Mbaaka went in after her and knocked the oil lamp out of her grasp. She promptly picked it up, and this was repeated several times. Eventually she gave up and, still not saying a word, lay down. Mbaaka, trying hard to make peace, lay down beside her, but no sooner was he down than his wife sat up again, and remained bolt upright for the next two hours.

25. Meanwhile there was a diversion. Kengé and his wife were also 593
having a squabble. Kengé, only indirectly connected with Njobo's [554]
family as an affine, was a person of some consequence because, although boastful, it was said he knew the forest better than any other Mbuti, and although he liked village life as well as any, he was not one for any display of individual authority. Roused by Mbaaka's having to go all the way to Cephu's camp to fetch back his wife, Kengé said that all wives were a lot of trouble, his own included. She was empty. "She cannot even speak; when she opens her mouth she just makes noises. She is an animal."

593 578 Everyone was tired of disputes in the camp, and they turned on Kengé and told him it was he who was a bad husband. He promptly said, "I shall tell my mother; I shall tell her everything, and she will come here." His mother was notoriously argumentative, and the thought of having another disputant on their hands was too much. There were unanimous shouts of disapproval, whereupon Kengé said, "So you let the Lesé Mbuti join empty Cephu in our territory, Cephu who always hunts against us and should be turned out completely and forever, yet you do not want your own mother-in-law to come and live with you. What kind of Mbuti are you?" He went inside his hut and after a few muffled cries and sounds of blows, there were other sounds, less offensive, and in a half hour or so Kengé and his wife came out together, making a great show of friendliness, peering into Mbaaka's hut and laughing loudly at them for fighting so much.

578 DISPUTES CONCERNING TRIVIA

152 A headache, a hungry stomach, a painful leg, a leaking hut or a damp forest—almost any kind of discomfort is likely to make an Mbuti irritable, and he will pick a quarrel with ease and readiness so that he can make his heart feel better, as they say. It is known to be bad to keep things concealed, so there is no particular disgrace in voicing suspicions and revealing antagonisms, particularly if it is done quietly. Few, however, managed to make their heart feel better without creating a great deal of noise and making everyone else feel considerably worse.

578 Most such disputes, and there were likely to be several every day, died as they began, in complete indecision. The following are typical instances:

[524] [881] 26. A small girl, playing in imitation of the boy's *nkumbi*, playfully whipped some of the men, including her uncle, Masalito. Masalito was enraged and hit her, which started a fight between his age mates—that is, the young hunters.

[534] [562] 27. Pepei fought another youth with sticks because the other told him to beat the *banja* sticks, and Pepei said he was not a woman to be ordered around. Tungana's wife then beat Pepei, saying that women do not get ordered around, only children, and that is why nobody will marry him.

[593] 28. Kengé beat his sister because she caught cold.

29. A girl returning from the village related how there was an

29. A girl returning from the village related how there was an
administrator there who took her photograph. Masisi demanded the 578
money, and the girl said she did not ask for any. Masisi's wife said the 648
girl was a fool, that she could have got fifty francs. In fact, she was a
thief because she deprived everyone of cigarettes. The girl was still 578
standing up where she arrived in camp, and Masisi's wife went up 152
and forced her to sit down, and thrust her private parts into the girl's
face as a gesture of contempt. The girl's parents said nothing.

30. A man burped loudly during the evening meal, and brought [264]
forth insults from all sides that would have developed into a fight had [534]
Moké not taken the *banja* sticks and started beating them, a sign [765]
for the *molimo* singing to begin. [533]

31. A girl, decorated with leaves stuck in her bark cloth, was danc- [301]
ing vigorously and some of the leaves kept falling out. She blamed
the younger children and started beating them until they fled, crying.
Nobody interfered.

32. Amabosu, for no known reason, refused to allow his wife to [593]
move the fire from their hearth when changing camp. She went to [372]
her brother's hut and sat there sulking for nearly a whole day. Ama-
bosu, fed by his mother, paid no attention.

33. Occasionally, however, even the most trivial origins can lead 578
to a serious and lasting rift. Such a dispute, described more fully in 152
The Forest People (Chapter 6), involved two brothers, Aberi and 593
Masalito. It started when Masalito went to visit his brother on a rainy
day. Masalito was in the main camp, Aberi in Cephu's camp. Aberi
was asleep, and his wife insulted Masalito twice, first by refusing to
smoke the same pipe, second by offering him an old and dirty pipe-
stem to take back to the main camp with him. This led to a fight be- [626]
tween the two brothers which was temporarily healed by the force of
ridicule levelled against Aberi, and further subdued by the action
of the *molimo* in beating Masalito's hut as a sign of the displeasure
of the forest.

However, the bad feeling remained, if hidden, until Aberi's death.

DISPUTES CONCERNING THEFT 685

Theft, apart from the kind practiced by Pepei, was unknown except [177]*
in the village context. Sometimes when Pepei was caught he was [183]
thrashed; on the other hand, sometimes he was tolerantly laughed
at and allowed to go his way. There was once, however, a curious
case that was never settled.

685 34. During a hunt Ekianga's unmarried niece, Ekimanji, had
[224] charge of his two spears and lost these together with her own basket,
[462] full of meat. Her story was that she was standing about, waiting for the rest to join up after a beat, when she had to answer a call of nature. She went a few yards away, and on return found the two spears and the basket gone. She called out, and Masalito, who was nearby, came running over. She asked him to stand there while she went and searched, which she did. She could find no traces. He also searched, and neither could he. It then began to rain and they returned to camp.

The next day the hunt went back to the spot and searched all over but found nothing. They even repeated the hunt in the same spot, casting the nets and beating toward them. Nobody offered any suggestions as to what could have happened, other than that they must have been taken. Not a single individual was hinted at directly or
[186] indirectly. One of the hunters suggested it was a villager, for Mbuti
[183] don't steal, but everyone knew that no villager was anywhere about in the forest during the hunt. However, the explanation, weak as it was, was better than none and, if not accepted, it was certainly not denied. The matter was not mentioned again.

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DISPUTES CONCERNING THE VILLAGE

*177 35. It might be thought that the village would be a common source
186 of dispute. Far from being so, the village most frequently occurs in
436 disputes as above, as a means of ending a dispute without settling
[621] the blame on any Mbuti and thus hastening the process of fission. Even money is assimilated into the forest pattern of distribution of food, insofar as it is ever brought into the forest (see 29, above). The only real dispute over money in my records was because the money was received for a spear which had been stolen from one villager and sold back to another, and it was difficult to assess the correct apportionment of the "game" (a hundred francs) between the "hunters."

*177 The village, however, was often being blamed for ill health, and
186 with frequent justification, for sanitation, which was no problem for
[758] the Mbuti in the forest, was a major one in the village. The village
[514] also frequently took the blame for poor hunting, particularly if some
[224] individual or some group in the band (e.g., the women who did not beat) seemed to be genuinely to blame.

*177 One dispute of major proportions, and one of the few which oc-
439 casioned direct action, did, however, have its cause in the village. The

village itself was being pressed by the administration to increase its 177*
productivity at the same time that it was being pressed to supply the 439
administration with more labor. In turn the villagers tried to press
the Mbuti into supplying them with more food. Accustomed to a bare [517]
subsistence economy, the Mbuti could never quite see the necessity, [778]
nor did they altogether feel it was right or that it would be pleasing
to the forest. Their belief, as far as I could determine, was not so [224]
much that they would be punished by the forest, but rather that the
hunt would "be closed," that they would not get the unlawful surplus,
that they might not even get enough for themselves.

To counter this the villagers offered divers kinds of medicine[*] for 789
use in the forest, and agreed to make even more powerful medicine 439
in the village. Sometimes the villagers offer to come into the forest, 177*
with a ritual specialist, to make medicine. The Mbuti tend to allow
this, as it is profitable to them. Occasionally, however, the habit
lingers, and whether or not *anjo* was originally a village or an Mbuti
custom, it is now considered as a village trick, and disliked as such.
Anjo is made by taking an antelope horn and filling it with a paste [237]
made from special parts of the antelope, charred black. This paste
is then applied with a stick to the body of the hunter, to convey to [825]
him the senses of the animal. [224]

This custom could sit perfectly well among the archers, where 789
hunting is on a more individual basis. But among the net-hunters 157
its use was taken as a sign of desire for personal gain above communal 224
gain. On one occasion, when the hunting was not particularly good, [184]
anjo horns were rounded up from all over the camp, eight in all, and destroyed in the central fire. There was some protest from the owners, but not much. It was generally agreed that this made everyone the same, and that was how things should be.

From all the above, and from the rest of the disputes recorded in 627
my notes, totalling 124, not counting the petty daily squabbles of no 126
apparent import other than as an indication of bad temper, one of the most significant features is the small number of cases in which any

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[*] Among these medicines is that encouraged by the Arab slave traders in search of [192]
ivory, specifically to give success in the elephant hunt. Known as *esumba*, *ishumba*, and divers other spellings, it is sometimes confused with a love medicine of the same name, and even more frequently with the *molimo* of the Mbuti, the word *esumba* or *lusumba* being used to describe the Mbuti *molimo* when speaking in KiNgwana, language of the Arabized Bantu tribe. It is perfectly possible that the two practices became intermingled, both, from the Mbuti point of view, being concerned with the pleasure of the forest.

627 [126] attempt is made to settle the issue in question one way or the other, even verbally, and the equally small number in which direct action is taken. The percentages are given as follows:

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DISPUTE	*Number Recorded*	*Number of Decisions or Judgments made*	*Instances of Positive Action*
Food	67	5 (7.5%)	4 (5.9%)
Sex	37	4 (10.8%)	5 (13.5%)
Village	11	1 (9.1%)	1 (9.1%)
Theft	5	3 (60%)	
Territory	4		3 (75%)

These figures indicate the greatest degree of decision, either by the passing of opinions (judgments) or by the taking of action, in the least frequent types of dispute.

In the most common disputes of all, those arising out of trivia and having no particular direction and no specific purpose, it is only about one in a hundred that comes to a head in a way that calls for
[626 182] action or decision, such as the case of the two brothers (34). Such disputes gave frequent opportunity for the voicing of opinions on almost any matter, and acted as a mechanism by which most incipient disputes of a more serious nature were detected and aired before they grew to major proportions.

627 626 578 121 182 An examination of all the recorded disputes shows that without a doubt there are forces working toward order in Mbuti society, despite its unformalized nature and the absence of political or legal "systems." Such forces include the compelling demands of the stomach, which suffers directly from any dispute that interrupts the hunting and gathering economy, as any major dispute will; the weight of public opinion, expressed verbally, or through ridicule or mime, or in action such as thrashing (rare, and only for youths) or ostracism and exile. These are the negative forces against antisocial behavior.
626 121 182 778 There are equally positive forces toward social behavior, including the esteem of one's age mates and elders, the affection of children, the contentment of a full stomach and, perhaps above all, the belief in the personal benevolence of the forest.[10] The positive aspect of the

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[171] [10] Fortune (1935) describes a parallel situation among the Manus, who, like the Mbuti, respect morality beyond the pressures of social sanctions. Fortune claims that the religious sanctions provide a socially established way of keeping the social sentiment "quick," and of bringing offenders to book without seeming to be personal. The latter aspect of religious sanctions is probably more vital for the Mbuti, where any dispute is

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forest as an incentive toward good behavior is far more important and far more strong than its negative aspect as a deterrent against bad behavior.

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likely to be highly disruptive but where disputes nonetheless occur. Any personal intervention or judgment would only be likely to lead to further disputes. The impersonal nature of the forest as arbitrator and judge maintains the impersonality of the laws; or if the forest is considered as endowed with personality, it is a spiritual personality and owes no more allegiance to one Mbuti than to another, and so is still impersonal in this context.

CHAPTER 12

Government: External

BAND TO BAND

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Marriage

As already seen, the occasions calling for political relationships between one band and another in the forest context are minimal. Insofar as bands can be considered to exist only with respect to forest hunting territory, they cease to exist as political units when in the village, and there even the little interband relationship that pertains in the forest disappears completely.

628 584 574 571 561 There are basically only three areas of relationship, two of which might be considered formal, or institutional—marriage and trespass. The third, probably the most important structurally, is the interfamily visit. In all three areas there are no recognized or set patterns, each instance being conducted according to the context of the moment. But it will be seen at once that the relationships involved are once again along age lines. Marriage involves an interchange and a relationship between the elders of one band and the elders of another, between the youths of the one and the youths of the other. Trespass involves the hunters. Interfamilial exchange generally involves the older hunters, in my experience, or young married individuals who want on occasion to visit their parents and friends in their old band.

628 584 574 [591] If marriage is contemplated between two youths of different bands, it will be the result of their having met through interfamilial exchange, or while in the village. There will have been an exchange of visits between the individuals, and when their intentions are made known it is likely, but by no means inevitable, that the family of each will visit the other's band in turn, building their hut close to that of their child's future in-laws.

628 584 561 The propriety of the marriage will have been discussed within each band, primarily by the elders; there is no exchange of this kind be-

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tween the elders of the two bands unless there is some extraordinary 584
complication, such as the adamant objection of the parental age level 561
of one band or the other. If this happens, then two or three elders,
male or female, come to visit the elders of the other band, and when
the visit is over they will return, taking with them two or three elders
to discuss the issue with their band. There is no privilege attached
in such exchanges to either band because of sex; any privilege there
might be depends upon the question of territory. Thus the band 628
where the young couple is expected to live and hunt, regardless of 591
whether their child is the bride or the groom, is considered as privileged,
and consequently is to an undefined extent under obligation
to the other band. However, as the question of residence is primarily
an economic factor, depending on the relative sizes of the bands, it is
generally settled to mutual satisfaction, and residence is not, in itself,
a frequent cause of conflict.

Elders may be called upon to interact between two bands if the 628
balance of sister exchange is becoming disproportionate. However, 591
this too is essentially a question of economic balance and is only 583
called to count if a band needs to strengthen itself. Again the issue
of locality is more important in determining the matter than is the
issue of sex. That is to say, in Mbuti society "sister exchange" can
also, under certain circumstances, be regarded as "brother exchange,"
although insofar as patrilocality is the more usual pattern, so is
"sister exchange" more appropriate. However, a band that needs
strengthening and has just received a bride for one of its members may
conceivably demand that the other band execute the rest of the exchange
and provide a groom for one of their girls. They can then
insist that he come to live with them. The fact that they have gained
by both marriages is excused because of their economic situation.

However regarded, the exchange system is so loose that it is easily 628
adaptable as a mechanism for maintaining hunting bands at economic 582
strength. To this end the hunters have some voice, but it is an issue 583
that is too clear-cut even to call for discussion, and once the issue [561]
is considered on grounds other than band size—i.e., the propriety of
the marriage or exchange balance—it is in the hands of the elders.
But even more is it all in the hands of the two individuals concerned,
for although a serious depletion in the size of the band can induce
hunters and elders alike to bring great pressure on its youths to marry,
they cannot force such marriage. Interfamilial exchange, after all, is
a perfectly simple method of increasing band strength, at least tem-

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582 porarily, and is considerably easier to arrange than a reluctant mar-
583 riage. It can be seen, then, that the kinds of relationship existing between bands for the regulation of marriage are necessarily flexible.
628 More important, marriage between bands provides a formal relation-
581 ship between the nuclear families concerned and so provides also a
594 basis for interfamilial exchange between those bands. To have such
182 an exchange relationship, on a familial level, is of much more importance than wider political ties to a band which only on the rarest of occasions may need to act in concert, as a band, with the other band.

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Trespass

Each hunting territory being economically self-sufficient, there is generally no need for economic cooperation. Boundaries are frequently natural features that restrict effectively the movement of both the hunters and the game, so trespass is also restricted. However, if following especially prized game, hunters will follow it across such boundaries with little or no hesitation. It is even said that if a band's territory is exceptionally unproductive, the band may move into a corner of its neighbor's territory, the furthest removed from wherever that band is camped at the time.

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224 It is understood that in the case of pursuit of quarry a portion of the game will be sent to the resident band. It is equally understood that, if moving into someone else's territory, they should be notified and their permission sought. If either of these provisions is not maintained it may lead to friction, and a delegation of hunters from the offended band will visit the others in their camp, perhaps even staying with them for a few days. The question of who forms such a delegation is again largely an economic matter, for the members have to be drawn from the hunters, and the home band will obviously be unwilling to decrease its hunting efficiency to any significant extent. There is the stated possibility of a resort to fighting with wooden clubs; in one instance a few young hotheads suggested using spears, but this appeared to be more a figure of speech to indicate extreme anger, and was promptly rejected by the older hunters. I have, in any case, come across not a solitary instance of such open hostilities taking place between two bands. The visiting hunters are received with respect, and the trespassing hunters generally say that they intend to fulfill their obligations and, as a sign of good faith, offer to send out a hunt so their visitors can bring meat back to their band. If the host

If the host 628
band insists that the others leave their territory, this will be done, but 224
such action is rare, for it creates a barrier against interfamilial ex- [602]
change.

If there is exceptionally good hunting in one territory and poor in 628
another, and the bands are each small, they may temporarily join as 224
one band. If they decide to cooperate in pursuit of a special hunt, this 221
is achieved in much the same way that segments of a single band 621
rejoin after the honey season. Indeed, during the honey season (among the net-hunters), each section of the band thinks and moves in terms of its specific section of the band territory, and if feelings run high between sections, infringement of section boundaries is considered just as much trespass as if it had occurred between two bands. In the same way that such segments, at the end of the honey season, gradually camp closer to each other, so two bands wishing to cooperate may approach each other.

Instances of cooperation, however, are even more rare than in- 628
stances of trespass, and even though both may be regarded as formal, there is no special mechanism for dealing with them, and their influence in determining relationships between bands is negligible.

Interfamily Exchange

Although the above two areas of contact and interband relation- 628
ship may be considered as formal, being institutionalized to at least 602
some extent, there being a recognizable process of relationship though 574
the outer form changes with the context, neither area is of as much effectiveness, in extent or degree, in determining interband relationships as the persistence with which families exchange visits. But such visits are so utterly unpredictable and circumstantial that there is not even the small amount of discernible process to be seen in the other areas. Whereas negotiations concerning betrothal or trespass at least involve recognizable elements of each band and act in response to a given stimuli, there is no saying when any given family, or how much of it, is going to decide to pack up and visit friends or relatives in another band. Nor do the families themselves generally express any other reason than that their "heart" wants it. No interference is offered by the rest of the band; indeed, there is generally no comment at all, unless their absence becomes prolonged beyond the duration of one camp—approximately a month.

The reasons for which a family might move out of one band and [621]
into another, for a temporary visit, are many and varied. Some have [591]
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628 already been mentioned, and it should be reiterated that the freedom
602 of individual families to detach and attach themselves more or less at
574 will is of the greatest importance in the maintenance of bands at
621 optimum strength, this consideration overriding any other considera-
591 tions of residence, and apparently governing the system of sister ex-
594 change itself. But the band has absolutely no control over the nuclear family if it chooses to assert itself as such in this way. There are no direct bonds tying the family to other families, or to the band; the only influence the band can exert is between members of the same age group. This may result in only a part of the family moving, though when a family does decide to act in concert it usually does so despite any amount of opposition.

Whatever the purpose of the visit, whether it is in answer to a request to help swell the size of a small band, or whether it be part of an exchange of betrothal courtesies, a desire to see old friends and relatives, sheer whim, or of course displeasure with their own band, a family that visits another band is effecting a relationship between those two bands. Their very presence in the territory of another band entitles any member of the host band, regardless of kinship, to pay a return visit, then or at any time in the future.

628 To a certain extent even individuals visiting in the same way create
574 the same kind of relationship between their own bands and the bands they visit. There is no particular term that distinguishes bands related in this way, and the Mbuti all say that in effect they could always find an excuse, if they wanted it, to visit any band anywhere in the forest—"relatives (friends) are everywhere." But generally there are preferred areas of visitation. Cephu, for instance, was criticized for visiting with the band immediately to the west of the Epulu band. But there was no way of preventing him from doing this, nor even from inviting some of them into the Epulu territory. Generally the exchange relationship exists between bands removed several times,
[582] spatially. This corresponds to the stated preferential marriage pat-
tern, it being considered bad to marry into the immediately adjoining
628 bands. However, in case of trespass, if a dispute ensues, an exchange
594 relationship is sometimes claimed between families, and the dispute
621 is then channeled off in this direction, it being left to those families
[629] to effect some kind of settlement. This may result in the family be-
longing to the offending band staying behind and visiting with the others, temporarily swelling their hunting strength. Once again, however, the band has no control over the family, and a family seeing it-

self being maneuvered into an awkward situation may suddenly leave 628
altogether and go somewhere else. Neither lineal seniority nor politi- 594
cal authority (chieftainship) are ever even mentioned in any attempt 621
to influence a family's movement. When Manyalibo and Masisi, who 602
shared the same grandfather (Manyalibo being the lineal elder), fell 621
out and moved into separate camps, it was Masisi who took the initiative, and although Manyalibo claimed that Masisi ought to respect him because of age, he never suggested that Masisi was subject to his authority. He even stated openly that Masisi had the right to move wherever he wanted, but that it was not good for "brothers" to separate.

Thus interfamily exchange can only be regarded as a direct rela- 628
tionship between two families which, if they happen to be in separate 594
bands, creates a relationship between their respective bands allowing 182
for further such interchanges. Such bands respond to each other's needs with regard to optimum economic size, occasionally cooperate, and possess an additional mechanism for the settlement of interband disputes concerning trespass or marriage exchange.

BAND TO VILLAGE

In examining relationships between the band and the village we 648 439
find the same distinction, only more clearly made, between formal 121
and informal relationships that are the most effective.

But whereas even latent antagonism between bands is minimal, there is considerable latent antagonism between band and village, manifest not only in opposed systems of economic exploitation but also in opposed systems of values. Open conflict would bring advantage to neither group, and we have to think, in view of the lack of necessary economic interdependence, of the exchange in connection with this antagonism. It does indeed offer each group ample opportunity for insulting the other, though individual exchange relationships sometimes remain amicable, and even intimate, for considerable lengths of time.

The outward objective, at least, of the general Mbuti/Villager relationship is one of economic exchange, for mutual convenience. There are a number of formal levels at which such exchange, and the necessary associated negotiations, may be conducted, using a corresponding number of media:

648 1. Band/Village: *capita*/Chief
439 2. Lineage/Lineage: Lineage elder/*Kpara*
121 3. Individual/Individual: *Karé*/*Karé*

We shall deal with each in turn to determine the formal nature of the relationship, and the degree to which it is effective.

P *Capita/Chief*

621 The relationship of the band as a whole to the village as a whole
648 would be a simple and effective one if the band were, as the villagers
C 563 claim it should be, a unilineal entity based on the principle of patri-
648 lineal descent. However, as we have seen, the band is generally com-
P posite, and in any case its composition is constantly changing. Sheer
E territorial propinquity, however, encourages a relationship of eco-
[439] nomic exchange between these two units, regardless of the composition of either. Generally speaking there is no need for the village to relate to the band as a whole, food exchange being more easily effected at an interfamilial or interpersonal level. However, under the foreign economic pressures mentioned earlier, at certain times villages found it necessary to have the massed help of all the Mbuti they could
C muster. In such a case the village Chief summoned the Mbuti *capita*
[622] and made his wishes known. The *capita* relayed these wishes to the
P [622] band, which then did whatever it thought expedient, after general discussion.

P The *capita* seems to assume more importance as an institution in
648 the villages of the archer area, to the east of the Epulu. However,
554 even there the villagers themselves admit that the institution is for-
622 eign to the Mbuti. I have not once heard it claimed otherwise, by
[177] Mbuti or villagers. Among the archers, as among the net-hunters, old
P men and women are accorded respect, but they have no authority and
[888] their area of influence is limited in accordance with their age, and
[184] does not include the village. Such elders, then, have no more say than any other Mbuti concerning village matters pertaining to the band as a whole. But village affairs do not fall within the province of any age group, and the *capita* finds himself having to deal separately with each family, if indeed he takes that much trouble at all. Sometimes he may do so if a villager accompanies him to the camp in the hopes of adding strength to the village argument. I have seen this happen among the archers as among the net-hunters, in each case with a direct plea for all Mbuti to go to the village to help with the cotton harvest.

Usually the *capita* first made a plea from midcamp, and was listened P 648
to silently, but without respect and without reply. He then went from 554
family to family, and from each family, despite the presence of the 622
villager, received an emphatic and final negative answer. If the villager P
is not present on such an occasion, either the *capita* will act the clown [522]
as he delivers his message, or both he and his message will be ridiculed by others; there is, if anything, a greater chance of his achieving something for the village under such circumstances.

Respect for age is not conveyed upon the *capita* when acting in P
that capacity. Not only is he ridiculed, but if he persists in his efforts [888]
on behalf of the village, even his juniors, family members or other-
wise, will combine to "shut his teeth." In areas where the occasional P
wealthy tourist passes by, the Mbuti regard him as they regard vil- 186
lagers, as animals to be eaten, and the *capita* fills the same role, but 622
generally with more success for the rewards are usually more immediate and satisfying to all concerned. In other respects the situation is parallel to that of the village.

The difficulty is no less, even if the Mbuti are already in the vil- P
lage. If the villagers try to exert pressure on them as a band through 648
the *capita*/Chief relationship, this precipitates an immediate return to 186
the forest because the men will not even discuss the matter in the C 648
village. Their return may just be for purposes of discussion, but it may also lead to the return of the entire band. The men seem to regard it primarily as their province, the village, in a sense, being a hunting area calling for skill and courage, rather than a gathering area, and they explain their action in these terms, allowing that their wives could come if they really had something to say.

The band/village relationship, then, is not to be considered as highly effective, though there are times when the Mbuti find it expedient to act in concert in this way.

Lineage Elders/Kpara

The relationship of an Mbuti lineage to a village lineage is a little C 613
more effective, for while a band cannot be recognized as a unilineal 571
entity, there are within it divers lineal units. One or more of these 177
may well occupy a hereditary relationship with a village lineage, the P 613
head of which would be the *kpara*. They have no name for the head 571
of their lineage except "old man," the term by which the villagers 177*
also refer to him.

As stated earlier, this relationship may be exceptionally cordial,

C **As stated earlier, this relationship may be exceptionally cordial,**
563 and will then be maintained even if the Mbuti lineage is removed by
571 a considerable distance from the village of its *kpara*. On the other
177 hand the relationship may be extremely hostile, for if the Mbuti are
P 571 not dealing with their *kpara*, they are certainly dealing with someone
*177 else and this causes a three-way antagonism. The *kpara*, having no political control over the Mbuti and being unable to apply any effective economic sanctions, take refuge in their belief in supernatural sanctions or else employ the local doctor to effect a curse. Their only hope of practical recompense lies in making a case against the villager with whom their Mbuti are dealing.

C Insofar as the villages themselves have been tending to become
621 somewhat divided, certain members being sent or simply going else-
613 where to work, the situation is aggravated and it is difficult to assess
571 the reasons, precisely, for the noneffectiveness of the interlineage re-
P lationship. Again the major immediate cause, though not necessarily
621 the reason, is the fluid and composite nature of the Mbuti band, the
613 571 periodic division of which may cut right across lineage divisions.

Karé/Karé

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608 Male Mbuti individuals are related formally to male village individ-
628 uals through the institutional *karé* brotherhood. The *nkumbi* initia-
571 tions which take place periodically (every three years for the past
881 twenty years or so, in the central Ituri) are not confined to individual
177 villages, but draw candidates from a number of villages within the
P same major segment of the tribe. Frequently the *kpara* will try to see
608 that members of their own immediate family are made *karé* to their
571 Mbuti, but this is not always possible, and the *karé* relationship is
*177 881 liable to cut across the lineage relationship.

It is essentially a brotherhood pact avowing reciprocal obligations
C including and centering around economic exchange. But it is a more
608 intimate relationship than can exist between the Mbuti and their
571 *kpara*, particularly as they are related not only in terms of the knife
177 but also in terms of age. During the period of seclusion in the initia-
P 608 tion camp, *karé* are always expected to be close to each other, al-
571 though any attempt of the one to comfort the other will be ridiculed.
*177 They are, however, frequently set tasks to perform jointly, or made to perform services for each other. A bond is begun with the knife, and may grow, under these circumstances, into a lasting friendship. It is because of this friendship, and not because of the knife, that an Mbuti may well maintain an exchange relationship with his *karé*

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throughout his life. It is also a question of friendship with the villager, but for him the relationship is further compelled by his belief in his own tribal lore, a compulsion not felt by the Mbuti. The Mbuti sometimes exploit this relationship with a *karé* as they may also do with their *kpara* for whom they feel no friendship, knowing that the strength of tribal lore, and the fear of supernatural sanctions upon themselves, will bring at least a grudging response.

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Although essentially an individual relationship rather than a band relationship, failure on the part of an Mbuti to respond to his *karé* is considered by the villagers as a violation of village law, and can be made into a lineage/lineage or a band/village issue, but with predictable lack of success because of the absence of any effective agency of control. However, the attempt is sometimes made, and the band may at least be held responsible, in violation of *karé* brotherhood, for the actions of one of its members.

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None of these formal relationships, then, brings about much effective economic exchange, and the political relationship is correspondingly ineffective. The mechanisms for political relationship are there, but their use is made impossible by the whole process of flux in Mbuti society. At the best those mechanisms are taken up and used momentarily when it is found to be mutually advantageous.

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Individual Economic Relationships

There is, however, the last level, that of the nuclear family to the nuclear family, by which the band relates to a village. This is the effective level at which the bulk of economic exchange takes place among the Epulu Mbuti, and among most other net-hunting bands I have seen. In view of the flux that characterizes Mbuti society, it is indeed the only level that could provide any realistic basis of relationship.

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It may not even necessarily be a family-to-family relationship. Individual members of the Mbuti family may go their own way and relate as such to village individuals. But once formed, these relationships are likely to remain fairly constant, for as long as the Mbuti family is hunting within that territory, or within reasonable reach. Several such attachments might be formed by the Mbuti, though generally not more than one in any one village. This leads to effective economic exchange but it provides no basis whatsoever for relating the band to the village, and it offers the villagers no more opportunity for control than they already have; namely, the fondness of the Mbuti for village luxuries.

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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439 for village luxuries. Bribery, indeed, may be said to be the only effec-
594 tive control the villagers have over the Mbuti. But it is short-lived
563 and costly, and is on an individual or familial basis at the most. As
571 far as internal relations are concerned, the band clearly exists as a
177 territorial unit composed of a number of nuclear families cooperating
P
439 in economic food quest. The Epulu band, and nearly all others stud-
594 ied, are characterized by a composite nature, negating the possibility
571 of lineal authority. Any form of central authority is further negated
*177 by the constant changing of band composition. Leadership exists in
P respect to different fields at different age levels, and is nowhere cen-
621 tered in a single individual. Any attempt at the assumption of indi-
vidual authority, or even of excessive influence, is sharply countered
by ridicule or ostracism.

P There is consequently no central leadership, in the form of an in-
621 dividual or even of a council, with which the centralized village leader-
608 ship can deal in political terms. Nor is there any lineal leadership, let
*177 alone any stable lineal unit, with which village lineal units can relate,
571 except in theory. The institution of *karé* brotherhood is primarily an
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563 individual relationship, and although its abuse can enlarge the rela-
177 tionship to a band/village level, there is again no mechanism of effec-
608 tive relationship at that level. Therefore the *karé* relationship, insofar
571 as it is effective, only relates individuals.

P Effective economic relationship of a stable nature can be seen to
621 exist only between individuals or between families, determined by ter-
439 ritorial considerations and by mutual satisfaction. The only control
571 arises from these considerations, heightened by the Mbuti addiction
*177 to certain village foods. However, this fragments the band to such
C an extent that we can say the band simply ceases to exist, as such,
563 in relationship to any village community. Neither the Chief nor the
439 *capita* has the slightest authority or control over the band; flux ren-
571 ders a lineal interrelationship impossible, and we are left with no
177 more than an agglomeration of person-to-person exchange relation-
P ships that may be economically effective but convey no political con-
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[622] trol to either side, the nuclear family being the largest effective unit,
and frequently not even being that.

[P. 228-A]

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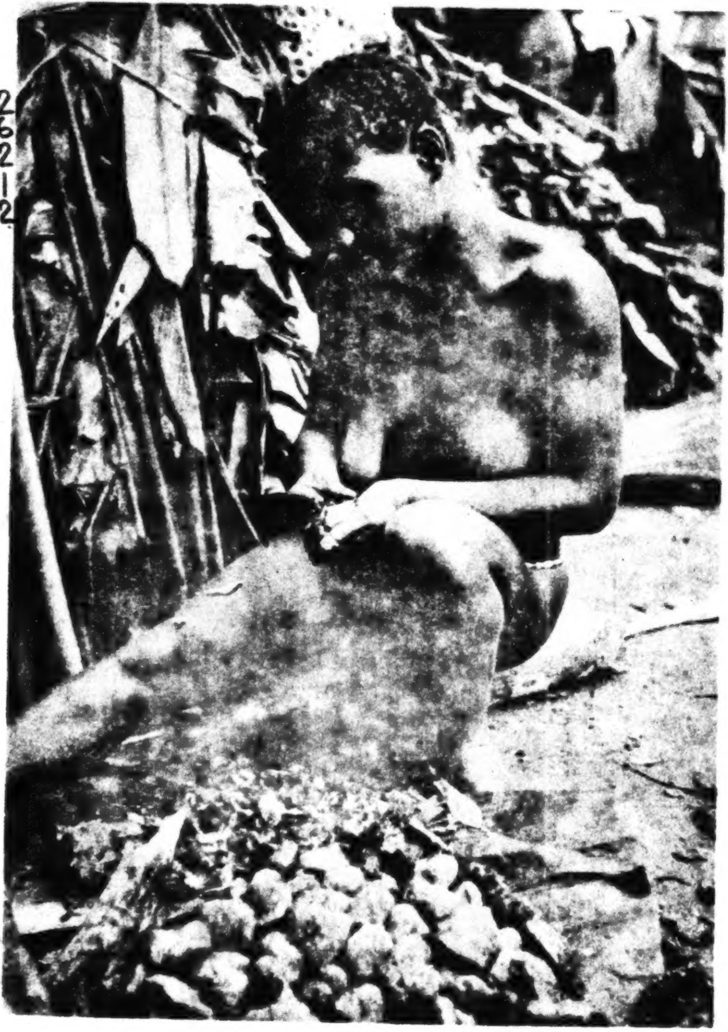

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21. A young Mbuti mother, sitting on a log, prepares mushrooms, using a village knife. Another such knife lies across her left foot. It is probably the most widely used utensil for which the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers, though still not indispensable.

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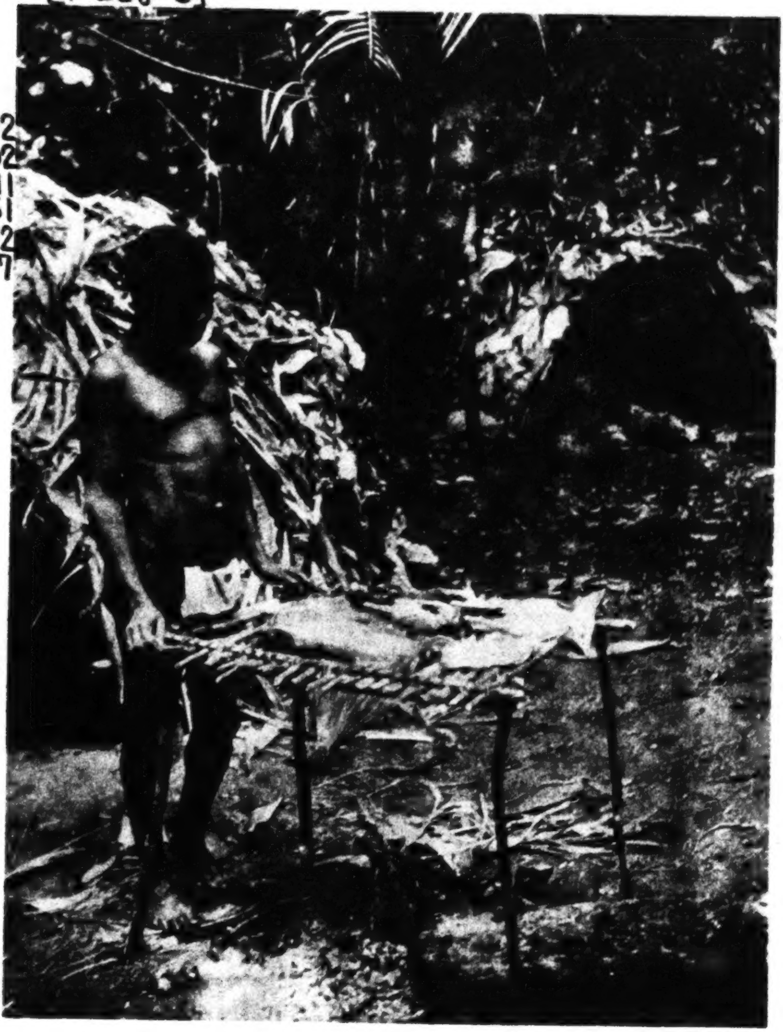

22. A young hunter prepares meat on a smoking rack for bringing to the village.

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23. A youth, Kenge, strips a piece of bark before it is soaked, prior to hammering it into cloth.

24. Strips of bark, softened by water or smoke, are hammered into cloth up to eighteen inches wide. There are many individual preferences for different types of bark.

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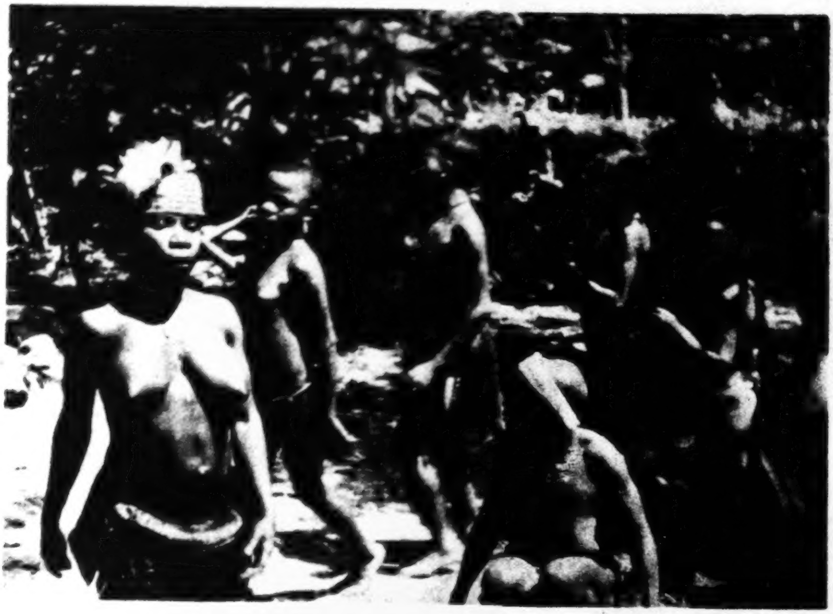
[P.228-D]



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25. Akidinimba celebrates her puberty and her forthcoming marriage during an *elima* dance.

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26. A young Mbuti mother, Epini, with her infant wrapped in a specially chosen piece of bark cloth. She will freely allow other women to fondle and even nurse her child, and will pass it around for the men to hold and admire.

[P.229]

CHAPTER 13

Magic, Witchcraft and Sorcery

MAGIC

To separate the world of magic from the world of religion is perhaps a dangerous pursuit, and not always profitable. In this instance it is done because we can thereby achieve a significant contrast between the world of the village and the world of the forest. By and large the village world is full of magic, witchcraft and sorcery, leaving little room for what might be considered the more spiritual, or religious, aspects of belief, faith or even hope, and certainly none for worship in the sense of devotion. C 754 789 771 P 771 789 754 177*

The forest world, on the other hand, is remarkably lacking in the former elements, and filled with the latter. But there is an overlapping and, necessarily, a meeting ground where any further overlapping is rejected and which becomes an area of conflict. The Mbuti have their own very simple forms of magic, but no witchcraft or sorcery, which they utterly reject. However, when faced with it in a village context, they are forced to come to terms with it and they have learned to turn these village institutions to their own advantage, in much the same way that they accept other village institutions such as the *nkumbi* initiation.

Increasingly one is aware of a curious ambivalence in the Mbuti attitude toward the village. This is not surprising in itself, when two opposed societies are in such close juxtaposition. But the vehemence of the Mbuti denial of witchcraft and sorcery seems at odds with the meekness of their acceptance, however nominal, of village domination in the village context. The answer lies mainly in the Mbuti attitude to the unknown, an attitude that is optimistic but open. In the realm of the known they can afford to be vehement, and they are perfectly aware of the social values of an institution such as witchcraft, and make use of it without accepting the belief. Similarly with the P 771 754 177*

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P Similarly with the
771 *nkumbi*, the Mbuti see submission as a means of acquiring status,
881 which is necessary to them if they are to have any part at all in village
*177 society. They also see in it, and in witchcraft, a means of defeating
754 the villagers on their own grounds, by proving their superiority. They
571 can do this in the *nkumbi* by being excessively brave, either physically
or by flaunting the taboos and thus exposing themselves to super-
C natural sanctions. They can achieve the same end similarly by pre-
[829] tending to be better witches than the villagers, and indeed the
villagers often believe this to be the case.[1]

P Nonetheless, the adoption of an institution, for whatever motive,
771 brings a number of results, some of which will inevitably correspond
*177 to those expected and desired in the original context. This is a reality, a practical experience, and as such cannot help but somewhat alter the attitude of the Mbuti. In this way they may begin to partially believe in village magic or witchcraft or supernatural sanctions, at least insofar as such belief is not contradicted by the rest of their experience. This ambivalence is particularly marked when they are in the village, which is full of the unknown for the Mbuti, and is correspondingly much less pronounced in the forest. It is with this in mind that we should examine the magico-religious practices of the Mbuti, where there seems to be so much borrowing.

P Magic is best defined, for all the tribes in the Ituri region, as the
C manipulation of material objects which in itself is believed to be the
789 direct cause of certain results, with no invocation or spiritual inter-
121 vention. It is essentially a natural and, from the local point of view, scientific procedure, having nothing to do with the supernatural.

C The villagers have recourse to magical acts, so defined, for almost
789 any circumstance over which they have no other form of control, yet
C which does not call for the invocation of supernatural intervention.
[755] Fertility of men, women and land may be secured by such processes,
as may protection against thieves and adulterers; the weather may be
influenced, illness may be cured. If the magic takes the form of an
C
756 amulet to be worn, it may be secured from the local doctor; if it is
755 something requiring more elaborate manipulation, such manipula-
789 tion is generally considered a professional secret, and certain individ-

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[1] The situation is somewhat analogous to that described by Lévi-Strauss (1955) for the Nambikwara chief who understood the principle of writing as a means of communication, and imitated it in order to heighten his status among his band and to intensify his measure of control. In each case the adoption of the institution was not for its original value, but to strengthen a somewhat precarious position. It is probable that the Nambikwara chief was thinking not only of his relationship with his own band but also of that with the European "band."

C
uals acquire the reputation of possessing the necessary skills. The 756
doctors in particular possess such skills as part of their profession as 755
diviners and curers, but even they recognize manipulative power in 789
others, and do not try to effect a monopoly.

If the magic fails, it is considered that the manipulation was faulty and will be tried again. Several successive failures will be attributed to the intervention of supernatural forces, and will then involve witchcraft or sorcery.

As shown earlier (p. 54 *seq.*), village magic, even regarded as it P
should be, in context—as scientifically valid—has little to offer the 777*
Mbuti. It may nominally impinge upon their world, for there are, for 789
instance, divers forms of magic to protect plantations against Mbuti raiders. But the Mbuti attitude to magic is different, for they recognize village magic as a mere attempt to control a situation, and not as a scientifically valid process. Brought face to face with such magic they may be wary, but primarily they are skeptical.

In their own world the unknowns are far fewer, and the need for P 771
control over events scientifically beyond their control is far less keenly 778
felt. Such actions as may be described as magical, pertaining to 789
health, weather or the hunt, involve an identification with the forest, being forms of sympathetic magic. In this respect, then, they are in
a sense religious acts, for the forest is regarded as their protector. It P
would be difficult to determine whether the hunting fire is meant to [782]
placate or propitiate the forest, thus being a religious act involving a belief in a spiritual force, or whether it is thought to actively and directly affect the forest game, luring it into the nets. Mbuti attitudes, both expressed and observable, are mixed; the elements of religious belief, however, are never entirely absent.

The protective "magic" used to secure good health for a newborn P 751
baby, a vine bracelet and wooden charm, equally involves in a very 778
real sense a religious belief in the power and strength and protective- 854
ness of the forest, as well as making a more truly "magical" connection between the physical strength of the forest vine and trees and the weakness of the newborn baby, using the charms as a medium through which this strength can flow.

All this makes honey magic all the more outstanding, for it accords P 222
honey gathering far more ritual attention than is accorded to the 789
economically incomparably more important activities of hunting and gathering. Some of the magic is slight and individual—a piece of bark cloth belonging to a girl or a woman is put in a cleft stick with a piece

222 of honeycomb pressed down above it. Two sticks are prepared in this
789 way by a hunter, and when the cloth is set on fire the hunter waves them both in the air. He then hands each of them to a youth, and the two youths run through the camp and out into the forest around the camp. The womenfolk clap loudly until the youths return and rather unceremoniously put the sticks down near the central fire.

222 The honey dance also separates the sexes, the women pretending
789 to be bees, men the honey gatherers. Yet another separation, sym-
462 bolizing the power of the women, is the medicine that is said to at-
825 tune one's hearing so that one can hear the larvae wriggling in the
[535] honeycombs, high up in the trees. A woman prepares a stick which, when blown through, produces a misty spray. She blows into the ears of all the men. The men say that the bubbling noise they hear is the sound of larvae and grubs eating honey, and that it will guide them to the hives.

222 There is seldom any doubt as to where honey lies, and it is plainly
789 the social rather than the economic importance of the honey season
561 that is being celebrated. This is most clear in the great *angbe* medicine, in which the age groups are further differentiated and which includes attention to orientation that is quite unique in my experience (this, together with several other features, is so singular that it cannot be adequately explained at the moment, but is nonetheless described for its intrinsic interest).

222 At the *kuma'ngbe* (hearth of honey), a number of youths chop
789 a special *tembu* wood into kindling (the only time I have ever seen
561 kindling prepared). Four hunters supervise. The four hunters then
824 put their honey axes down in the hearth, blades to the center. One
823 of the hunters lines the axes up so they align with the cardinal points
372 of the compass. This done, each hunter takes his ax and draws it
412 toward him, cutting a trench along that line. In this way four trenches, two feet long and three inches wide and deep, are cut. In the center a square is cut so that the four corners indicate the intermediate compass points. The position of the sun is consulted to insure
[821] correct alignment.

A senior hunter has meanwhile cut four lengths of *teka* vine, carefully bound so that its juices do not escape. He removes the binding and allows the juice to fill the center square, after which water is added to fill the trenches. The combination of juice and water is said to be *mota*, or powerful. Each vine is laid in a trench, projecting at the extremities. Two youths then take out the vines and shake them

Two youths then take out the vines and shake them
in all directions, liberally sprinkling anyone who happens to be stand- 222
ing by. Other youths are by now standing about, whistling on their 789
honey whistles, a form of *madi* called *singbe*. The kindling is then 561 824
stuck upright in the trenches, beside the *teka* vines, which have been 372
replaced. Children help with this. 412

A hunter then places a single ember, apparently drawn from any fire, in a *mongongo* leaf and, having filled the center square with *mongongo* leaf stems, he places the coal on top. More kindling is added, crisscrossed much like a house of cards, each piece carefully placed by youths and hunters together. Without fanning, the kindling catches and a dense cloud of smoke is given off. An elder then brings over a bundle of old leaves that have been used for collecting honey, and places them near the fire. He waits until the smoke begins to dwindle, then directs the operation of placing the honey axes in the hearth, waiting for the blades to get warm and then using them to split some *toangbe* wood. The *toangbe* tree and the *tembu* tree are both good honey trees, but the *tembu* tree has to grow "old and fat" before it is favored by the bees.

Elders then carefully arrange the old leaves, adding more as neces-
sary, in a large circle around the fire. Four *singbe* whistles are stuck [534]
in the ashes of the fire, pointing to the cardinals. While elders stand
and shout, women gather and loudly clap their hands, and both hunt- [533]
ers and youths kneel on the circle of leaves, facing in to the hearth, and begin pounding their fists rhythmically on the ground. The tempo increases to a maximum and is broken off with a sudden shout. This is repeated twice more, after which the hearth is abandoned and camp life resumes as though nothing had happened.

The Mbuti themselves are unable to give any satisfactory expla- [782]
nation of the performance, and it seems to combine elements of [776]
genuine magic (for they talk of the smoke attracting the bees and bringing honey to them) and of invocation of supernatural intervention (the *keti* are said to hear the pounding on the ground and will know that the Mbuti want honey). Whatever it may be thought to achieve, however, *angbe* (also *angbelu*) undoubtedly reiterates the division of the band into age groups, a division that is evident throughout the net-hunting season but is not so necessarily a part of activity during the honey season.

However regarded, Mbuti magic implies belief and is to that extent 789
religious, no matter how much it may also be thought to have direct 771
causal attributes, and the belief always supposes the benevolence of 121

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
789

771 | the power believed in. There is not a solitary instance to show the
121 | belief in a malevolent power against which protection must be sought.
P This is plainly different from village magic, which is essentially pragmatic
C
789 and not in any way related to a central value system. We
771 | showed earlier (pp. 53–62) how magic does not provide a means by
121 | which the villagers can control the Mbuti. By a comparison of the
two systems of magic we can see in effect how clearly they indicate
major value differences despite initial outward similarities. In particular,
P
[778] the Mbuti attitude to the forest as a benevolent central value in their lives can be seen, and while in village magic we see only the lack
C
[754] of such a central value, when we examine witchcraft and sorcery we
see its exact polar opposite.

And it will be remembered how (pp. 57–59) the Mbuti recognize
the difference in attitudes toward magic, and put it to good use. The
C
[186] villagers regard Mbuti culture as impoverished in all respects, and
the lack of the magic so abundant in village life is part of their argument.
P In making this lack of magic an excuse for the allegedly poor
[224] hunting that has deprived their *kpara* of meat, the Mbuti turn the
[439] situation nicely to their advantage, and turn the argument of the
villagers against them. Thus although village magic and forest magic
are different and distinct, the areas overlap in such a way as to deepen
the opposition between the two worlds.

C

WITCHCRAFT

754 With witchcraft the situation is different, for this is something peculiar
563 to the village world. Earlier (pp. 59–60) we showed some of the
186 ways in which village witchcraft (often confused by the Mbuti with
P
*177 sorcery) impinges on forest life. Again, the villagers regard the lack
754 of witchcraft in Mbuti culture as a sign of cultural poverty, and in
their own belief in the power of witchcraft they seek to use it in their
constant struggle to impose some kind of control over the hunters.
However, the Mbuti again make use of the village belief in witchcraft
for their own ends, using it as a means of escape from situations
in which they would otherwise be culpable and stand to lose a good
exchange relationship.

P In their own forest world, however, witchcraft plays no part, except
*177 insofar as it is recognized as a useful device for deflecting blame, and
754 is thus occasionally used, tongue in cheek, to resolve a dispute. As
626 indicated in the foregoing chapter, the prime objective in the settle-

ment of a dispute is to avoid attaching blame to one individual or P 177*
another, for this would result in a rift in the band. The blame has to 754
be either deflected or dissipated, and the village notion of witchcraft 626
is sometimes used to this end.

In the prolonged dispute over Ekianga and his three wives, the P 177*
situation was aggravated by having, in the same band, Ekianga's 754
brother-in-law, Amabosu, with whom he had exchanged sisters, and 578
Amabosu's mother, old Sau. Sau made an ideal scapegoat, conform- 554
ing to the village notions of what a witch should look like, and her 595
role at times became rather like that of the camp clown. She would be accused of dancing outside people's huts in the middle of the night, and on one occasion she was distinctly heard to mutter in an exasperated voice, "Do they expect me to urinate inside my hut?"—for she had indeed emerged in the middle of the night to answer a call of nature. Nonetheless, on that occasion she rose to the needs of the moment and agreed that she had been dancing because she had been made to dance, and she was not responsible, and she was sorry for any harm she had done.

However, she was a major and active peacemaker in the family squabble, actively intervening to prevent Ekianga and Amabosu from fighting, and equally actively looking after the children of all the wives involved, passing them from one to the other and in this way helping to preserve reasonable relationships at least between her daughter and her son's wife.

All the more in the village was Sau used as a scapegoat. But whereas P
in the forest the scapegoat, even if the clown, feels the full weight of 177*
the blame he takes upon himself and may suffer some unpopularity, 534
though temporary, in the village there is no such disadvantage, and 754
old Sau played her role with zest. At a time when there were an un- 761
usual number of deaths through stomach disorders contracted in the [647]
village, the Mbuti were sharply criticized by the villagers for allowing 754
this to happen and not taking the proper protective measures. It was 563
plainly witchcraft, if not sorcery, and it was their duty to find the witch and have the necessary purification. An elaborate witch-hunt was held in the village, and of course Sau was finally "divined" and dragged out of her hut—where, at the time, she was dozing—complaining about all the noise.

Emerging into the center of the village she made all the usual pro- P 754
tests, and performed the usual trick of stabbing herself with a knife, 177*
but holding it carefully so that it just nicked the skin sufficiently to 554

P draw impressive-looking streaks of blood. She was promptly stopped
754 from "killing" herself, having it explained to her that she was only a
*177 witch and could not really help what she had done, and only had to
554 purify herself.

C However, the deaths continued and nobody else was willing to take
754 Sau's role, and in the end there was no alternative but to accuse her
563 of sorcery. In village belief, witchcraft substance is normally dormant
P but may become activated through a number of causes. A witch is a
*177 person who possesses this substance but has no control over it. Once
754 554 discovered, the witch is under an obligation to keep the substance
761 "cool." Sau obviously was not keeping hers cool, and it is said that
if very bad people know they are possessed of witchcraft substance
they may learn how to control it deliberately, and they then become
sorcerers. Sau, then, was accused of deliberate and malevolent use of
P her witchcraft substance. She was formally condemned to be beaten
[683] to death. The Mbuti made a show of beating her but then stopped,
telling the villagers that they did not want to kill her as then they
would only have her spirit to deal with (using another purely village
concept), which would be much more difficult to control. Exile was
suggested instead, and Sau was duly exiled, and departed for her own
village in great spirits, laden down with foodstuffs.

P The deaths had caused the band, which originally had been gathered
*177 in the village for a wedding, to depart abruptly for the forest as
761 soon as the Sau incident was over. It took a number of days to prepare
754 themselves, taking fond farewells of their exchange partners, and
621 Ekianga went ahead with three other hunters and their families to
166 554 select the site. When the rest arrived they found Ekianga comfortably
installed, with the sorceress, Sau, happily in an adjoining hut
looking after his children. Her position in the forest was in no way
changed. She remained a scapegoat, but her right to stay with the
band was never seriously challenged, nor were the respect and affection
with which she was regarded ever diminished.

P The same use of witchcraft was found in other bands, and the same
*177 professional scapegoats. The other "witches," like Sau, occasionally
554 made fun of the whole thing by miming all their alleged achievements
754 as witches, including the legendary witch's dance and the casting of
184 the "evil eye." In every case the "witch" occupied an otherwise perfectly
normal role in camp life, having no more and no less respect
P than any other by virtue of being a scapegoat.

*177 754 [192] [626] In forest life there is no need for witchcraft as a social institution,

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for there are other mechanisms to deal with the situations with which 754
witchcraft, in village life, deals. As indicated, it may play a minor and 177*
supplementary role in the dispersal of blame in a dispute, but completely [182]
without involving any belief in the actual presence of witchcraft [626]
substance. It is highly significant that the concept of supernatural
power in this form is utterly foreign to the Mbuti, and this places
them in a somewhat disadvantageous position when brought face to
face with the village notion of sorcery, and the practice of cursing.

SORCERY

P
While the Mbuti make limited use of village concepts of magic and C
witchcraft for their own practical ends, they make no such use of 754
sorcery, having for it a complete abhorrence. The villagers themselves
never admit to being sorcerers, for sorcery is by definition antisocial
and evil, but they may use the threat of sorcery (pp. 60–62) and
claim to have employed a sorcerer against the Mbuti. More likely still,
they may seek the aid of the local doctor to effect a curse against the
Mbuti for nonfulfillment of their side of a bargain.

P
From the village point of view there is a world of difference between 177*
a sorcerer's curse and a doctor's curse, but from the Mbuti 754
point of view they are one and the same thing. The theoretical and 784
institutional aspects of magic and witchcraft the Mbuti can appreciate C
and turn to their advantage. Confronted with sorcery they have [754]
no recourse but flight. Flight in itself is significant, for it is flight away
from the village into the forest or, if already in the forest, then it is
flight further into the forest. On the whole it is a firm belief that
sorcery is ineffective outside the village, but sometimes circumstances
(such as poison) combine to indicate otherwise, and then it becomes
a question of proximity to the village. Once again, however, as with P
magic, we find the Mbuti regarding the forest as a place of refuge, a [778]
place where they are sure of protection.

P
Against witchcraft, all the Mbuti have to do is to acknowledge being 177*
witches and go through the necessary purifications; the belief 754
never touches them. Against sorcery, apart from flight, they have no [755]
means of defense for there is no counterpart in their experience. Sorcery
implies the use of supernatural powers to effect harm on someone.
Two concepts are involved that are foreign to the Mbuti: one is [829]
that a supernatural power can be used for anything but the social
good, and the second is that anyone could wish, anonymously as it

P
754 were, harm upon another. Masisi put it as well as it could be put when
*177 discussing Aberi's death (pp. 61–62), allegedly due to an Ngwana's
[829] use of sorcery. The circumstances were such—the three healthy "accused"
all dying within such a short space of time following the curse
—that there was a general discussion of village sorcery. There was disagreement
of opinion as to whether or not it involved supernatural
power, as claimed by the villagers. Most Mbuti stated bluntly that
P this was impossible, for such power was necessarily good. They held
[761] that the deaths had all been caused by poison. Others were not so
[278] sure. But the crux of the discussion was that whether caused by supernatural
power or by poison, the action was not that of a man. Masisi
P [978] said, "If you have a quarrel with a man you hit him with a wooden
club, and he sees who hit him. You do not go and hide yourself and
kill him with your thoughts."

P While the Mbuti seek to remove themselves as far as possible from
*177 sorcery, feeling as though they were contaminated by it, their attitude
754 to other associated supernatural beliefs of the villagers is quite
771 different, being determined by different experience. A villager who
C has cursed one man may claim that the sickness of that man's distant
754 cousin is a result of his curse, or that the falling of a tree that nearly
killed the man's child was equally a result of the curse. These are not
allegations that can be proved or disproved, and the Mbuti consequently
have a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward sorcery; their
disbelief is tinged, at least, by a reluctant suspicion.

C However, the villagers also believe that there exist various malevolent
776 spirits, sometimes spirits of sorcerers, and that these spirits have
C to be avoided, for there is no sure way of placating or propitiating
[782] them. Their abode is the forest, which to the villagers is the abode of
[784] all evil. Their powers are phenomenal and almost insuperable, avoidance
being the only sure safeguard, ritual propitiation being enough
to prevent the spirits from entering the village. Thus the forest is a
place to be avoided on account of the spirits.

P The Mbuti see two things very clearly. One is that such spirits simply
776 do not exist in their forest, and the other is that this particular
*177 village belief deserves to be maintained for as long as it is effective
538 in keeping villagers out of the forest. Consequently the Mbuti, who
are great storytellers at all times, delight in stories—among themselves
and in front of villagers—that enumerate the powers and horrors
of such evil forest spirits. Sometimes the stories are of village
origin, embellished by Mbuti imagination; sometimes they are pure

Mbuti creations. But however much they enlarge upon the power P
and horror of the evil spirits, they always show that the Mbuti are 776
not without power themselves, and the spirits are every now and again 177*
defeated and killed by Mbuti trickery. This confirms the village belief 538
that the Mbuti are in fact in league with the spirits; just the fact [186]
that they coexist in the same forest is cited by many villagers as evidence of their affinity. [776]

I cite two legends here (the KiBira versions of the same legends P
told by the same Mbuti are given in Appendix I[1]), both of which show 539
Mbuti ambivalence at its height. The first describes an Mbuti band 186
in a village context (in a plantation) and pointedly refers to a myth [245]
that the Mbuti had bananas before the villagers. This is not generally believed to be true, but it is a way of expressing the undoubted prior occupation and ownership of the forest by the Mbuti. In this legend P
the Mbuti are threatened by a quasi-real enemy, the elephant. Elephants 539
are indeed destructive to plantations and sometimes to Mbuti 186
camps, but here, as seen at the end, the elephant is also a symbol for 825
the villager (who is also destructive in his act of cutting down the forest). To rid themselves of the elephantine menace the Mbuti invent a story about evil spirits, making use of the knowledge that the elephant is basically stupid. When describing the elephant's fear of the spirits, the narrator comments, "Their fear was empty" ("*bachei ba bo*"), "for elephants are like villagers" ("*bambongu bua sopilabatu*"). The legend significantly ends with the promise that the narrator and his family will live happily forever after, but for "happily" the word *kobia* (more often, *ekimi*) is used. It means "quietly."

LEGEND OF THE MBUTI PLANTATION P

In olden times we Mbuti had bananas before the people of the 539
village. The people of the village stole bananas from us. We shared 186 825
together, we Mbuti taking the leaves and the villagers taking the 245
roots. They tricked us this way.

Our plantations of old were good, but the elephants used to bother us a lot. They killed many plantations. The Mbuti said, "What shall we do? The elephants are bothering us so much and are killing our plantations."

An old man, very old indeed, said, "When the elephants come again, we shall talk with them." The youths said, "What will you say?" The old man replied, "You shall see, children."

[1] [see page 301 -- Analyst]

539 The elephants came. They began to kill all the bananas. They be-
186 gan to completely kill the plantation. The youths ran to the old man
825 and said, "Oh, Father, the elephants have come again and are killing
245 our plantation." [The old man said], "Good, I shall go and chat with
them. All of you stay here, completely quiet."

The old man went to the plantation. He cried and cried. He threw himself on the ground. The elephants looked at him and said, "What thing is this? The youths have not come to chase us away, only an old Mbuti and he just cries. It is good, we shall eat quietly."

They ate many bananas, and the youths remained completely quiet in the camp. The old man cried greatly, "Oh, my children, all are dead. Oh, my children, where are they?"

The elephants heard, and said to the old man, "Why are you crying like that? And where are the youths? We shall eat up all the plantation." The old man replied, "Eat, eat it all. My children are all dead." And he continued crying.

539 The elephants said, "But you have many children. How did they
186 die?" The old man said, "It was an evil spirit, very evil indeed. He
825 walked with two spears.[2] He was very fat, like you. Every day I sent
245 someone to cut bananas and the evil spirit ate him. Now he has eaten
776 all my children. He said it was his plantation and that he would kill
everyone who came here. Oh, my children have all died emptily. Why
did the evil spirit not bother some other plantation, why did he curse
mine?" He cried greatly and he left.

The elephants said, "Ha! If a spirit that bad has cursed this plantation, we should go somewhere else. Let us go quickly, before he kills us!"

Because elephants are like people of the village, and they are afraid of evil spirits. But they are afraid emptily. They went far. The old man called all his children and said, "Now the elephants will not come back. They think this is a place full of bad spirits. Thus we shall remain quiet. It is our plantation. Nobody else will bother us."

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186 Although the scene is the plantation, thus asserting their claim to
829 the plantations of the villagers, the Mbuti plainly are really referring

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[765] [2] Evidently a feature that to the Mbuti conveys a real fear of or respect for the supernatural, for in the morning rampages of the *molimo*, in its role as judge and when seeking Mbuti who are committing the crime of sleeping during the singing, the hunter acting the part carries a spear under each arm. See also in the second legend cited, where a spirit wanders through the night with two firebrands, which is the way in which the entrance of the *molimo* trumpet into the camp is often marked.

539

to their forest sanctuary, and describing their tactics for keeping it 186
free of bothersome, elephant-like villagers. Hunting is not mentioned; 829
the two spears (and in the next legend the two firebrands) are 539
uniquely related to the *molimo*, which, as is seen in the next chapter, 186
offers major roles to the elders and the youths; precise age levels are 829
specified in this legend. Thus the defense of the forest is considered 765
as part of the role of the *molimo*. There is significantly no talk of a [789]
resort to magic or witchcraft or sorcery, and the mention of the evil [754]
spirits is accompanied by no belief in them. [776]

In the second legend, however, the first part is a very straight de- 539
scription of exactly how an Mbuti might cheat a villager simply by 439
concealing a portion of his honey, whereas the second part describes how the Mbuti is himself cheated. The second part alone could be taken as another way in which Mbuti explain to villagers why they have no meat or honey for them (see a third legend at the end of this chapter for such an example), but in this juxtaposition seems to indicate a certain belief that the Mbuti themselves might be cheated in this way.

LEGEND OF DOUBLE TRICKERY

539
222

I went to the forest to collect honey. I went, I went, I went. I went very far, beyond the big river [an indication of trespass, perhaps, making it a situation displeasing to the forest; hence the ultimate defeat of the Mbuti?]. I heard the sound of bees. Way up high I saw the place of the honey. I said, "Ha! Nobody has enclosed this tree with a vine; it is my tree, it is my honey."

I sharpened my ax, very sharp indeed. I cut a vine, I fanned up my fire and put the fire [smoking embers] in my basket. I began to climb. I climbed, I climbed, I climbed. The honey was very high up, it was real honey, not *apuma* [a special fermented honey]. I reached it. I fastened the vine and I sat. I put the fire [in a leaf cone] into the hole and I blew. Much smoke came and the bees ran away. I chopped,
I chopped, I chopped. While I was cutting I heard someone walking
below. "Ah! Who is walking below me? It is my master [*kpara*]. [571]
He heard me cutting [the adverse aspect of noise] and followed me."

I began to sing. I sang loudly. He called to me, but I pretended 539
that I did not hear him. I sang and I chopped. I sang, "Ah! I am chop- 222
ping out honey to give to my *kpara*!" And slowly I chopped out the 571
honey. I got a lot of it. But I only put part of it in my basket. The 439

539 rest I put in a place where the tree had two arms [i.e., in a fork]. I
222 sang, "Ah! There is only a little honey, but I shall give it all to my
571 *kpara*." I came down.
439 "Ah! My Mbuti, what are you doing here?" My *kpara* looks at the basket.

"Ah! My master. I came to search for my honey, but there is only a little of it. It is a bad year. It is heavy work. You must go back with my honey; if I get any more I shall come with it."

The *kpara* took my honey with him and returned to the village to say that he had eaten all my honey. His stupidity! [*Ndamdama nda'e!* or *Mbafu yaké!*] When he had gone I quickly climbed up above and I collected all the honey from the place I had put it, and I came down to return to the camp and share it with all my relatives. I walked, I walked, I walked. I arrived at the big river. Darkness began to come. I said, "Ha! Is night catching me in the middle of the forest like this? What shall I do?" I climbed up a big tree and lay there.

539 Halfway through the night I heard a sound and woke up. A little
222 way off I saw two firebrands. "Ah! Who is walking in the middle of
776 the night like that, with two firebrands? It is an evil spirit." I remained completely quiet. I heard a woman's voice. "Ah! My child, where is my child?" It was the voice of my grandmother, a very, very old woman. I was surprised. "Ha! Grandmother is looking for me in the middle of the night like this? Is it really my grandmother?"

"Ah! Where is my child? Either a leopard has caught him or he has lost the trail."

I remained quiet, but the two firebrands came right up underneath the tree. It was truly an evil spirit, but he had changed into my grandmother. I sneezed. "Ah! My child is up in the tree?"

"Yes, Grandmother. I am here. I was searching for honey, but darkness caught me on the trail."

"Oh, child, you have done badly, for when you did not return I thought you were dead and I left camp to search for you, and I have found you well. You have done very badly toward me. Give me my honey."

"Ah! Grandmother, it is very heavy. I shall carry it for you, I, myself. We shall return together."

"Nonsense! You are afraid of the night. You stay here. I shall return with my honey. Give it." I was afraid, because I knew it was an evil spirit. I threw some honey down. "Give me more, give me more." I threw down more. "Give me more."

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P

"There is no more, Grandmother." "Yes there is, give it, my bad 539
child." I was very afraid. I threw it all down and said, "That is all, 222
Grandmother, take it and go. There is no more. Take it and return to 776
your place. I shall stay here."

"Thank you, my child, I shall return. Stay well."

"Go well, Grandmother."

I sat with eyes [i.e., watchfully] and waited for daylight. When daylight came I climbed down. I looked for the footprints of my grandmother. There were no footprints. "Ah!" I said. "It was truly an evil spirit. I did well to throw down all my honey, or it would have killed me completely."

That is why I returned empty-handed.

If in telling the stories the Mbuti do so to such good effect that C
they half convince themselves, they more than convince the villagers. 778
The advantages of the situation to the Mbuti are as obvious as they 484
are considerable. But at the same time it has to be pointed out that 487
the forest itself *is* hostile to the villagers, and they have very real rea- 82
son to dislike and fear it. It not only makes their life as cultivators [P 538]
hard and uncertain but it makes communication through the forest C
highly dangerous, to the extent that, until the road along which the [361]
villages are now eagerly clustered was built across the middle of the [491]
forest, the villages were very self-contained units with little intercommunication. Even now villagers will walk twice as far or more by road to reach another village, rather than take a simple shortcut across the forest. Unversed as they are in forest lore, its dangers are real to the villagers and there are frequent instances of villagers disappearing
without trace even while on a relatively short trip. They are promptly C
added to the legion of forest spirits by their relatives, who have an [776]
even greater fear of the forest from then on.

The Mbuti, however, know the forest and its ways, and the dangers P
it has to offer are exceptionally few and far between. There is cer- 82
tainly nothing in the course of natural events in the forest to sug- 778
gest to hunters and gatherers any trace of hostility. There is a great abundance of material goods, and of health and security, all of which suggest benevolence. This is taken up in the final section on the forest world, dealing with the religious life of the Mbuti.

One of the best examples of the kind of use to which the Mbuti P 177*
put village beliefs that do not tally with their own is seen in the fol- 538
lowing legend (quoted in *The Forest People*, Chapter 7). It makes 776
186

*177 use of the village fear and respect for forest spirits, but it also makes
538 use of the village love for asserting their superiority and their pater-
776 nalism. It even makes use of the village concept of kinship obligations,
186 and the respect and obedience owed to a grandmother.

538 The occasion on which the legend was told was the return of
439 Cephu to the camp, after a short absence in the village, laden down
with village foods. It was known that he had gone empty-handed, and
it was equally known that he was not on good enough terms with
any of the villagers to get such a handout for nothing, that he was too
lazy to have worked for reward and too wary of pursuit to steal. How-
ever, theft seemed the only answer, so he was asked from whom he had
[157] stolen the food. Always a great dramatist, Cephu told the following
story in answer, and it quickly became a favorite.

539 "I am only a poor Mbuti; the forest is my father and my mother.
224 But my village master asked me for meat, so I hunted and I hunted
[251] and I hunted. I caught *sondu* and *lendu* and *mboloko* and *sindula*,
and I cut them all up and dried them carefully. When they were nice
and dry I wrapped the meat in fresh *mongongo* leaves and put it all
in my basket and set off for the village."

[186] This much everyone knew to be completely false, but the implied ridicule of the villagers who would believe it was not lost.

539 "But on the way I saw a bad spirit coming toward me. I tried to
776 escape but he caught up with me and demanded the meat. I said,
'No, this is for my master. I cannot give it to you. You may take all my own food, but not this meat—that is for my beloved master.' But the spirit was not to be put off, and I had to fight with him. Finally I managed to escape because I am strong, and a great hunter, and I ran on toward the village as fast as I could. Spirits are very bad things to fight. They would kill any villager; only we Mbuti can deal with them. But then I saw the spirit again, and this time he was more clever than I, and he changed into my grandmother.

"'A'i, Cephu, where are you going with all that meat?' she asked me.

"Now, my grandmother died many years ago and I had to be polite to her. So I told her I was taking it to my beloved master. But she got angry and demanded it, asking if I would refuse it to her, an Mbuti, my own grandmother, and bring it to a villager. I pleaded with her and begged her, telling her how good my master always was to me and how hungry he was for meat. But she snatched the basket from me,

and because she was my grandmother I could not strike her or stop 539 776
her, and she ran off down the trail.

"As she was running she changed into a spirit again so that she could run faster, and as soon as my grandmother was a spirit once more I could fight, so I fought and fought, and the spirit nearly killed me, and he went off in the manner of spirits and left me with nothing, not even my basket.

"When I came to the village I was crying because I had nothing to 539
offer my master, and when my master asked me what was wrong I 776
told him this story. He was terribly sorry because he knew what dread- 186
ful lives we Mbuti lead, surrounded by all these bad spirits. He said 571
if it was not for the spirits he would come into the forest and hunt
himself, but everyone knows how dangerous the spirits are to vil-
lagers. Then I asked him if I could have some rice, as I had lost all [262]
my own food as well as his. He said, 'Of course, my poor Mbuti. You
have tried to help your master, and you can't help it if you are just
an Mbuti and have to live among all those dreadful spirits.'

"So he gave me the rice and plantains and I came away happy. How kind the villagers are to their 'poor Mbuti'!"

Such stories are legion, being told by the Mbuti almost every time 538
they are questioned by the villagers as to why they have brought no 186
meat. They are equally, if not even more frequently, told, however, in 829
the forest hunting camps, and are part of the constant effort of the
Mbuti to affirm at all times the distinction between the two worlds,
the forest and the village. Magic, witchcraft, sorcery and the belief in
forest spirits are all turned to the same effect, among others, and
combine to keep the worlds apart not only in theory but also in
practice.

CHAPTER 14

Religion

114 ### SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

771 In dealing with religion, Schebesta on occasion clearly states whether he is referring to the Sua, who are primarily net-hunters, or to the Efe, who are archers, so we are able to make some use of his data. However, religious belief among the Epulu net-hunting Mbuti does not coincide in detail with his account of Sua religion. Even among the very archer Mbuti where Schebesta worked I found the widest possible divergence of opinion, to the point of complete contradiction by one band of the stated beliefs of the other. The only systematic unity into which these allegedly Mbuti concepts fitted was that of the Lesé magico-religious system. However, Schebesta plainly saw throughout that though there were significant differences of opinion, there was also a subtle and powerful unity in trying to discover this unity. He was unfortunately hampered by his overwhelming desire to present a picture of a system applicable to all Mbuti.

*177 124 771 Among the net-hunters, as among the archers, the dual use of magico-religious terms by the Mbuti, to refer both to village and to Mbuti practice and belief sometimes leads to an appearance of an Mbuti system somewhat akin to that of the villagers. However, ignoring the actual terminology—which is further confused by the proliferation of tribal languages in the Epulu region, in discussing concepts concerning life and death, the nature of the afterworld and so forth—there is not only difference of opinion from one net-hunting band to the next but even within any one band or any one family.

771 181 822 813 This should be no particular cause for surprise for, being a practical people whose physical existence is determined, in detail, by day-to-day context, they are far more concerned with the present than they are with the past or the future. With regard to the future, be it in this life or the next, they eschew speculation on the grounds that not

having been there they do not know what it is like, and not knowing 771
what it is like they cannot predict what their behavior will be. They 181
say that to try and go into the future is to "walk blindly," and their 822
response to villagers, missionaries or any who claim a knowledge of 813
afterlife is to say, "How do you know. Have you died and been there?" [775]
They liken such discussion to the talk of a hunter who suggests hunting 181
in a certain place without ever having been there, or a woman 828
who goes off in a set direction to gather a certain kind of mushroom without having seen them growing in any particular place there. These are people who act "emptily," or whose heads are loose and not properly attached to the body.

However, this disclaimer to absolute knowledge of the nature of 181
the future or of afterlife is in itself a characteristic that I found to be 771
universal among the Mbuti, at least within my own experience. This 813
did not prevent individuals from having ideas about the unknown, but as already indicated, such speculation was considered as fruitless, and took the form of legend and was listened to with interest, and often with amusement. Such speculations, whether spontaneous or in the form of established legends, do not reveal any consistency in detail, which appears to be a matter of individual imagination, but there are broad areas of belief that seem widespread among both archers and net-hunters.

There is a belief in a power greater than the Mbuti themselves and 771
not of the natural order of the world they see and know around them. 778
Insofar as this is stated to be a belief, and not knowledge, it may be considered a spiritual power, the spirit being a level of existence that the Mbuti do not claim to understand but which they see as necessarily existing in order to explain the nature of the world's unknowns. Again the terminology is hopelessly confused, the Epulu Mbuti using, in one instance, no less than five terms interchangeably—*pepo,* [192]
keti, boru, roho, satani. These terms are drawn from Lesé, Bira, Ndaka and Ngwana, among which tribes of villagers they are also to some extent interchanged, each change bringing a different shade of meaning. For the Mbuti they do not indicate clearly differentiated elements that make up the physical and spiritual being of man, but rather indicate this basic belief that man himself is in part spiritual and that his life derives not from the flesh but from some other source. All five terms are used equally to denote this personal force. But each one is also used to denote different aspects of that force, and the Mbuti usage again in no way coincides with that of the villagers,

771 778 nor does the usage of one band necessarily coincide with the usage of another band.

The divers aspects of spiritual power that are generally recognized are as follows:

Each man and each animal (and according to most Mbuti, even the inanimate and vegetable worlds) is endowed to a greater or lesser extent with such power.

771 778 824 This power derives from a single source whose physical manifestation is the forest itself. Opinion differs as to whether this means the vegetable forest, or the forest totality, including the Mbuti themselves. Again there is a multiplicity of names to represent this single power source, and it is most easily translated simply as "the forest" (*ndura*), for this is ultimately how the Mbuti themselves describe it.

778 776 Also deriving from the prime source of spiritual power are certain disembodied spirits which, like the Mbuti, inhabit the forest. Their existence, for all practical purposes, does not impinge upon that of the Mbuti; they have no power to harm or help, though there is a vague belief that there might be a conflict of interests at times, and any unexplained mishap may be explained in this way. The disembodied spirits are generally thought of as living much the same kind of existence as the Mbuti, for as they themselves say, what other kind of existence can there be in the forest? Thus, someone who trips while chasing an animal may say he collided with a *keti* (the term used by the Epulu Mbuti for this disembodied spirit as well as for the more generalized spiritual power) who was chasing the same animal. The mysterious absence of game in an unhunted area is explained by saying that the *keti* must have hunted it out. But there is no sense of competition or rivalry, and the *keti* are thought about only when such explanations are needed.

828 The Mbuti also believe in individual personality, which is essentially of the body rather than of the spirit, but which is enhanced and activated by the spirit. This enables individuals to speak with
[826] conviction and to justify their actions or thoughts by saying that their "heart" is pleased, for the heart is generally considered the location of this personality, which when displeased jumps and leaps about inside the chest.

771 778 The same five terms, all of which may be used to denote the general concept of personal force, do, however, also have individual and particular meanings by which we can perceive something more of the system of belief of the Epulu Mbuti.

PEPO

The life force that animates all moving, living things, without 192
which they would be mere vegetable growths, unable to move or 761
think. The word *pepo* also has connotations of air and wind, and 778
breathing is thought of as a manifestation of *pepo*. A gale of wind, 82
then, is interpreted by some Mbuti as the breath of the forest itself
(*pepo nde ndura*), as the breath of the disembodied spirits, or *keti*
(*pepo nde baketi*).

KETI

192
Disembodied spirits, human and animal, who are not necessarily 776
the spirits of the dead but may be independent manifestations of the
forest, and who are disembodied only in that they are invisible to the
Mbuti. They have an existence otherwise comparable to that of [761]
the Mbuti, and are likewise animated by *pepo*. There is no conflict of
interests between them and the Mbuti, though occasionally the two
worlds inadvertently become confused. An Mbuti may be in hot pursuit
of an animal that suddenly disappears; he is likely to say that it
must have been *keti*. An animal mysteriously drops dead; it was killed
by a *keti* hunter (*keti a mu'e*) who thought he was in pursuit of a
keti animal. Hallucinations and dreams are primarily the result of accidentally 776
slipping from the one world into the other. All such meetings 828
of *keti* and Mbuti are regarded as abnormal, and are never
deliberately sought. They do not exactly induce fear, but there is undeniably
the belief that one might cross over so effectively that one
would never come back. The Mbuti say that if this happened you [772]
might not even know you had crossed over, which indicates that they
conceive of the *keti* world as a mirror of their own.[1] Dreams, then,
do not convey authority as being divine portents but, being real experience
of a mirror world, they are, like all experiences, to be learned
from. Thus Ambosu dreamed constantly that he was singing into the 776
molimo trumpet. This did not give him the right to take up this role, 828
159

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[1] On two occasions I heard *ekokomea* described laughingly as a dance of the *keti*. The 534
dance, involving a reversal of the sexes, is primarily associated with the *molimo*, hence
with the spirit and supernatural world. There is a hunting dance in which there is a [535]
rapid succession of changes in direction, the hunters becoming the hunted and vice [765]
versa. Yet another instance of Mbuti recognition of reversal is seen in the legend of the
Mbuti plantation (see Chapter 12), in which the Mbuti are the cultivators threatened
by the animals of the forest (elephants), who undoubtedly represent the villagers.

776 but everyone agreed that it was a clear indication that he should try.
828 He became the leading trumpet singer, then, not through divine
169 choice but simply through his experience in the *keti* world. He was
534 not regarded as more spiritual, merely as more experienced. However,
776 insofar as both Mbuti and *keti* derive their *pepo* from the forest, if
778 the forest wills them to hunt together in the same time and place
[224] then the mirror images coincide exactly and it is, indeed, a "strong"
hunt. Such coincidence is exhausting, however, and it is not something actively wished for except, possibly, in times of particularly poor hunting. Ideally the Mbuti and the *keti* should follow each other closely, but always remain just slightly apart.

778 BORU

761 A rather difficult concept of the "house" (*endu*—the same word as
826 for a hut) inhabited by *pepo*. The human and animal body of flesh
[192] and blood is, in a sense, *boru*, and so is the invisibility of the *keti*. It is a term seldom used, but the concept affords a firm basis for a code of respect for the body, abuse or mutilation of which may drive away the *pepo*, causing "death" (which for the Mbuti is simply the departure of *pepo* and its return to the forest or the world of *keti*). Thus physical violence as a means of settling a dispute is abhorred as a sacrilege. A sound thrashing is perfectly in order, but any violence that produces blood causes an opening through which *pepo* may escape. For although associated with air and wind and thus with breath, it is not thought of as *being* any of these things, and its exact means of escape is unknown. The bodily apertures are all regarded as re-
778 quiring attention, however, as possible avenues. It might be pointed
761 out here that insofar as *pepo* is associated with life and may escape
826 through these apertures, this is perfectly consistent with the Mbuti
831 recognition of the sexual act as a means of conveying life, though they
do not explicitly refer to semen as *pepo*. It is also consistent with the
[535] variations on the sexual act found in the *ekokomea* dance, where not
only are the sexes reversed but attention is drawn to the less usual
[765] apertures, to be somewhat delicate. The role of *ekokomea* as a major
feature of the death festival becomes immediately more understandable, its burlesque form allowing for the stated antipathy of the Mbuti to the unproductive forms of sexual perversion *ekokomea* so graphically depicts.

ROHO

The personality of the individual dies with the body and is the 828
combination of a particular *boru* and *pepo*. It is associated with the 778
heart and is spoken of as being hot or cold, sometimes as noisy or [192]
quiet. Hot and noisy are generally bad qualities, cool and quiet are good. But properly controlled heat and noise can be useful, though dangerous, for both are sometimes thought of as being "strong." The state of an individual's *roho* may be cited as justification for his actions, and nobody can gainsay him, for it is bad to go against one's *roho*. However, a man or woman who is constantly calling on his or her *roho* to justify antisocial acts such as laziness or quarrelsomeness may be said to have a bad *roho*, and will be shunned.

SATANI (also *Shaitani*)

This is a concept derived from the villagers, and is for the Mbuti 177*
more in the realm of folklore than belief, for *satani* are, to the vil- 776
lagers, malevolent and dangerous forest spirits. The Mbuti use the [192]
term in this sense only when recounting a village tale or a tale concerning villagers, for they essentially disbelieve in such evil spirits. However, they sometimes use the term, particularly if talking in Ngwana (to which language it belongs), as synonymous with *keti*. An additional complication: When talking in Bira, they may use *keti* (a Bira word) in the sense of the village Bira, which is the same as the Ngwana *satani*, or evil spirits. However, in the forest context there is no concept of *keti* or *satani* as conceived by the villager, the only spirits being the *keti* as described above, invisible mirror images of the Mbuti themselves, no better and no worse. (Conversely, in the village world all the spirits of the forest are malevolent and dangerous; there is no concept parallel to that of the Mbuti concept of forest spirit.)

THE GODHEAD

776
As the Mbuti themselves strenuously refuse to admit there is any 778
sense in trying to describe what we here call "the godhead" unless you have seen it, there is not much sense in our trying to do so. Rather, by looking at various aspects of Mbuti life we can discern the exis-

776 tence of a belief in such a spiritual being, and its nature as being gen-
778 erally that of "the forest." From the foregoing description of the
two levels of existence, human and *keti*, and of the generally accepted
principle of spiritual animation, it is plain that there should be a
source of such spiritual force. The mobility of the Mbuti, the com-
[621] posite nature of the bands and the frequency of interchange between
[628] bands all lead to a confused scattering of the various terms that appear in the village religious systems. I have been utterly unable to discern any pattern in which the godhead is divided into entities concerned with different aspects of Mbuti life, each with a distinct name; e.g., a god of the hunt known by one name, a god of the bush known by another, and so forth. Even within any one band it seemed singularly clear that there is only one godhead, though different individuals in that band may well use different names.[2] The forest *is* that godhead (*ndura nde kalisia*, or *ndura nde mungu*), rather than being thought of merely as its abode; hence the sanctity of the forest, and the profanity of anything that is not of the forest. That this is so is seen in the almost universal answer given when faced, either among themselves in the course of discussion or directly, by the question of where *pepo* derives from. The answer is that it derives from the forest itself (*pepo a kidi suba ndura*). Not just the trees or streams, or the sky or the soil, but from the totality, down to the last grain of sand.

778 We have shown earlier how the Mbuti frequently sing and shout to the forest, addressing it as "father" or "mother." They also sometimes address it as "friend," or even "lover." They are perfectly well able to explain this, for they say that "the forest is everything"

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114 [2] Schebesta (1952, 303) says that the Basua (net-hunters) refer to the divinity as
776 *mungu*, *keti*, *kalisia*, and *songé*. I have found all these terms used, but without any
778 different significance in the forest context, while they each have a special and separate
184 significance among the villagers. The important point is that Schebesta recognizes that
the divinity "loves" the Mbuti, who owe everything to him, while the villagers are afraid of him. Here I believe Schebesta to have come across the forest as it is considered by the Mbuti in the evening *molimo*, the source of all good. In discussing the archer concept of the divinity, Schebesta (1952, 305–6) refers to the different visualizations they have of *toré*, frequently ugly, noisy and menacing. I found these same interpretations of *toré* among the archers, but always in reference to the other aspect of the forest, not as the mother provider but as the father lawgiver. Among the net-hunters, when the morning *molimo* comes into camp to wreak havoc, it is greeted with cries of *e téré*, *e téré*, it being openly agreed that this was a form of the archer word *toré* and referred only to this aspect of the *molimo*. But my informants would add, "It is all the same thing, it is all the forest." Schebesta's description of *toré* not only corresponds to a different aspect of the Mbuti *molimo*, but it also corresponds closely to the description given by Vergiat (1936, 53–7) of the "génie de la brousse" among the Ubangi villagers, to the northwest. Here, as by the Lesé/Efe, that divinity is described as a grotesque caricature of an Mbuti, fearful to all villagers but strangely friendly to the Mbuti hunters.

(*ndura nde bokbu*), and if pressed begin to enumerate the totality of 778
their experience. Primarily, however, they refer to the forest as mother or father, according to context. On the hunt the men address it as father, the women as mother. A man receiving a sudden unexpected favor, as he sees it (coming across a cache of highly prized mushrooms), is apt to address the forest as mother. A woman who is having a hard time finding the leaves or saplings she wants will, getting into a tangle of undergrowth, almost certainly start addressing the forest as father and accuse it of being far too severe and strict. The terms are so widely and frequently used that I have no means of saying which is the more prevalent. If anything, I would hazard a guess that "mother" is used more often than "father." The Mbuti themselves say that which term they use and when is a matter for their *roho*.

The extent to which the Mbuti personify the forest is seen when in explanation they say that the forest gives them not only food and shelter, warmth and clothing, but also affection (*ndura pisasu bendu, pisasu isa, pisasu ngombe; ndura ekondisu*). The intimacy of the 778
relationship between the individual Mbuti and his forest godhead 535
is most plainly seen in the incident described more fully in *The Forest* 152
People (Chapter 15), where a youth was found dancing all by himself in the moonlight, singing a wordless song as he danced. When questioned as to why he was dancing alone, he answered, "I am not dancing alone, I am dancing with the forest, dancing with the moon."[3]

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[3] *Kanga me bi akilé: me bi na ndura, me bi na songé.*

Schebesta (1952, 303) refers to *songé* (moon) as being one of the net-hunting names 821
for God, regarded as the creator of all things (1952, 305), particularly of man, which 84
songé creates by means of menstrual blood. He does not, unfortunately, give more in- 114
formation or documentation on this interpretation, but there is no doubt that the moon 776
is, to the Mbuti, an object of interest and (as seen above) affection, and at the same time in common discussion they do connect the moon with menstruation, and menstruation with fertility. I have myself not come across any instance of the moon being worshipped as such, unless this moonlight dance be regarded as worship, except in one song of the *molimo*, the words of which were: [539]

Ema songé, ema, ema; okisu ema; pike'i.
Mother moon, mother, mother, hear us mother; come.

This is remarkably similar to a translation given by Bowra (1962, 70) of a song of the [171]
Gabon pygmies cited by Trilles (1945, 157).

Moon, O mother moon, O mother moon,
mother of living things,
Hear our voice, O mother moon!
O, mother moon, O mother moon,
Keep away the spirits of the dead,
Hear our voice, O mother moon,
O mother moon, O mother moon.

778
535 This was not an isolated instance, though such dancing and sing-
152 ing are generally confined to youths and younger married people. The
778 erotic aspect of the relationship between forest and Mbuti is also seen
833 in the very clear individual preferences for certain types of place in which it is found good to the *roho* to have sexual intercourse, such as by a stream, or in dark shade, or in a patch of sunlight or moonlight, or during the hunt, but in the forest rather than in the hut.

771 The perennial certainty of economic sufficiency, the general lack
789 of crisis in their lives, all lead the Mbuti to the conviction that the
[761] forest, regarded as the source of *pepo* and of their whole existence,
[181] is benevolent, and that the natural course of life is good. The absence of magic is not necessarily an indication of technological mastery; in this instance it is simply an indication of the normal absence of crisis. We indicated that such magic as existed was not without its spiritual aspects, and might possibly be better classified as religion.
778 For instance the use of vine and wooden charms on an infant to con-
[789] vey the strength of the forest to the child is not thought to achieve its end directly, by physical transference alone. Physical contact with these materials is considered strengthening, and certainly the juice of the vine in which infants are bathed is thought to have strengthening properties, but these things are also considered "pleasing to the forest" (*babongisa ndura*). This phrase constantly recurs, and shows the belief in the awareness by the forest of its "children" and their needs. Such acts and many others, by physically relating the individual to the forest, are believed to create an added awareness of the Mbuti by the forest. It is not only the strength of the forest that is wanted, but its affection.

778 THE POWER OF SOUND

822 Birth is attended with an undemonstrative concern to establish
533 this relationship between the forest and the individual, and it is re-
[844] inforced at puberty by what might also be considered in some respects
[881] as magic, but which is more essentially religious, and that is song. The mere attachment of a vine to the wrist or around the waist requires that amount of effort and no more. Song requires continued effort, is more direct and personal, and consequently more powerful—its goal is identical. Song above all else is believed to attract the attention of the forest, and to please it. "Sound is very strong indeed; noise is bad, but song is good" (*S'uti mota ningo'e, akami sinana'e;*

imba nde bonga'i). The positive emphasis on *ekimi*,[4] or quiet, is in 778
no way thought of as being in conflict with song, for *ekimi* is cool, 822
and so is song, and both are pleasing to the forest. Song is in no way 533
associated with noise, though both are recognized to be sound.

There is no such thing as secular song among the Mbuti. Songs 533
sung by the Mbuti in the village, apart from being quite different in [822]
musical form from those sung in the forest, are spoken of as "empty sound" (*s'uti bobo*) or even as "noise." There are distinct musical forms for distinct occasions of importance in forest life such as hunting, honey gathering, puberty and death. The absence of any specific Mbuti form for village events, including *nkumbi* initiation or village-arranged marriages, is an indication of the lack of importance of these events in the forest life of the Mbuti.

There are, apart from the four major types of song listed above, two other types that are less formalized, but which are considered more in the nature of "sound" than "song." One is the lullaby, which is an individual creation (unlike any other forms of song, all of which require group participation), and the other is the play song, accompanying hoop-jumping, skipping or divers other rhythmic games.

Of the four major types, two concern economic activities and are sung on the appropriate occasion, each involving men and women.
The other two are more directly religious in nature, being concerned 533
with puberty and death, though the field of each is somewhat wider 881
than these precise moments in the life cycle. The puberty songs (which have nothing to do with the *nkumbi*, not being sung on that occasion and in no way resembling the village songs that *are* sung at that time) concern primarily the women and youths (male and female), and are first learned and sung at puberty but may be sung at
other times similarly critical to growth, birth and marriage. (Normally [844]
elima songs, or puberty songs, are sung at birth only if there is some [585]
special concern over the child's welfare, and at marriage only if it is desired to consecrate an otherwise "empty" marriage taking place in the village. Then not only is an *elima* song sung but leaves are brought in from the forest, and the bridal couple are completely surrounded by them to indicate that they are, in fact, joining together in the forest.)

Death songs are normally sung at the death of an adult, male or 000

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[4] *Ekimi* is the word most frequently used in this band for quiet. Like many other words it is a dialectal form, in this case of the Ngwana word *kimia*. In KiBira the equivalent would be *kobia*. [192]

Death songs are normally sung at the death of an adult, male or
533 female, during the ensuing festival (*molimo*), but some of them may
765 be sung at other times of crisis that threaten life, notably sickness or poor hunting. Certain songs seem to be reserved for actual death, but my impression is that this is a matter of personal attitude, for there are other ways in which a distinction is more clearly made between what are called the lesser and the greater *molimo*, the latter being the festival concerned solely with death.

533 To the same extent that the *elima* songs are of rather more impor-
462 tance to women than men, so are *molimo* songs considered more the
821 concern of men. There is, however, no absolute exclusion. On the
765 contrary, the male youths are an integral part of the *elima* festival, which celebrates their puberty just as much as it celebrates that of the girls, and although the actual festival is occasioned by the physical maturation of the girls, who are then taught the *elima* songs, the male youths are needed to sing the chorus to certain of those songs. In the *molimo*, at one point, the roles of the sexes are reversed (as in *ekokomea*), with the women taking over the men's songs, the men sitting back and listening, like women.

533 An examination of Mbuti song form not only reveals areas of con-
182 cern to the Mbuti, such as their food-getting activities, life and death,
181 but it also reveals the concern of the Mbuti for cooperative activity. Each type of song requires a group of people to sing it, and if there is a solo it is sung over a chorus, and the solo is passed around from one individual to another. This is similar to the Mbuti rejection of individual authority and their concern for dispersing leadership as
[561] widely as possible. There are certain parts of certain songs that are sung by youths, hunters or elders, strictly according to age, and song form thus also reinforces Mbuti concern for the age differential as an important element of their social structure. The songs are most frequently in round, or canon, form, and the hunting songs, in order to heighten the need for the closest possible cooperation (the same need that is demanded by the hunt itself), are sometimes sung in *hoquet*.[5]

533 There are certain similarities between the hunting songs and the *molimo* songs, but this is an area that requires a great deal more care-

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[5] This is a technique in which each note of the melodic line is taken by a single individual who sings that note alone, at the correct moment. The melodic line is thus literally divided among the participants (sometimes singing in groups of two or three), and the melody can only be reconstituted and heard by the cooperation of all. The complications are heightened by the use of canon, and by the use of a harmonic pattern which is also sung in *hoquet*, and proceeds clockwise as the melodic line proceeds, as always, counterclockwise.

ful analysis by competent musicologists.[6] As described, the above 533
divisions represent divisions recognized by the Mbuti, and visible in
differences of musical form. There is sometimes an additional category 533
stated, that of the elephant-hunting song, which seems to overlap 224
both the ordinary hunting song (specifically referred to by the Epulu
Mbuti as a net-hunting song) and the *molimo* song. In view of the [825]
possible elephant symbolism in the *molimo* festival, this could be of [765]
importance, though not enough is known at the moment of the elephant-hunting
song to properly assess its position in the system. In
this respect it should also be remembered that the Ngwana term
esumba, or *lusumba,* frequently used by the Mbuti in the forest context
as synonymous with their *molimo,* was originally for the
Ngwana in the nature of elephant-hunting magic.

All songs share the same essential nature, sharing the same power 533
of sound. The sound "awakens" the forest, in Mbuti terminology, 822
and the nature of the song indicates the particular area of interest of 778
the Mbuti at that moment, thus attracting the forest's attention to
the immediate needs of its children. It is also of the essential nature
of all songs that they should be "pleasing to the forest."[7]

Rather more magical in nature, perhaps, is the way the Mbuti use 822
other forms of sound than song. A sudden noise of any kind is considered [201]
"strong," and generally bad; an isolated hand or arm clap, or
a single loud shout, will bring complete silence to a camp or to a hunt. [198]
Whistling is considered very "strong" indeed, but here the word [192]

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[6] It is interesting to note here the elephant-hunting significance of the Ngwana *esumba* ritual, and the linguistic confusion between *esumba* and *molimo*. Frequently, [765]
I have seen in the forest the remains of what seems like the model of a spear-fall, and have always been told that a *molimo* had been held there. Most often such sites were in old, deserted camps, once or twice (particularly in archer territory) on the trail.

[7] Pahlen (1949) gives an excellent general background to the primitive concept and use of music, though his acceptance of the sounds of nature as symbols of supernatural powers is not demonstrated. He points out (p. 18) how in ancient cultures music went hand in hand with religion, "the synthesis of wisdom, beauty, kindness and solace." He is referring primarily to countries with "highly developed cultures," but much of what he says is applicable to primitive society. It is certain that an acute analysis of Mbuti music would reveal much that parallels the structure of Mbuti society. The extraordinary level of polyphonic achievement is surely related to a highly developed individualism that would hardly tolerate the confines of unison. The Mbuti musical categories of *berai* and *imiai*, chorus and solo song, indicate a system of recognized relationships between the group and the individual, and the technique of *hoquet*, already mentioned, further mirrors social relationships. Such considerations, however, should not obscure Pahlen's major point that music also mirrors social values. It is an analytical tool, requiring little musical training, that has been much neglected by anthropologists, and it is hoped that a systematic analysis of Mbuti music now being undertaken at Columbia University will provide data from which not only may further light be shed on Mbuti society, but from which may emerge the beginnings of an ethno-musicological methodology.

822 [198] [192] "strong" has the same double meaning that it has when used to describe song. In using either the Ngwana term (*nguvu*) or the Bira term (*mota*), the Mbuti may imply difficulty as well as sheer physical strength. A sudden noise that is *mota* has an inherent power of its own. A song or whistle has power only if it is properly performed. 822 198 [778] [761] [533] The proper performance is not so much the following of a prescribed pattern, though there may be and usually is such a pattern, if general, but rather the transference of *pepo* so that by contact with *pepo* the song or the whistle becomes *mota*. Singing or whistling not so touched with *pepo* is "empty noise," and doubly bad. Whistling is widely used to arrest action of any kind. In everyday life, whistling brings the movement of all hunters and beaters to an immediate stillness and stops all sound among them. The sign for them to continue is an imitated animal cry. In the camp, if someone thinks he hears a foreign sound—of approaching people or game, or a "crying" tree (a tree starts creaking some days before it falls, and this is referred to as "crying")—he whistles to call for silence so that all may listen and [533] [765] [821] [789] hear. During the *molimo* songs, particularly, but during any song, also, whistling softly brings the song to an end. A sudden storm is likely to bring shrill whistles, though nobody claims to even hope for them to stop the storm, though they all say it is worth trying. They explain that whistling is effective in other realms because it is the affair of the Mbuti, but it will not stop a storm because that is the affair of the forest.[8]

534 824 [198] [192] All such whistling is done with the lips. Whistles are also made of seeds and carved from wood, however, and though the seed-whistles are purely for children to play with, the wooden whistles (*piki*, *segbe*) have special usages. Rarely, a small whistle may be attached to a net, and although functional it is never blown. Similar whistles are used by those net-hunters who build a hunting fire in the camp, and are placed within the vine circle surrounding the fire, again not blown. Larger whistles made of two semicylindrical sections of wood and bound together by vine or *nkusa* twine, tapering to a point at one end (left open so it can be stopped with a finger) and notched for blowing at the other end, are sometimes attached to a fur cap worn by hunters, and may be blown before the hunt, possibly during a hunt- [222] [825] ing dance. Similar whistles made of *angbe* wood, from the *angbe* tree that provides most of the honey, are used during the honey season

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[8] Cooper (1941, 24 seq.), in drawing comparisons between the Semang, Andamanese, and Eta, finds much similar interest in noise.

"to call the bees" (in the sense of attracting their attention, not of 534 824
summoning them). The belief is that these whistles will halt the 222
game or the bees, so that they may be found more easily. 825

All such whistling, whether by lip or by *piki*, is done by men. 198
Women rarely whistle, though they may do so to the same end as the 822
men. If they do, it is considered all the more *mota*. 462

It could easily be explained by the Mbuti that the sound itself paralyzes the animals or the bees, and has this direct effect (and could so be more properly called magical), but they deny this strongly and say that the forest hears the *piki* and leads them to the bees or the game (or alternatively that the forest holds the bees and the game still for its children to find them).

In ordinary conversation, sounds are widely used to convey dif- 201
ferent ideas, a snap of the fingers indicating that the action being 19
described was done suddenly, a high-pitched, drawn-out exhalation indicating it was done slowly. Wherever possible, the narrative is illustrated by imitations of the sound of the action described. Vowel sounds, unformed into words, are used in conversation similarly to heighten ideas, convey added emotion, to supply an element that would otherwise be missing and which is plainly of great importance
to the Mbuti. For the forest is nearly always full of sound, and the 182
Mbuti refer to this constant background by saying "the forest is talk- 778
ing" (*ndura a lufu*). The Mbuti listen, and interpret, and make use 822
of what they hear. If the forest stops "talking," then it is a sign that something is very wrong and alerts the Mbuti to imminent danger.

It is not surprising, then, that sound so carefully controlled as song 533
should be considered as *mota nengo, mota ngbekbekbei*, the "stron- 822
gest" possible kind of sound, activated by the breath that is so mys- 778
teriously connected with *pepo*. Song is used to communicate with the 19
forest, and it is significant that the emphasis is on the actual sound, [761]
not on the words. Frequently the mere vowel sounds are used, sometimes imitative of animals, birds or bees but more often simply to suit the melodic line of the song. When words are used they are most often trivial, and may be spontaneous and highly sketchy references
to one or another event of the day. That the song is directed at the 533
forest, and intended to awaken the forest, is most clearly seen in the 778
molimo festivals, which are the Mbuti reaction to crisis. The *molimo* 765
is named for the festival, for the society that performs the festival, [829]
and for the central and solitary piece of paraphernalia, the trumpet [534]
that echoes the song of the Mbuti on into the depths of the forest.

THE LESSER MOLIMO (*molimo madé*)

224 Apart from death there are two major crisis areas over which the
Mbuti may have little or no effective control, poor hunting and
sickness. But they do have a certain amount of control, and it is
frequently effective. Poor hunting is more often than not remedied
simply by hunting elsewhere, and it is rare that a band goes hungry
752 for any reason except laziness. Against sickness the Mbuti have many
757 remedies that are plainly effective. In particular they know how to
clean open wounds and prevent infection, they know how to set and
mend broken limbs, they know how to reduce fevers, and they know
how to alleviate minor ailments such as headache, toothache and mild
stomach disorders. They also have effective remedies against
snakebite. So in case of sickness they either cure the patient, or else the
patient becomes well of his own accord, or else he dies, the latter event
leading to the greater *molimo*.

778 In such crises, then, time alone usually provides a solution, and the
[224] Mbuti are accustomed to waiting for these situations to improve. If
[75] bad hunting persists, however, or sickness shows no sign of
alleviation, then it becomes a matter "of the forest." There is no rite or
778 ceremony, but in the evenings the men gather around a central fire
796 and sing *molimo* songs, thereby attracting the attention of the forest
533 to their plight. The songs do not convey any specific request from the
[782] Mbuti for the betterment of their condition, it being considered
necessary only to awaken the forest, for then it is for the forest to act as it
will. Being benevolent, like a parent, whatever it does is accepted as
being good, though it may not be understood.

796 Normally a lesser *molimo* lasts for only a few days, for during that
time there is likely to be a change in the situation that is taken as an
indication that the forest has awakened. The evening songs are not
[533] accompanied by any of the preliminaries that mark the greater *molimo*,
[535] nor are the women and children quite so rigorously excluded, and
[765] there is not the same order of dancing, which in the greater *molimo*
is of the utmost importance. In the lesser *molimo* the dancing will
be done by youths only, and be casual and mildly erotic. Above all
there will be no use made of the *molimo* trumpet.

All adults youths and men are expected to take part, and although
[626] there will be criticism if someone does not attend, there will not be
the same violent reaction that there is against such offenders in the
greater molimo.

greater *molimo*. In the case of a hunting *molimo*, the initiative is taken by the younger hunters, who sit together around a fire and simply begin singing. In the case of sickness, the initiative is taken by the adult men of the family concerned if the sick person is a child, and if the sick person is an adult the *molimo* will be initiated by his or her male age mates. 796 [533]

The hunting inevitably gets better sooner or later, and the lesser *molimo*, once begun, will continue until it does. But sickness may develop into death, in which case there will be an immediate change of camp, following an uncomplicated and informal burial, and the commencement of the greater *molimo*. [224] [76]

THE GREATER *MOLIMO* (*molimo mangbo*)

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In a previous account (Turnbull, 1960, pp. 307–340), the general procedure of the greater *molimo* was outlined, and it was indicated that there is no set rule as to when a greater *molimo* should be held. Certainly it is not held for every death within the band, not even for every adult death. It may, on the other hand, be held for a child. It is largely a question of *roho*, and this is determined by a number of considerations such as the nature of the death, the importance of the deceased to the band, and the general tenor of life in the band at that moment, particularly the condition of hunting. A combination of poor hunting and ill humor and general sickness, associated with the death of a child, even of a stranger child temporarily within the band, may well occasion a *molimo*, for the total combination indicates that the forest is "sleeping" (*é langé toro*). On the other hand, the death of a great hunter, through his own fault or through sickness but at a time of good hunting and general contentment, may pass unmarked except by the usual summary burial and change of camp, all expression of grief being confined to the immediate family concerned. [828] [778]

One other consideration not without importance is the fact that whoever initiates a *molimo* festival undertakes a responsibility that may become a burden. He has to see that everyone cooperates in providing food, and when, as sometimes happens, the response is meager, he has somehow to provide enough himself for the society's evening repast. As a greater *molimo* is not likely to last under a month, except possibly for a child under circumstances which otherwise become quickly improved, the economic burden is one to cause careful consideration. [261]

765 An occasion such as that described (Turnbull, *ibid.*) for old Bale-
828 kimito would lead to a greater *molimo* without any hesitation, how-
157 ever, for the death of this much loved old lady affected everyone's *roho*. On the other hand, the *molimo* held for Cephu's daughter Teresa was initiated by Njobo, Cephu claiming he did not have a trumpet. It was held not so much out of respect for the girl but because conditions were bad at the time, there being much sickness and discontent. However, Cephu did not seem to be pulling his own weight, economically, and so the festival came to an abrupt end after only a week. If people found their *roho* upset at all, that was more because of Cephu's cupidity than because of the death of his daughter.

761 To recapitulate the essential elements of the greater *molimo*, as held for Balekimito:

Death is accepted as a natural event and does not lead to any accusations of witchcraft or sorcery, except in the village context. Such grief as is expressed is genuine, and not formal, again except in the village context. It is accepted with regret, and although regarded as natural and inevitable, there is nonetheless a feeling that this is the
761 one really imperfect thing in Mbuti life. The expressed belief that
778 death comes when the forest is sleeping does not quite tally with the factual acceptance of death by the Mbuti, but there is absolutely no feeling of resentment or blame attached to the forest because of death. The felt need to "awaken" the forest and to "rejoice" the forest is occasioned more by the fact that all the living have been brought closer to death and have, to some extent, been touched by it. They consequently need reassurance, not only for the continuation of their own lives but for the continuity of the Mbuti.

764 The factual attitude to death is seen in the practice of burial, which in the forest is performed as simply and quickly as possible. It is prolonged and attended by ritual only in the village context (see p. 74
[594] *seq.*, 143). Burial is primarily the concern of the immediate nuclear family, who may be assisted by friends or relatives. Too much display
765 of grief is considered very bad, and one of the major concerns of the
[152] ensuing *molimo* is to reaffirm life. In a sense, then, the *molimo* is more properly associated with life, occasioned though it may be by death.

[768] The burial over, the camp is abandoned and the mourners are at once under an even stricter obligation to minimize their demonstrations of grief. The opening of the *molimo* festival is informal and casual, and depends on how long it takes for the new camp to get set-

tled, how good the weather is, and whether or not visiting relatives or 765
friends are expected. Within a few days, however, the festival will begin, 765
and from the moment of its inception its stated concern is to 778
awaken and, even more important, to rejoice the forest. The lesser
molimo is more often spoken of as "awakening" the forest (*su kongi*
ndura), though that too has to be done in a way that will rejoice it.
The greater *molimo* should ideally be a festival of sheer joy. The 765
course of the festival becomes more and more a symbolic triumph of 372
life over death, the death of the individual being recognized in the
final dramatic stamping out of the *molimo* fire, the fire of life. This is
not done, however, until time and time again the fire has been attacked [535]
in an effort to destroy it, but has been regenerated by the
dances of the men, who in a dance that imitates the act of copulation,
with the fire as their partner, fan the scattered fire back into a blaze of
life.

It is normally the old woman, who is an integral part of every greater 765
molimo, who either by herself or with a girl attacks the fire, dancing 372
through it and scattering it all around. Thus the woman who gives 561
birth to life also seeks to destroy it. She is referred to by no title other 462
than "mother," the same term of address used for the forest in its
capacity as giver of life and death. It is primarily the young men who
hastily rebuild the fire and fan it back into a blaze with their dance of
life. It is frequently said that the women used to possess the *molimo*,
but it was stolen from them by the men, and this dance, together with
the tying up of the men by the old lady (Turnbull, *ibid.*, p. 323),
may well represent in part this early conflict, and the attempt of the
women to regain possession of the *molimo*. Whatever the symbolism,
it is nowhere clearly stated by the Mbuti, each individual claiming to
see something different in the performance. It is generally agreed,
however, that it shows how strong the women are, and that they
have to be respected by men.

Whether or not there is thought to be any correlation with *pepo* 765
(breath), the power of breath to fan sparks into fire is demonstrated 372
when coals are placed in the end of the *molimo* trumpet. The singer 761 778
blows as he sings, and the sparks that fly out of the end of the trumpet 534
are greeted by murmurs or even shouts of acclaim.

The trumpet is sometimes referred to as an "animal" of the forest, 765
though this is generally in connection with its morning appearance. 534
Nonetheless it is referred to as needing food and water, and these it
symbolically receives. It is also passed through the *molimo* fire and [372]

765 given fire to eat, just as water is passed through it to "cool" it. It is
372 rubbed with ashes and earth. It is brought into direct contact with
534 every individual by being passed over their heads as they sit around the
fire singing, and each individual will at some time or another, at his
own whim, scoop up ashes and rub the trumpet with them. And in
[535] the evening appearances of the trumpet at the *molimo* hearth, while
[831] the singer holds one end to his mouth and sings, the youth holding
the far end pumps it up and down as he dances in imitation of the sexual act, sometimes holding the mouth of the trumpet close to his
genitals, imitating the part of either man or woman. Little doubt is
left about the symbolic connection between fire and life.*

765 There is an important distinction between the evening and the
561 morning appearances of the *molimo* trumpet, and between the roles
533 played by different age groups. In the evening the singing is primarily
in control of the *mangesé*, or elders. Frequently, they have their own
fire, the hunters have theirs, and the *kiyana*, or male youths, have
theirs. Everyone joins in the singing, the elders maintaining over-all
control and the hunters being the most prominent singers, except for
the *molimo*-trumpet singer, who may be a youth or a young hunter,
being chosen because of his ability as a singer rather than for any
[535] other reason. It is the youths that do most of the dancing at their fire
or at the central *molimo* fire (from which theirs is made by taking
burning embers and setting them separately). The whole intent of
the evening is to rejoice the forest, and this is done by singing throughout the night, and by eating a feast specially prepared from food contributed to the *molimo* hearth. (Just as with food, so with firewood
and with fire itself—every single household in the camp is expected to
contribute.) In the early days of the festival the old lady does not ap-
[535] pear, and there is no attempt to stamp out the fire, though erotic
[831] dances are constantly being danced around and over it. It is only toward the end of the festival that the nightlong songfest is dramatized by the appearance of the old lady, her dancing through the fire
in an attempt to destroy it, and her tying up of the men (referred to
765 as both tying up the hunt and tying up the *molimo*). The evening
meetings of the *molimo*, though full of the joy the Mbuti wish to
convey to the forest, are nonetheless solemn in that the purpose is

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[831] * Fire is primarily connected with women; the hearth is often referred to as the vagina; the association of blood and fire is considered particularly dangerous. Thus the association of the male molimo trumpet with the fire and the ashes gives the trumpet phallic significance in this context. Elsewhere, this precise symbolism seems unimportant, the important factor being simply the trumpet's masculinity.

never lost sight of. The trumpet itself, while avowedly an "animal" 765
whose animal noises (mainly in imitation of elephant and leopard) 534
are designed to scare women and children and keep them in their huts, is the only sign of the presence of a supernatural power. The main function of the trumpet is to sing, and to pass on the song of the Mbuti into the forest. It is taken off to a distance from where it picks up the song from the men around the *molimo* hearth and echoes it on into the night. This way, the Mbuti say, the forest is sure to hear it and be pleased.

Normally a trumpet is kept high up, concealed in a tree. During a festival, however, it is kept in water except when in use, for it is considered to represent the power of the forest for chastisement. Keeping it in water keeps it "cool." It acts, it seems, as an intermediary, passing on the song of the Mbuti to the forest, but returning in the morning with power, and sometimes with anger. When it appears in the [533]
morning, just before dawn, the men have had at the most an hour's sleep, and this is a signal for them to begin singing again. An adult male who fails to sing during a greater *molimo* festival is allegedly killed, and when the trumpet appears in the morning its first act is to search for sleeping men. It is held by a number of youths, who run up and down the camp in search (this may also happen during the evening). But then, to show its power, the trumpet is carried from hut to hut, the youths beating on each with branches and tearing leaves off the roofs. The huts of any troublemakers are particularly singled out, though with due regard for the process described under "Government," by which individual blame is avoided. The older men and even the women may yell at the *molimo* to go away, or to go back to the water, but on this occasion the youths are effectively in charge. There is generally a mock battle in which some of the youths will try to block the path of the trumpet, borne by other youths, or to deflect it in another direction. There may even be a tug-of-war, with some youths pulling it in one direction, some in another, though such contests are formal and enacted more as a dance than as an actual test of strength. All the time, those carrying the trumpet keep it concealed behind leafy branches, or simply by holding it between them. In the end it is carried out of the camp triumphantly as dawn breaks, and with a few defiant bellows returns to its secret hiding place in the water. A vine stretched across the stream warns women [784]
and children to keep away.

It is noteworthy, however, that the trumpet is not considered as

765 534 778 It is noteworthy, however, that the trumpet is not considered as sacred in itself, hidden though it may be. There was one instance when a trumpet was stolen by a member of a different family and a different band, simply because it had such a good "voice" and could sing so well. Whatever power it possesses it is believed to possess through the quality of its "voice." The fact that it can be stolen or lost (they sometimes get washed away in the floods that follow a particularly torrential downpour), without causing any ritual crisis, is in keeping with the lack of concern for inheritance of the trumpet. It is said by youths that anyone who wants to make one can have it, but that if they do not want to be bothered they need not, for "the *molimo* is a lot of work." Elders, however, say clearly that there used [613] to be one for each family, and by family they plainly defined a minimal lineage, all male members descended from a single living grandfather or from the same father, living or dead.

765 534 [611] [174] The fact that they also say that the molimo used to be the concern of the band only, perhaps indicates an earlier but now less pronounced emphasis on the principle of patrilineal descent; be that as it may, a noted feature of *molimo* festivals today is their utterly nonlineal nature (Tables 9 and 10).[1] With reference to the greater *molimo* held for Balekimito, there were at one time three *molimo* trumpets in action, only one of which belonged to a member of Balekimito's lineage, the second belonging to her son, the third to Kokoyo, whose wife's stepmother's brother was married to a woman of the same clan as Balekimito—a rather distant claim to lineage—but Kokoyo and Ekianga brought out their *molimo* trumpets because their *roho* wanted it. [621] Thus, by this means they emphasized the importance not of lineage membership but of membership of the band, and the *molimo*, as of old, was at least a band festival, if not a lineage festival.

765 621 771 778 181 182 A more systematic analysis in the next chapter shows the importance of the *molimo* festival as an integrating factor in Mbuti life, and indeed the importance of their whole religious system, based as it is upon a belief in the benevolence of a forest spirit or power. It can, for the moment, be seen clearly enough that it expresses among other things the latent antagonisms that exist between the sexes, because of the same lack of clear, formal sex delineations that characterize the *molimo* itself. It also unites the band (regardless of kinship considerations) in a common expression of the dependence of the Mbuti upon the forest, not only as an economic entity but also as a spiritual entity, a spiritual power that looks after their needs but which is also able to inflict hardship and punishment. The *molimo* heightens

[1] [see page 331 -- Analyst]

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the practical economic dependency of the Mbuti upon the forest, 621
which is felt and acknowledged, by forcing an acknowledgment of 771
the most basic dependency of all, that of life and death. The association 778
with the festival of all the basic elements—fire, water, air and 181
earth—and the central importance of food and sex, all combine to 182
create a highly direct, personal and intimate relationship between
the Mbuti and the forest, while at the same time binding them together
as a band, the one individual dependent upon the next.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.268]

CHAPTER 15

Principles of Organization (1)

121

THE FOREST CONTEXT

While reaffirming our introductory belief that this single-band study is the first essential in the wider study of the Mbuti hunters and gatherers, and that such a study cannot warrant generalizations of wide or final value, some generalization is obviously called for and must now be made to provide a basis for future comparative studies. While we have, in the section on "The Forest World," outlined the nature of Mbuti activity in domestic, economic, political and religious life, insofar as it is lived by the Epulu band of net-hunters, we now have to draw this picture together in an organizational framework. Within this the principles discerned should be specific enough to explain the unity and integrity that plainly persist despite the remarkable degree of flux, and at the same time be general enough to have wider application beyond this specific situation.

121 602 In the absence of central government it is customary to look for principles of organization in the kinship system of a society, and although the society in question does not conform to the expectations of Steward (1955) or Service (1962), and although its departure from their norm of patrilineality[1] cannot be demonstrably shown to be due to "evolution" or even to changes wrought by the influx of village cultivators, there is still much to be gained from a study of Mbuti attitudes to kinship. Embedded in their terminology, simple as it is, are attitudes expressed in behavior in all realms of their life.

602 601 593 [561] We have seen how little emphasis is placed on kinship, except at the level of the nuclear family, where there is a strong affective element between young children and parents. This is most clearly seen in the terminology of interpersonal address and reference, which is

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[1] Service was more perceptive in shifting the emphasis from lineality to locality, but his generalizations still lack substantiation.

of the generational type, dividing Mbuti into age levels that cut horizontally 602
across the vertical lines of lineage. This terminology recognizes 601
four age levels, but is misunderstood if thought of as a means 593
of relating one generation to the next. Although *miki* can be correctly 561
translated as "child," *apua'i* as "sibling," *eba* and *ema* as "father" and "mother," and "*tata*" as grandparent, these terms are not obligatory in address, and are used only where convenient in reference, or where it is desired to emphasize the age differential (for instance, in discussing activities specific to one age level or another). To use any one of these terms to address or refer to a person of a different generation, far from stressing kinship bonds, stresses generational separation. Even *eba* or *ema*, outside the affective nuclear-family usage, is generally a way of expressing distance, and may sometimes imply attitudes such as hostility or at least reproof.

Having stated what the terminology is, one has obviously to go further 601
and look more closely into its actual usage, rather than be content 561
with simple translations. In practice, the terms refer not to degrees of kinship at all, but to conditions of life: childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age. Of all the terms, the only one that effectively creates interpersonal bonds that are recognizable in daily life is the term *apua'i*. As with all the other terms, it is classificatory in the widest possible sense, extending even beyond bilateral connections to include equally affines or unrelated friends. Effectively, then, rather
than "sibling," it should be translated "age mate." However, the English [602]
familial term is more pertinent in that it conveys something of the affection involved in the Mbuti relationship, and the intimate degree of unity.

The term *apua'i*, obviously, is used at each of the four age levels 601
between members of that level. It is used widely, constantly, and 602 571
always affectively, never with reproof or hostility. To address or 561
refer to someone as *apua'i* is to indicate that all is "quiet" between you. Quietness (*ekimi*) is always associated with *apua'i*, whereas noise (*akami*) is invariably associated by any one age level with any of the others—that is to say, any crossing of the levels is liable to produce *akami*. The ideal state is quiet, or *ekimi*, therefore the ideal relationship is that pertaining between *apua'i*. Interlevel relationships (particularly those between adjacent levels) are spoken of not only as producing *akami* but also as being *mota*—strong, powerful, difficult, inclined to be hot, and therefore dangerous though not necessarily bad.

602 561 121 If we forget the usual genealogical associations of kinship and think in a strictly classificatory manner, we do have here an institutionalization of a kinship relationship and the beginnings of a kinship system, for we have already seen the vital importance of age in determining one's realm of activity and responsibility among the Mbuti, and how each of the four levels of *apua'i* act together in distinction from the other levels. But there seems little point in persisting any further with the term "kinship system" in this instance unless we define kinship so as to contradict its very fundamental significance in the more highly structured societies. With the Mbuti we are dealing with kith rather than kin, and the terminological division of the society into four age levels is best thought of as completely divorced from kinship except, and it is a vital exception, insofar as the nuclear family, and the ideal relations that should pertain among its members, are taken as the model relationships for the band. With this in mind, let us examine other relationships implicit in the terminology.

601 561 562 It is noticeable that the terminology distinguishes age levels, and only distinguishes between the sexes at the parental level (*ema* and *eba*). Children, siblings and grandparents (in their widest classificatory sense) are considered without emphasizing any male/female polarity. Sex differentiation can be made, and where necessary this is done, but only in the same rather roundabout way in which any genealogical connection can be traced. In order to differentiate an *apua'i* who is merely a friend from one who is a uterine brother, one has to add the expression "from one stomach" to designate the latter. Similarly, one can add the terms designating male or female to any term of address or reference except that of mother or father, where it is not needed.[2]

562 462 This avoidance of sex differentiation is consistent with the interdependence between the sexes that is so characteristic of Mbuti economic life, and with the egalitarianism that exists between them in the realm of government. A woman is in no way the social inferior of a man, and there is little absolute division of labor along sex lines. [224] Among the net-hunters in particular, and among the archers during [222] the *begbe* beat-hunt, cooperation between the sexes during the hunt

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[2] I have come across instances where a vowel or consonant change has been said to [193] indicate the sex differential (as happens in some Sudanic Languages), such as *tata* and *taté* for male and female grandparent, *apua'i* and *amua'i* for male and female sibling, but there was no consistency in the practice. Wherever it was necessary to make the difference, there was need for stress, and this was in any case better achieved by the more dramatic addition of *moko* or *kali*. At the level where this most frequently is done, a male child would thus be distinguished from a female child: *miki a moko, miki a kali*.

is essential, and gathering, though done mostly by women, may also 562
be done by men when opportunity affords. Perhaps the most significant 462
activity that is generally performed by women is that of house- [224]
building. The only men I have seen build their own houses have been [222]
bachelors or widowers, and even then they will frequently get women [342]
to do this for them. The woman builds the house; she has the final say
in selecting the site. She is in charge of the family hearth, where the
cooking is done and around which the family eats and sleeps. Her [592]
husband may eat with other men at the central hearth, so the family
fire may be said to be of major importance to her and her children.
And it is precisely at the parental level that the personal terminology
differentiates the sexes.

Looking for significant differences in attitudes and relationships 593
between a child and its mother and father, it is plain that the mother 262
is regarded as the source of food, despite the fact that the father is
the prime force in the hunt. It might be worth mentioning again here
that vegetable foods (entirely discounting village influence) form the
bulk of any forest diet, and their nutritive value is probably equal at
least to that of the game consumed. In any case, the father gives the
game and any vegetables he may have gathered to his wife, who cooks
the food and distributes it. A hungry child looks to any one of his [602]
classificatory mothers for food, not to his fathers. His most likely
chance of finding it will be at the hearth of his nuclear family, but
any mother is under as strong an obligation to feed him as the mother
from whose stomach he came.

There is no doubting the difference in the emotional connotations 601
of *ema* and *eba*, differences that are not found to exist in attitudes to 152
the sexes at other age levels. *Ema* (mother) is associated with love 778
(*ekondi*); *eba* (father) is associated with authority (*mota*). We have [593]
referred a number of times to the habit of the Mbuti addressing the
forest as *ema* and *eba*, and although I can adduce no body of evidence
to indicate on what occasions it is addressed by which term, it would
seem to reflect the attitude of the individual at the moment of address,
and the frequency with which the forest is addressed, as both
indicate something of great importance in understanding the Mbuti
value system, upon which social order so largely depends. The forest
is not only the provider, it is also the ruler; it is to be regarded with
affection and respect, and under all circumstances to be trusted.[3]

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[3] Schebesta (1952, 340) asserts: "*Les noms attribués à Dieu relèvent de deux catégories. Ou bien on l'invoque simplement sous ceux d'*afa, bapapa, odu . . . *père, grand-*

601 Another important aspect of the terminology is that it does not
602 differentiate between cognates and affines, and is used to include all, without any distinction of this kind. In an Mbuti hunting band, a hunter may well have a uterine brother hunting to one side of him and his uterine sister's husband to the other side. He depends on each equally for both success and for safety, and any preferential behavior, such as might be signified in another form of terminology,
[621] must be avoided. To distinguish between cognates and affines in the daily hunting and camp life of the Mbuti, as to distinguish between matrikin and patrikin, or even between kith and kin, on any grounds except age and locality, is not only needless, it is destructive of the sense of unity that is vital to the close cooperative nature of Mbuti economic and political life.

601 Mbuti personal terminology, as in the more conventional kinship
602 systems, equally reflects interpersonal bonds, then, but they clearly
571 cut across all strictly kinship considerations. This can to some extent
621 be construed as a denial of kinship ties, and it certainly implies that such ties do not form the basis of social organization in the band.
[648] But it is better expressed as a lack of concern for kinship that, whatever its origins, is particularly well suited to one of the band's major objectives, the preservation of the greatest possible political distance
[182] between itself and the village. It will be readily seen that whereas lineage considerations would divide the Mbuti, the generational system, if considered vertically, effects the widest possible classificatory unity from which the villagers are absolutely excluded. But for the moment to keep to the forest context, the same unity is in perfect consonance with the nonlineal nature of the band, the unity of which any lineal system would destroy. Here we have to refer to one other usage of the same personal terminology; namely, when the Mbuti
[778] refer to themselves as *bamiki ba ndura*, the children of the forest.
[829] This, together with their habitual reference to the forest as mother and father, extends the nuclear-family model to incorporate the larger

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778 *père, père des pères; ou bien on se sert de termes qui remontent à certaines représentations mythiques, et dont le nombre est très élevé.*" ("Names attributed to the Godhead fall into two categories. Either one simply invokes the name *afa, bapapa* or *odu* . . . father, grandfather, or father of fathers . . . or else one uses terms that derive from mythological beings, of which there are a very great number.")

This indicates the same filial attitude to the forest that I found among the net-hunters. Among the archers, I myself most frequently heard *afa*, used with the same degree of affection as *ema* or *eba*. However, among the archers I equally often heard the forest (God) addressed as *ema* (mother), rarely heard *bapapa*, and never *odu*. My participation in the religious life of archer bands, however, was limited.

group—be it the sub-band, the band, or even the total Mbuti population—as a politico-economic unity. The situation is somewhat analogous to the more common lineal patterns, where a people see their ultimate unity in descent from a common ancestor; the Mbuti find their unity in their common dependence upon the forest. 601 602 571 621 778 829

Taking care not to become involved in issues of causality, we can 602
now see the structural implications of this lack of concern with actual 621
kinship, for it alone makes possible not only the nonlineal nature of the band but the fluidity of its composition. But here we have to introduce another factor, the absence of which would lead to the rapid disintegration of the corporate nature of the band. In the absence of the continuity provided by any kinship system, particularly under the condition of flux we have described for this Mbuti band, continuity and corporateness are seen in terms of territory. We have pointed out that the band can be defined only in terms of territory, the individuals forming that band changing from month to month; perhaps even this is implied in the personal terminology which, as seen, differentiates the sexes only at the parental level in terms of the family hearth—the most basic territorial unit of all.

The system also indicates a lack of concern with problems of super- 561
ordination and subordination. Even problems are resolved in the 554
forest context by the use of relative age. Their resolution is only truly 571
difficult in one vital context, once again the forest-village relationship. [177]*
It is consistent with the essentially egalitarian nature of Mbuti social behavior, and it successfully avoids lending any support to the assumption of individual authority on grounds of lineal seniority, which authority would again destroy the essential cooperative unity of the band.

The non-lineal nature of the band itself calls for some explanation, 601
and now we are in a better position to understand it, for we can see 602
clear structural elements that are only obscured when seeking to find 621
principles of band organization in terms of kinship. The terminological system reflects as neatly as could any diagram the essential principle of age. This is the one factor it emphasizes above all others, except the common Mbuti unity as *bamiki ba ndura* (children of the forest).
We have seen throughout our description of Mbuti forest life how [561]
activity and responsibility are regulated according to age level, and the terminology clearly indicates where one's loyalties lie. Such loyalties are entirely incompatible in so small a cooperative society with

601 602 621 the crosscutting vertical loyalties of a lineal kinship system. The territorial band is the only reasonable answer.

602 621 561 121 We use the term "territorial" rather than bilateral, for the latter term still overemphasizes considerations of vertical descent. This is to negate the whole functional value of the generational system as used by the Mbuti, who use it to establish firm bonds between age mates, and to assign different and essential tasks to different age levels, thus avoiding the remotest chance of centralization of power or
[114] authority. But we certainly do not use the term as does Steward (1955, 143), who uses it "to designate certain primitive societies which consist of many unrelated nuclear or biological families." Steward implies that relationship (he does not state what degree of relationship) not only is of no concern, but that it does not exist between member families of the band. It would be difficult to find a more composite Mbuti band than that of the Epulu, yet a glance at Table 4, giving the band membership at the close of 1957, shows that every single individual, representing some twenty-two different lineages, is "related" by clear consanguineal or affinal bonds to every other. No individual stands alone, though the relationship may sometimes be remote.

621 602 121 582 And most certainly while stating that age and territory are more effective principles of organization than kinship, we do not deny that kinship is recognized. We are merely stating that social interaction among the Mbuti is based on generation and territory. A system, to deserve the term, must be effective in action, and we have seen how seldom kinship relationships are called into account among the Mbuti, the major occasion being a proposal of marriage. There the concern with kinship is not so much in terms of the politico-economic implications of the marriage, as a clear-cut consideration of lineal distance. The stated prohibition is against marrying on the side of either the mother or father, but so long as the memory of the elders can trace no connection, there is no further concern.

58 621 602 [561] Sister-exchange marriage preserves the unity of the *apud'i*, and indeed enhances it when, as can happen in the composite band, the two couples reside side by side. The lack of marriage and divorce ritual does not indicate any lack of concern for one's age level, for one always marries within that level and so is never lost to it, but it is another symptom of the general lack of concern with kinship, this time with affinity rather than lineality. A marriage is effected by living together; divorce is effected by one or other spouse simply going to live

elsewhere. If this is taken to indicate a lack of concern not only for 58
kinship but also for social stability, it can also be regarded, precisely 621
because of the freedom it allows, as a further mechanism by which 602
the constant flux so characteristic of the band is maintained. That
this flux itself has a function will be seen in the final chapter, when we
deal again with the Mbuti/Villager relationship.

The different functions of each age level have been described (pp. 561
110, 111, 112 *seq.*), and the organizational value of making the horizontal 621
distinction in the composite band is self-evident. Each age
level is cooperative in activity, certain activities (such as the hunt)
calling for cooperation between two or three age levels still preserving
the distinction by allocating different roles to each. Interpersonal [571]
relations are determined primarily by age level, and authority has also
been seen to be diffused through the different levels.

The transition from childhood to youth is marked for boys and 881
girls alike by participation in the *elima*. Adulthood is conveyed by 885
the act of marriage, which carries with it the right to own a net. The 581
rare bachelor who proves himself as a great hunter and still does not 561
marry may, by combined virtue of his age and his skill, own a net, but
the accepted qualification is that of marriage, emphasizing another
major Mbuti concern, that of procreation.

Transition from adulthood to elderhood is less clear-cut and more 888
filled with tension, for though an elder enjoys many privileges and 561
has, set aside for him as such, certain vital roles in the social organization,
he misses the excitement of the hunt, the pride and satisfaction
of rearing a family, and he certainly recognizes that this is the final
transition.

The nonlineal (or cognatic) band, then, divided horizontally into 621
age levels rather than vertically into lineages, effects an absolute unity 613
throughout each level, whereas it would otherwise be divided into as 561
many sections as there were lineages. Its persistence and continuity
are seen in terms of territory. There may well be a tendency for certain
lineages to remain within the same territory for successive generations,
but such association is incidental rather than structurally determined.
The demography and internal organization, while allowing 621
for marriage within the band, make it essential for much marriage [582]
exchange to take place between different and preferably not adjacent
bands. Since the residence of the newlywed couple is determined by [591]
immediate economic considerations, such as the relative size and [181]
composition of the two bands, territory is obviously not an individual

621 value (though an individual generally knows and therefore feels at
[591] home in one territory more than in others) so much as a group value.
[181] The stated concern of the Mbuti is not to perpetuate lineage but to
[101] perpetuate the band, and bands are not only defined but named by
[103] territory. Individual camps are given specific names according to their
locality. *Apa toangbe* is the camp under the *toangbe* trees; *apa* Lelo
is the camp by the Lelo River, and so forth. It is significant that
when referring to another band it is generally referred to by its current
camp name, or the last camp name known, rather than by the more
general name by which its whole hunting territory is known. This
implies a recognition of the changeability of the composition of the
band, and an emphasis on what the band is at any given moment, defined
by the particular part of its territory it is hunting at the moment.

621 Practical considerations of territory are that birth in a territory
131 conveys the right to hunt with that band throughout life, and it generally
[224] conveys a sentimental attachment to the territory that may
[602] well act as a stabilizing factor. Cognatic or affinal relationships may
[628] be utilized to acquire the right to hunt in other territories, but one
then becomes a member, if temporary, of the band in which one is
hunting.[4] But it is when one widens the concept of territory, so that
it implies more than a mere area defined by boundaries, that the notion
acquires its most fundamental importance. As a definable area it
is of economic and political significance in providing the framework
within which hunting by different bands can take place without danger
of shortage or need for conflict; it is also of social significance in
providing a symbol of band unity, and the promise of continuity. But
[192] the term used by the Mbuti for territory is the same word used for
forest, *ndura*. Regarded in this light, territory assumes vastly added
significance.

621 When an Mbuti says "This is our forest" ("*Nde ndura ndasu*"),
[186] he may be defining the territory of the band in which he is a current
member, or he may be defining the Mbuti as against the villagers.
[222] Alternatively, if in the honey season among the net-hunters, he may
[131] be defining the territory in which his particular subsection of the band

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[574] [4] This again is an example of different degrees of kin relationship being recognized but not made explicit, because explicit recognition would alter the distance between the individuals and so disturb the *apua'i* relationship. Once in the new camp, the visitor is assimilated into the age-level system of that band regardless of the nature of his kin relationships. In giving his reasons for making the visit, either to his own band or to the band he is visiting, an Mbuti will not spell out the relationship but will most likely use the personal name, coupled perhaps with the appropriate generational term. The term alone would plainly not indicate clearly enough whom he was going to visit.

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27. A common way of showing displeasure is to sulk, talking to no one. A young girl here keeps her back to her husband, wherever he might be, and refuses to cook his food.

[578]
[593]
[152]

[P276-B]

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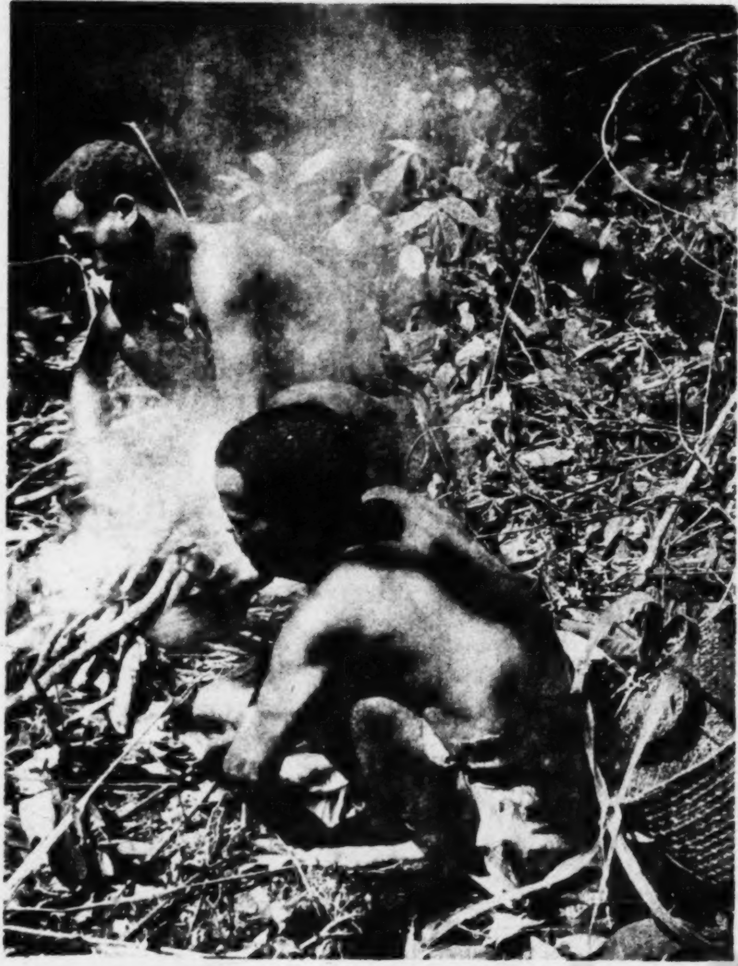
[462]

28. Moké, an elder and a peacemaker, with two of his adopted families. It is considered no shame for an Mbuti male to fondle and care for the needs of even the youngest children.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.276-C]



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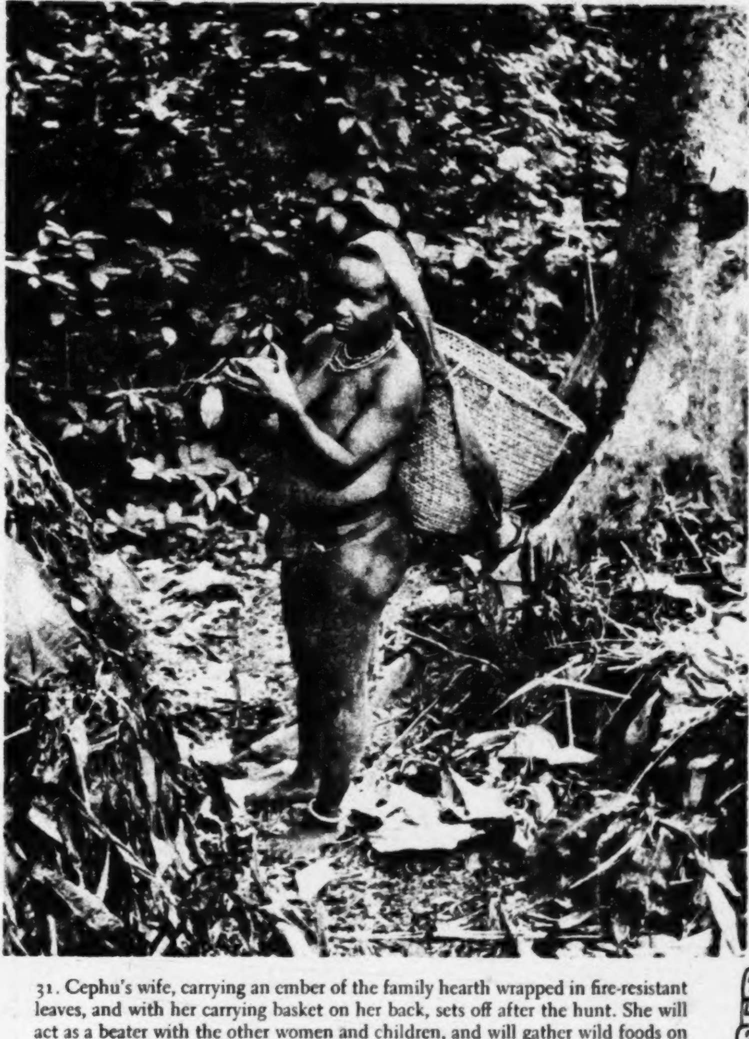
29. A hunting fire is lit to announce to the forest that the hunt is setting out. Hunters on their way will pass by, but no special ritual is performed.

[224]

30. The hunt sets off, well camouflaged against the leafy background. The men and youths

[P. 276-E]



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31. Cephu's wife, carrying an ember of the family hearth wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, and with her carrying basket on her back, sets off after the hunt. She will act as a beater with the other women and children, and will gather wild foods on the way.

[224]
[462]
[222]

[P.276-F]

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[184]

32. Masisi stops on his way to the hunt to try for a monkey in the treetops. For net-hunters the bow and arrow is only an incidental means of food-getting. As seen here, poisoned arrows are preferred to those with metal tips provided by the villagers.

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[882]

33. Two youths, armed with spears, carry their fathers' hunting nets. They will not have nets of their own until they are married but may, on occasion, take the place of their fathers on the hunt.

[P.276-G]

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34. A youth, recently initiated, is still considered far from manhood in the forest. Here he helps an older brother set up the net.

[881]
[885]
[593]

[P 276-H]

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35. When an animal falls into the net it is quickly caught by the hunters and carefully extracted before it damages the netting. A youth stands by for the kill.

[P.276-I]

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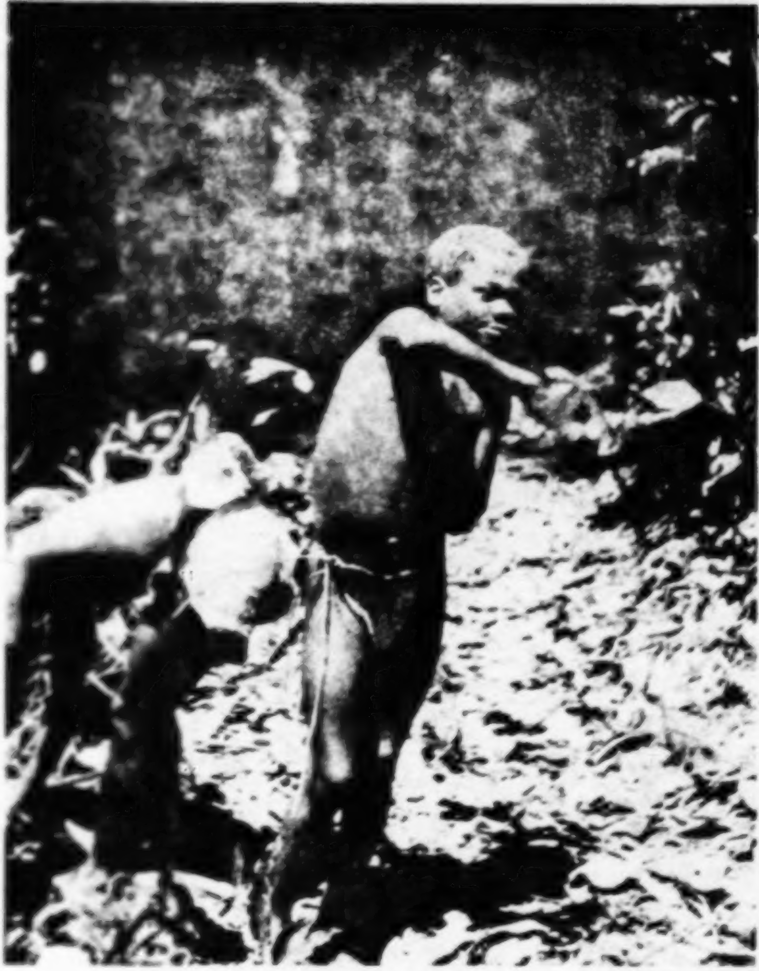

36. When the kill is assured, a youth signals back to the camp and to other hunters, to let them know what kind of game has fallen into whose net. Relatively complex messages can be signaled in this way, variations in rhythm combining with variations in pitch achieved by flexing the elbow, which forms a sound box when clapped with the other hand.

[P. 276-J]

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37. Honey-gathering usually involves climbing to great heights, but honey is occasionally found near ground level. Only if found in fallen tree trunks can the honey be collected by women.

38. Honey is highly prized, but is nonetheless shared among all. Here Kelemoké's uncle, Masalito, shares with his favorite nephew.

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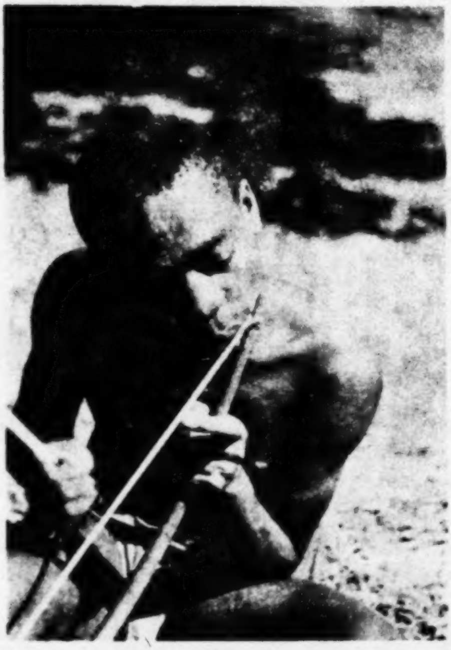
[P 276-K]



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39. The musical bow, apart from the wooden clappers used during the *molimo* and during the honey season, is the only musical instrument that seems to be original to the Mbuti. Even this is slightly used, the one here simply being a hunting bow tapped by an arrow, the mouth acting as the resonator. An extremely musical people, the Mbuti are, unlike the villagers, vocal rather than instrumental.

40. Balekimito, the old lady who "died well," and for whom the exceptionally long *molimo* festival was held. The charm around her neck, stolen from the villagers, would have been regarded by the Arabized Ngwana as powerful magic. For her it was a mere ornament.

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[P.276-L]

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[765]
[784]
[534]

41. A spot like this, in the Lelo River, was the resting place of the *molimo* trumpets used in honor of Balekimito. Vines are stretched across the stream to warn intruders to keep away. The precaution, however, is as much for fear of theft as for fear of desecration.

is resident. It is seldom that he refers merely to geographical boundaries, 621 for trespass, as seen, is rare and of little consequence. Yet it is a term he frequently uses, and as an organizational principle it is equal in importance to age.

While agreeing with Steward that the environment may to some 114 extent be determinant as well as permissive of certain elements of 182 social organization, I find it impossible to see the validity of his wider 621 deterministic claims for cultural ecology.[5] But while Steward seems to have overreached himself, or rather overreached his material, in trying to draw up general principles of culture change, nonetheless in regarding cultural ecological adaptations as "creative processes" (1955, p. 34), his stress on cultural ecology as a particular factor is highly relevant to the Mbuti and in itself an important contribution. We have seen throughout the importance of the economic abundance offered by the forest, permitting economic independence to each band. While the presence of the village tribes is sufficient indication of the permissibility of cultivation, at the technological level of the Mbuti one might say that the environment determines hunting and gathering. It is certainly relevant to say that the Mbuti, at least, would agree with Steward, for they say it is the only way they can live, that if they cultivate they will die. The truth of their assertion is not relevant here; its importance lies in that it reveals the depth of their felt dependence upon the forest.

Nothing is gained, however, by saying that the Mbuti exploitative

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[5] Indeed, it would be impossible to do so since Steward uses the Mbuti as an example of an ecologically determined patrilineal band, content to base his analysis on Putnam (1948) as interviewed by Carleton Coon and represented in a brief and obviously general and sketchy article. Steward's only other Mbuti reference is to Schebesta's preliminary seventeen-page field report in *Anthropos* (1931). A minimum of inquiry would have revealed numerous other sources, which while admittedly unsatisfactory would, through their very divergence, at least have demonstrated the inadvisability of relying on the two sources quoted (ref. Turnbull, 1965). Further evidence to support his theory, for the Central African Negritos, was drawn by Steward from the reports of Schmidt (1910) and Trilles (1932). Not one of the many articles in *Zaïre*, *Congo*, or *Kongo-Overzee*, is cited, nor is Schebesta's major work, *Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri*, nor the abridged and revised edition of that work which appeared in French in 1952, *Les Pygmées du Congo Belge*. Unsupported assertions such as that "the exploitative patterns produced the features typical of the patrilineal band" (Steward, 1955, p. 128) are bad enough; the apparent ignorance of major texts (for Steward nowhere gives any reasons for not using them) is worse; but still worse is the sheer misrepresentation of the facts he does claim to have at his disposal. Thus he claims that the populations he has selected to illustrate patrilineal bands—the Bushman, Congo Negritos, Australians, Tasmanians and Fuegians, "and others"—are similar "because the nature of the game and therefore of their subsistence problems is the same in each case" (1955, p. 38). It is difficult to see much similarity between subsistence problems of the Kalahari Desert and the Equatorial Rain Forest, even if they are on the same continent.

114 patterns produce "features typical of the patrilineal band," for the
182 patterns differ from group to group, and within each group from one
621 time of the year to the next. At one time or another, each group, net-hunters
or archers, will be able to present bands that resemble patrilineal
units; at other times the same bands will be utterly nonlineal,
even though the exploitative pattern may not have changed.

182 Nonetheless, the environment itself does play a vital structural
role, and while not necessarily determining the exploitative activity,
or the dependence of the Mbuti upon it, is determinant of their value
system so long as that dependence is felt. For, feeling that way, regarding
[778] the forest as *ema* the provider, and as *eba* the ruler, believing
that any deviation from the way of life ordained for them by the
forest would be fatal, the Mbuti effect what control they can over
their lives by a constant effort to "rejoice the forest."

183 Conceiving that the forest is intelligent, the Mbuti conceive that it
778 is like them, and consequently the ideal that they hold for themselves
is the ideal they attribute to the forest. While age and territory are
[621] effective in organizing the band, dividing it into significant units,
binding it together as a whole, and determining the general nature of
interpersonal relationships, the territory enlarged into the forest seen
as mother and father acts as the ultimate sanction of all behavior.
There are certain recognized forms of behavior that lead to a "good"
band, and others that lead to a "bad" band. The appropriate positive
and negative sanctions are formulated in such a way that all actions
are either pleasing to the forest—leading to the ideal of *ekimi*, or
quietness—or displeasing to the forest, leading to *akami*, or noise.
(*Ekimi* and *akami* are, in practice, essential elements in determining
the success or failure of the hunt.)

183 Thus it is recognized that cooperation is essential for the success
577 of the hunt, so it is stated that laziness and aggressiveness and disputatiousness
778 are all displeasing to the forest, leading to *akami* (as
indeed they do). The *akami* is their own reward, for *akami* destroys
[157] the hunt and "kills" the Mbuti. On the contrary, to hunt well, to have
a full stomach, to sing and dance, is to please the forest and lead to
[224] *ekimi*, or "quietness," and *ekimi* in turn brings good hunting, and is
associated with singing and dancing and feasting.

577 Here is a very clear example of the closest possible association between
778 religious belief and ethical behavior. The distinction made by
626 Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 172) between law, morality and religion,
621 upheld by legal sanctions, sanctions of public opinion, and religious
[114]

sanctions, does not hold good for Mbuti society, where the three 577
principles are inextricably fused. One might be able to talk of law, 778
even if law implies sanction by force, for the Mbuti believe that the 626
forest has such power and force and will use it. Indeed, in their experience 121
it does, for transgression is met with the force of *akami*, which [114]
kills. This is thought of as a very direct and practical response on the part of the forest as the law. On the other hand, public opinion can hardly be said to exist, for there is no public spokesman, and every opinion on behavior is expressed in terms of pleasing or displeasing the forest. Such public action as may be taken—ridicule or ostracism—is taken in the name of the forest. Exile is literally being sent to the forest to meet it directly. Religious sanctions are not differentiated from any others; the threat is the same—noise and displeasure.

Ultimately, then, in our consideration of territory, despite the obvious 621
practical values involved and a certain extent of ecological 778
determination of behavior patterns, the territory as a principle of organization 181
must be regarded as a religious principle. Indeed, life itself, for the Mbuti, can almost be regarded as a ritual designed to please
the forest and secure *ekimi*. There is, as noted, an almost total absence 778
of magic, and the only ritual that can be truly considered as 533
such, and is not otherwise a necessary daily activity, is song. We have [789]
seen that song is designed specifically to rejoice the forest, and to draw its attention to its children, but beyond this and its reinforcement, through musical technique, of the values of age and cooperation, there is nothing particularly remarkable about it as a social institution.

It is only when we come to death that there is a marked departure 765
from the normal tenor of life, and a ritual, the *molimo*, that might be 181
regarded as a ritual in the Durkheimean sense of recreating society 121
and reaffirming the social sentiment. While any interpretation of religious 182
ritual of this kind is highly questionable, the attempt has to be made.

Leaving aside the "legal" aspect of the *molimo* when it appears in the early hours of the morning to wreak havoc in the camp, there are few rituals that could be more explicitly concerned with the "recreation
of society" in the most literal sense. Death is the most final and 761
inescapable of all crises, and for it there is no remedy. But it threatens 182
more than the life of the individual; it threatens the continuity of the band, and so threatens the ritual of life by which the forest is pleased. Death itself is recognized as deriving from the forest, so is accepted

Death itself is recognized as deriving from the forest, so is accepted
761 with regret, but there is enormous concern to conceal the regret and
152 avoid any excessive show of grief, for crying is *akami*. The uncomfortable
778 fact of death has to be obliterated from the memory as quickly
182 and effectively as possible, and the band, which has received a blow
at its strength, must be rejuvenated in an exaggerated display of all
the things pleasing to the forest—good hunting, singing, dancing,
765 feasting and, above all, *ekimi*. More than this, the *molimo*, as we have
182 seen, is a means of reaffirming the effective division of the band into
621 age groups, and through both the participation of the old lady, who
535 demonstrates the power of the women over the men, and through the
831 *ekokomea* dance, the lack of sex differentiation is emphasized. *Ekokomea*
may also be regarded in a similar light as the erotic dance over
the fire, where the men symbolically copulate over the scattered embers,
fanning them to life. Certainly the sexual act is represented in
the *molimo* dances, if not in the symbolism of the *molimo* trumpet
itself and the way in which it is handled, and there is very evidently
expressed concern with the regeneration of life.

765 The *molimo* is also an occasion on which the band reaffirms all its
621 interpersonal loyalties, and its unity as a band, regardless of kinship
182 considerations. (This is not to deny that the band, and the *molimo*,
may at one time have had a more definitely lineal structure.) It is
significant that it insists on participation by all adult males, including
not only affines but adult visitors living temporarily with the band
under an obligation, default in which is punishable by death. Such
death itself is said to be brought by the *molimo*; informants differed
as to *how* death would actually take place—some said by two spears,
some by beating—but in all cases it was held that the *molimo* would
bring death to any who did not fulfill his obligations.

778 Thus the forest is intimately associated with the Mbuti at death,
824 just as it is at birth. The same forest that gives life and strength
761 through the juices of the vine, and through the vine and wooden
[789] charms tied around an infant's wrist, may bring death to that infant,
if as an adult he fails to rejoice the forest during the *molimo* festival.

372 Fire, which is the gift of the forest, but whose ownership is disputed,
[778] is central in the life of the Mbuti, representing life itself. (One
[761] legend has it that fire was first owned by a chimpanzee; another by
[773] woman; another by the *keti*. In any case, man [Mbuti] ultimately
stole it and now possesses it.) During the *molimo*, men pass their
372 hands through the flames and then rub gently over their faces. The
765 *molimo* trumpet is passed over the flames. Sometimes men put coals

in their mouths, or hold them in their hands. Burning coals are put 372
in the mouth of the trumpet. When the trumpet enters the camp at 765
night it is preceded by a youth carrying burning embers which he waves in the air and touches to the ground to leave a trail of glowing cinders, the "footsteps" of the *molimo*. And of course the *molimo* fire is the object of attention of the old lady and her attendant. The final extinction of the fire is the signal for the return of the *molimo* to the forest, and the end of the festival.

The festival emphasizes and reaffirms everything of importance in 765
the life of the Mbuti. And perhaps one of the most important things 621
it emphasizes is accompanied by the least ritual—the closing of the 182
path leading to the village. To the same end, but more dramatic, is 186
the way in which a *molimo* festival will come to a complete halt if a 829
villager comes to the camp. For the *molimo* not only reaffirms the unity of the band; it reaffirms the unity of the Mbuti in opposition to the village. It is essentially a "matter of the forest," and the entire system that it upholds operates only in relation to the forest.

In the same way that a solitary villager can transform a forest camp into a village camp, just by his presence, so is any contact between the two worlds, except one of opposition, impossible. The system that the *molimo* recreates in the forest, the very life of the Mbuti that in itself is a ritual of pleasing the forest, cannot persist in the
village. The ritual closing of the path is clearly symbolic of the Mbuti [177]*
concern to keep the village out of the forest, to keep the two worlds apart. When they, as individuals or as a band, leave the forest and visit the village, they do precisely that—they leave the forest. It is this opposition, which is so sharply defined in the *molimo*, that is the basis of the Mbuti relationship with the villagers.

[P.282]

CHAPTER 16

Principles of Organization (2)

THE VILLAGE CONTEXT

*177 The principles of organization that have begun to emerge with
171 reference to the forest world of the Mbuti only become fully com-
121 prehensible when we relate them to the village world. Gluckman (1960) gave some general but highly pertinent indications of a somewhat similar situation involving a dichotomy in the lives of Africans in North Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In that situation the conflict, or rather the opposition, was between the ancestral land and the town. The land represented subsistence to some extent, but primarily security; the town was a place to raid for money. While Gluckman did not see any "detribalization" involved, he pointed out that the African is tribalized, in towns and in rural areas, in two different ways, tribal attachments in urban areas having to work within a setting of urban associations: "Hence the African in rural areas and in town is two different men; for the social situation of tribal home and of urban employment determine his actions and associations, within the major politico-economic system covering both areas" (1960, p. 11).

Gluckman refers to the consequent social and mental conflict, and sees "considerable resolution of this conflict through the separation
*177 of the spheres of activities" (1960, p. 11). In assessing the Forest/
121 Village relationship we see a similar situation, with the village being
182 regarded as a place to raid, creating numerous social and mental conflicts which again are largely resolved by separation in what I have called a system of indigenous apartheid. There is more to it than that, however. We cannot suppose, however complete the barrier, that the Mbuti live an utterly schizophrenic existence; even within the opposition there must be order. Nor can we suppose that the order comes from a mere dilution of forest values when the Mbuti come to the village; it is rather, as Gluckman says, that the same values have to work within a setting of urban (village) associations.

Indeed, certain elements of the forest system can only be explained 177*
in relationship to the village context, such as the excessively fluid 12]
composition of the band and the almost paranoid attitude to a single 182
villager passing through a hunting camp, sufficient to suspend the
vital and central, all-important *molimo* festival, even at its height, or
transform it into a village-style parody. This quite singular feature
has found no explanation in terms of either the village alone or the
forest alone. Let us then briefly review the forest system, and look
at it again in the village context. The following elements have 621
emerged as having the greatest structural significance:

1. THE BAND is the basic unit, its membership being influenced by
economic rather than kinship considerations. Constant association
and cooperative compatibility outweigh kinship even within the
band in regulating the process of fission and fusion. This latter process [221]
is related to the annual honey season, but it is not determined by
it. The over-all size of the band, or of its subsections, is, however, determined [162]
by ecological factors resulting in a maximum of about thirty [594]
nuclear families for a band, and a minimum of three families for a subsection.
Although the band is nonlineal, the network of consanguineal
and affinal interpersonal relationships is recognized to link all members,
so that the terminology, while referring to age levels regardless of
actual or fictive kinship, still has the same affective qualities of kinship
terminology, the term referring to age mates (*apud'i*) being the
most widely used, and the most effective.

With the best will in the world, it is not possible to apply the kind 602
of analysis suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1958) for following his argument 121
(that the biological family makes a poor starting point); further 561
we must also abandon the affinal family and the system of affective 571
relationships that Lévi-Strauss saw to pertain there. For among the 593
Mbuti affective relationships are determined more by age than by U14]
kinship, consanguineal or affinal. We simply cannot follow a set formula
that takes no account of the age factor. Thus *f/s* is positive
when *s* is a child.[1] It is negative when *s* is a youth, becomes less
strained when *s* becomes a hunter, but only approaches positive
again when *f* becomes an elder. In other words the relationship is
positive as long as *f/s* are not in adjacent age levels. The greatest
friction arises when *s* approaches adulthood and is about to become
a hunter, a signal for the retirement of the father into elderhood. It

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[1] *f* = father; *s* = son; *m* = mother; *d* = daughter; *b* = brother; *z* = sister.

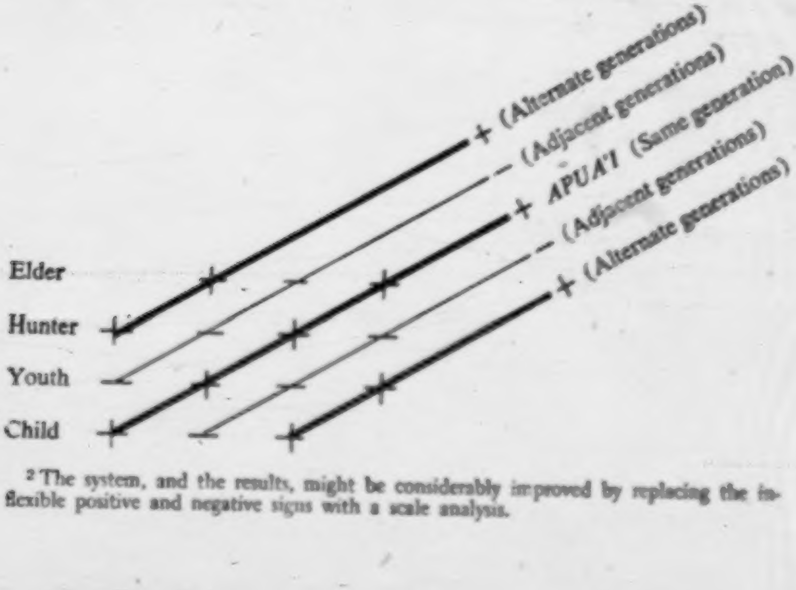
602 would be difficult to notice much difference in this respect between
121 *f/s* and *mb/zs*.

561 *b/z* and *h/w* are both positive, though *b/z* swings to negative
571 briefly at the youth's age level, friction being an inevitable potential
593 of the sister-exchange practice, loose as it is. *m/s*, almost as uniformly positive as *h/w* throughout all changes in age level, might be said to reach a double-positive stage when *s* becomes a hunter, and is certainly pronounced during his youth—just at the time, in fact, when his relations with his father are at their worst.

If we consider the age factor we get something like the following (allowing for the fact that there is no very precise way of determining attitudes, particularly among the somewhat volatile Mbuti):

	mb/zs	:	*b/z*	::	*f/s*	:	*h/w*
When *s* is a child:	+		+		+		+
youth:	−		−		−		+
hunter:	−		+		−		+

602 Or, if set out in a different form, considering only age, the thick
121 lines joining positive relationships, the thin lines joining those points
561 at which the relationships are negative, we see most clearly the cor-
593 respondence of attitudes to age. Only when the sex difference is considered—i.e., allowing for negative *b/z* and positive *m/s*—is the symmetry spoiled.[2]


+ (Alternate generations)
− (Adjacent generations)
+ APUA'I (Same generation)
− (Adjacent generations)
+ (Alternate generations)
Elder
Hunter
Youth
Child

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[2] The system, and the results, might be considerably improved by replacing the inflexible positive and negative signs with a scale analysis.

602
Despite all of which, and the lack of structurally significant rules 121
of inheritance of property or status (names sometimes being handed 561
on down to alternate generations, but not necessarily so), and with 593
no apparent concomitant inheritance of status, certainly not of prop- 424
erty, there is a recognition of the patrilineage, and a tendency to- 723 613
ward patrilocality.[3] 554

2. AGE is the prime factor in dividing the band into significant 561
units, the significance being seen in terms of domestic, economic, 621
legal and governmental responsibilities. Each age level has a distinct role that contributes to the total social order, and in all these aspects of life it is consistently of greater import than kinship. The consistency still remains as firm in religious life, and following the ultimate crisis of death. The dead belong, as it were, to yet another age 561
level, and one that is almost dissociated from the four levels of the 761
living. Thus after death there is no familial concern for the dead, as [769]
seen in the complete lack of concern with ancestral ghosts. Far from disclaiming the dead relatives through fear[4], the Mbuti continue to regard them with affection insofar as they regard them at all. Their preference for forgetting the dead reflects an attitude toward death, not to the individual dead.

Each age level has its own way of earning the respect of the band 561
as a whole, by fulfilling what is referred to as its "duty." Thus the duty 88
of children is to grow up in good health. The duty of youths is to sing, flirt and play—and help the parental level. The duty of the hunters is to hunt and, oddly enough, to create *akami*, or noise, and the duty of

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[3] We have to assert that there is, for the moment, no evidence that the territorial band is a product of special considerations, as suggested by Steward and Service (in whose terminology the band is "composite"). In particular we must reject, for the Mbuti, the assertion of Service (1962, p. 49) so convenient to his argument for virilocality, that all such societies were, before they were "so thoroughly subjugated," characterized by fighting between "unrelated groups," resulting in "fears, dangers and enmities." Also it is necessary to deny his assertion that such societies are "enclaved among more powerful neighbours—and cannot but lose or be heavily punished for any breach of the peace." If anything, in the Ituri, it is the villages that are enclaved. Further gross misrepresentation, perhaps owing to paucity of reliable material, is offered by Service (1962, p. 108) in the bald statement: "The composite band, on the other hand, is obviously a product of the near-destruction of aboriginal bands after contact with civilization. In all cases there is conclusive evidence of rapid depopulation by disease which, when combined with ending of hostilities among the aborigines themselves under the dominance of the common enemy, resulted in the merging of previously unrelated peoples." The evidence now available, while not denying the possible validity of such historical reconstruction, in no way supports it. Indeed, there is evidence to the contrary. [621] [648] [114]

[4] For an example of precisely the opposite situation, see Beattie (1960, p. 76), where concern for kinship obligations during life is continued after death, resulting in a desire to disavow relationships.

561 the elders is to restore *ekimi*, or quietness, and also, following their 88 alternate generation, to play and sing, if in a somewhat different manner. The elders may also flirt.

Above all, each age level has its own responsibility in the total band economy.

621 3. TERRITORY is the principle by which the band, divided horizontally 561 by age, sees its unity vertically, through all four generational [594] levels. Territory, represented by the hearth, recognizes the divisions of the band from the nuclear family, represented by the family hearth, to the four age levels, represented by the different hearths at the *kumamolimo*, for youths, hunters and elders (children remaining by 621 the family hearths). Territory, represented by an area enclosed by 131 recognizable boundaries, defines and is the symbol of unity of the band. In its widest extension, the forest itself, territory forms the basis for the unity of all Mbuti in their common opposition to the [648] village world. The village world is frequently referred to as *indenji aku*, [192] or in the lingua franca, KiNgwana, as *inchi ingina*—directly translated as "another territory." Each band has its own *indenji*, and intermarriage between noncontiguous bands is preferred because of the rights it conveys, each to the other's territory. The Mbuti themselves say it is good to have relatives (friends) in many camps, for then one 628 never "walks emptily" (*tamba bulé*). One of the great *molimo* songs 602 is "*me tamba bulé*"—"I am walking emptily." The importance lies not in the initial or future residence of the married couple, but in the exchange relationship established by their marriage, enabling individuals or families of each band to exchange visits with members of the other, never having to "walk emptily."

621 For the Mbuti territory in its widest aspect, as the forest, also 778 represents the spiritual source of their entire being, and effectively operates as the ultimate sanction of social behavior.

822 4. NOISE, or *akami*, is another element of structural significance, and must be considered in relation to its counterpart, *ekimi*—quiet. Noise is recognized as having considerable practical significance, such as its effect in scaring away animals. This can be desirable or undesirable, depending on the situation, and so can noise be desirable or otherwise. Ultimately, however, noise kills, and so generally is to be avoided. It may be used in times of danger or crisis for protective purposes, and apart from shouting to frighten away wild animals while on the trail, the Mbuti also whistle to stop all human sound, in

the camp or on the hunt, and they also sometimes shout at a storm 822
or at rain to drive away bad weather.

But more important than Mbuti recognition of the practical power 822
of noise is their recognition of its social value. When they say it is 577
the duty of the hunter age level to make noise, they mean just that, even though it is precisely noise that will negate the hunter's other duty, to hunt. The Mbuti do not connect the two duties—the one refers to the hunt, the other to camp life. It is in the camp that the hunter is expected to make noise; that is, to be disputatious. For the countervalue, *ekimi*, is only "quiet" and does not refer to silence (*kobinengo*), which is considered as an indication of great and imminent danger. A silent camp is considered a bad camp and the badness is destroyed by destroying the silence, which can be done in two ways. One is by singing, which is recognized as sound but only de-
scribed as noise when it takes place in the village. Singing, as we have [533]
seen, is essentially a form of communication, even of communion, [778]
with the benevolent forest divinity. It destroys silence and "rejoices [182]
the forest" at the same time. But this is recognized as having only temporary efficacy. To strike at the roots of silence, one employs "noise" in the sense of argument, which is certainly its most common connotation.

Silence in a camp betokens unusual ill humor, which is common 822
among the Mbuti when in their village camp, but not in the forest 577
(except when the hunt is spoiled by rain). Disputes seldom remain 578
hidden for long because of the intimate nature of camp life, but any 152
length of time is too long, and when a camp is silent it is invariably 626
the hunters who find some cause for "making noise." It matters little what they pick on, but it is preferably not the underlying dispute causing the silence. It may be directed at the cause if personal feelings run high, but then the hunters are criticized for making too much noise, *akami ndasi*. Youths and elders will alike shout at the hunters and tell them this, but the noise will not die down until the disputants have either come into the open with their dispute, putting it before the band, or have been forced to join together in some common but unrelated cause.

Thus there was an occasion on which Amabosu, for no evident 593
reason, took to beating his wife, Amaloku, with unwonted vigor and 578
regularity. A certain amount of wife-beating is considered good, and the wife is expected to fight back. But Amaloku was aware of the real reason for her husband's behavior, which was her own brother's

593 persistence in sleeping with Amabosu's sister despite her having just
578 given birth to a child. She evidently felt shame for her brother, but
whatever the reason she did not fight back. This only enraged Amabosu
further so that his beatings grew to the point where Amaloku
was bruised and lame and perpetually in tears. After a week of this
593 the band was well aware of the underlying cause, but it was nonetheless
578 concerned for the restoration of good relations between Amabosu
622 and his wife. Being outwardly a domestic squabble, nobody interfered,
and the camp was silent. The silence was very real, as it can
be when the Mbuti get moody, and it settled on the whole camp the
moment each beating began. Masisi tried to create minor disputes
about hunting, in the hope that Amabosu and his wife would join in,
but they were not to be drawn so easily. Even when one very real
[685] dispute raged beside them (Pepei having stolen some meat from Sau,
Amabosu's mother) they maintained a sullen silence that overcame
the band as soon as Pepei had been dealt with by a sound beating.

It was not until Amaloku, in an effort to run away from Amabosu,
tripped and fell by Tungana's hearth that the camp had its chance.
[252] As she tripped, Amaloku scattered several logs from the fire, upsetting
a piece of meat that had been roasting over the coals, casting it into
the ashes. Old Tungana let out a yell and his wife slapped Amaloku
hard. Amaloku wailed as she had never wailed before, whereupon
Masisi and Manyalibo, both great hunters, went to the middle of the
camp and jointly denounced Amaloku as a troublesome girl who
should be sent back to her people. She had been badly taught, because
[372] no Mbuti ever treats fire like that, or throws food into fire. She
was no good as a daughter, no good in camp, and evidently no good
in bed because she was still without child.

This utterly unjustified and personal attack brought out not only
Amabosu but also Ekianga (Amaloku's brother, the basic cause of
all the trouble) in common defense of the weeping girl. Masisi and
[372] Manyalibo put up a good argument, for it was indeed considered bad
to accidentally step into a fire, and the camp was soon in an uproar
with the sister-exchange section uniting in defense, supported largely
by the youths. The hunters, with the exception of Ekianga and Amabosu
themselves, allied with Masisi and Manyalibo. Finally old
[198] Tungana stopped everything by whistling and then making one of his
rare speeches. It was to the effect that everyone was behaving like
[186] villagers, so he might as well go to the village and stay there. He called
to his wife to pack her things, and grumbling loudly he grabbed his

bow and arrows and started to walk out of the camp. His son Makubasi, 593
one of the hunters, called after him that he was going "emptily" 578
(*ue ke bulé*)—using the KiNgwana word for "emptily," with its connotations 626
of war—(See footnote to p. 295) and without reason. Makubasi pointed out that all the noise had ceased and that now there was *ekimi*, or quiet. Tungana stopped, listened, said that he did not want to kill the camp so he would come back, but from now on there must be nothing but *ekimi* and no more jumping in and out of his hearth, spoiling his food, destroying his fire.

Ekianga continued to sleep with Amabosu's sister, but Amabosu 593
no longer beat Ekianga's sister in retaliation. On the contrary, even 626
before Tungana's grumbling protests had died down, he was off getting 822
some herbs to soothe his wife's wounds. And if the camp had been upset by noise rather than silence, the hunters would have killed it with more noise. The ultimate solution generally lies in the hands of the elders, but the process of restoring equilibrium is initiated by the hunters' fulfilling their duty of making noise. Thus though noise cannot be said to be good, its use (properly controlled) is recognized as having beneficial potentialities.

5. QUIET (*ekimi*) is not merely the opposite of noise; it is something 577
else and it is the ultimate goal toward which life is directed. 183
As with noise, its practical advantages are plain, particularly on the 822
hunt. It is also recognized as an indication that all is well; a quiet camp is a camp untroubled by dissension, a quiet child is a well-fed child, and so forth. In the same way that noise is associated with heat, so is quiet associated with coolness, and this is generally a desirable quality, whereas heat is undesirable.[5] The plaintive cry of the elders when trying to stop an argument or settle a dispute is often "*Me oki akami, me toni akami; me kondi ekimi, ndura ekondi ekimi*"—"I hear noise, I refuse noise; I love quiet, the forest loves quiet."

The ideal is quiet, and quietness is associated with the forest. The 577
concept is inseparable from the concept of joy, which is *ekimi mota*, 183
or "powerful quietness." Joy is an intensification of quietness and is 828
brought about by the occurrence of the norm: good hunting, good (822)
weather, good health, harmonious relations, plenty of children. These conditions do not always prevail, in which case active steps have to be taken to improve the hunt, to be less disputatious, to keep better health, to have more children, and to drive bad weather away. En-

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[5] The village is in fact, as in thought, hot and noisy, whereas the forest is cool and quiet.

577 183 828 [533] [778] deavor of this kind, however, is recognized as being fraught with difficulty, and there is another way that is both easier and more sure, for *ekimi mota* is produced by song. The process of "rejoicing the forest" is a process of creating *ekimi mota* where it does not exist, of intensifying mere *ekimi* through song.

577 183 828 192 The term for "rejoicing the forest" in the Epulu area is *bongisa ndura*. In KiNgwana the verb is either *furahisa* or *ponisa*, there being no precise equivalent to *bongisa*. *Furahisa* is closer to the English concept of joy, involving festivity; *ponisa*, however, means to cure. The KiNgwana words are both used by the Mbuti in this context, interchangeably, and the meaning of *bongisa* lies between them, derived as it is from *bonga*, meaning good, in an all-inclusive sense.

577 183 828 533 778 152 Perhaps the exact connotation of "rejoicing the forest" is best described by the process itself, which brings joy through joy. Singing gives the Mbuti intense satisfaction. They say it makes them feel good, in the sense of feeling joyful. The mood of song is joyful, even when it is a *molimo* song on the occasion of death. By creating a mood of joy within themselves the Mbuti convey that joy to the forest, which returns it, restoring *ekimi* or even *ekimi mota* to the camp. To describe song as mere "curing" would not quite cover the essential sharing process implied by the term *bongisa ndura*. Song is known, to the Mbuti, to have the infallible power of filling the forest with *ekimi mota*. It is sometimes described as being like the act of copulation in the moonlight, or wherever the individual talking feels that act to be the most intense and beautiful. The Mbuti say "*su bongisa ndura, ndura pisu ekimi*"—"we rejoice the forest, the forest gives us quiet." The distinction is simple, for joy is *ekimi mota*, an intensification of *ekimi*, and as such is not the norm and can only be temporary. Far more important to the Mbuti is that they should have, on a less temporary if less exalted level, the norm of *ekimi*.

533 778 While the forest cannot fail to be rejoiced by song, it may well, for one reason or another, be displeased, as a father may be displeased with his children (a perfectly common Mbuti metaphor), and withhold *ekimi* for a long time. The fact that singing brings joy to the Mbuti, filling them with *ekimi mota*, does not mean that it is not also hard work. For the forest is not content with one song. If singing is undertaken at all, and particularly if it is undertaken for purposes of restoring lost *ekimi* (i.e., if it is to be a *molimo* festival), it
[224] must be long and continuous. After a fest of singing every night, from shortly after dusk to an hour before sunrise, the Mbuti set off to hunt

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with excessive vigor. It would be an insult as well as *mbafu* (stu- 533
pidity) to take all the trouble to rejoice the forest by song and then 778
displease it by not having a particularly vigorous hunt. A month of 224
this leaves the stoutest Mbuti more than a little tired, so although
the remedy for *akami* lies in their hands, through song, at all times,
it can be arduous and, since it is *mota*, it can be dangerous. Thus P
the supernatural sanction on social behavior is in no way lessened: [784]
the Mbuti all state that the forest, in its manifestation through the
morning *molimo*, may punish and kill.

The system as described can be seen easily enough to maintain P 18
internal order, and it can also be seen well enough how it operates, as 626
an essentially forest-centered system based on age and forest values, to 778
maintain separation from a village system based on kinship and anti- C
forest values—for one of the cardinal village beliefs is not simply that [186]
the village is better than the forest, but that the forest is the source [778]
of all evil. But now we have to see how these same elements that
make for social order in the forest (the nonlineal band, age, territory,
noise and song) operate within the village framework.

Winter (1956) describes the relationship between the eastern ex- P 184
tension of the Mbuti, the few who live among the Amba on the 177*
Uganda/Congo border, and the Amba themselves. Each group deni- 613
grates the other's mode of existence, yet they evidently live in the C
closest association with each other, in what Winter calls symbiosis. 184
More important, he describes how two Mbuti groups are fitted into 177
the Amba lineage structure, but only partially so. They are both at- 613
tached to Bulibuli lineages, each to a maximal lineage as a whole; [614]
yet they do not share full and equivalent relationships as Bulibuli C
with the other lineages of the same clan. Winter mentions that they P
stand in a joking relationship with only one of the maximal lineages. [571]

Joking relationships are generally thought of as pertaining be- [602]
tween individuals who stand in a specific relationship to each other, P
involving both proximity and distance. The proximity is thought of C 571
in terms of kinship, the distance is due to a difference, if not a con- 602
flict, of interests. The relationship can involve considerable amity 121
and mutual cooperation, but nonetheless contain elements of hostility, particularly in its outer expression (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 91). The exact formularization varies from situation to situation, tolerating or compelling joking behavior, on a symmetrical or asym- P 121
metrical basis. 177*

The essential elements of this form of relationship are all present 571
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121 in the Mbuti/Villager situation. The basis of the proximity and dis-
*177 tance elements does not rest on kinship, and the relationship is as
571 much between the two groups as it is between individuals, otherwise
C the situation conforms to Radcliffe-Brown's model quite clearly—viz.
121 (1952, p. 95): "The show of hostility, the perpetual disrespect, is a
177 continual expression of that social disjunction which is an essential
571 part of the whole structural situation, but over which, without destroying or even weakening it, there is provided the social conjunction of friendliness and mutual aid."

In the Mbuti/Villager situation the relationship appears to be symmetrical and permissive, though both sides do occasionally take offense, the village side even sometimes taking counteraction. The ineffectiveness of taking offense or action, however, only serves to heighten the characteristic "social disjunction," and there is no doubt that beneath the display of hostility and disrespect there is cooperation, and even considerable amity. Considering the completely opposed value systems of the two worlds, this is, indeed, the only way in which the two peoples could meet and still retain a separate identity. The reasons for the meeting taking place at all, as we have already seen, are circumstantial—the historical invasion of the forest by the villagers, and their use of the Mbuti as guides; the continued parasitism of the Mbuti upon the villagers long after the original need for cooperation had gone; the contemporary mutual convenience of economic exchange; sheer territorial propinquity. These reasons do not lead automatically or easily to a structured relationship, particularly when the values of the two peoples are so divergent, so while a form of joking relationship helps to stabilize the alliance, maintaining the combination of Radcliffe-Brown's "conjunctive and disjunctive components," it is not by itself enough.

C We have seen the methods by which the villagers have sought to
563 further stabilize the situation, through a formal economic-exchange
177 system, a fictive parallel-kinship system, and through introduction to
608 village supernatural sanctions by establishment of magico-religious
881 bonds through *karé* blood brotherhood and *nkumbi* initiation. Any
439 one of these, had it worked, would have reduced the Mbuti to sub-
P ordination, yet this plainly has not been done. The defense of the
*177 Mbuti has lain in their own indigenous forest system, which works
439 not only to maintain internal cohesion but also to maintain the ut-
621 most possible structural distance from the village world while allowing a minimal amount of "mutually convenient" economic exchange.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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Let us look, then, at these same structural elements, having just considered them in their forest context, and place them in a village context.

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1. THE TERRITORIAL BAND, while in no way lessening the efficiency of the hunting band, and while still preserving band unity through the concept of territory and the use of an age-level system, presents to the village system only disunity and flux. The flux that is a natural part, it seems, of the seasonal fission and fusion of all Mbuti bands renders it next to impossible for any form of village authority to be exerted over the Mbuti, either as bands or as individuals. The preference of the Mbuti for marrying into distant bands, and of thenceforth maintaining an exchange of visits and even of membership with these bands, directly counters the authority of the villagers, which is based on localized lineages and is therefore itself localized. The Mbuti are as likely as not to exchange visits with each other over distances that exceed not only the territorial limits of the clans of the village tribes but even of the tribes themselves, between which there are no political relationships except hostility. In view of the lengths to which the Mbuti carry the joking relationship, if it can be called that,[6] it is not surprising that they find it convenient to maintain their bands in such constant and otherwise unnecessary flux. The Mbuti constantly raid village plantations, openly ridicule the villagers, and steal from under their noses, unless the villagers are particularly generous. I have not met a single villager, even among those most popular with the Mbuti, who has not complained of being "eaten," and complained at the same time of the impossibility of applying legal sanctions over tribal boundaries.

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2. AGE divides the hunting band into significant horizontal sections crosscutting all lineal considerations.[7] The emphasis on age is con-

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[6] The Mbuti in their own parlance regard the village as a place to hunt and eat. They say "in the forest we hunt, in the village we hunt" (*ndandura na wendi, ndanaenji na wendi*), also, equally frequently, "We eat animals, we eat villagers" (*Sule baoyama, sule Balubonji*"). Hunting calls for trickiness, cunning, using tactics appropriate to the game, often imitating it and assimilating, temporarily, its personality. Such tactics in the village include bringing in a certain amount of meat as bait, performing some service, and occupying a generally subservient position. When asked why he forced his son to take part in the *nkumbi* initiation at the hands of the villagers, one father said, simply, "When we hunt elephant we cover ourselves with elephant dung" (*So wendi bandongo na puli mavi ndabo*).

[7] Turner (1957), following Gluckman (1954), finds among the Ndembu, a society that is mobile and fissionable, also lacking the more formal political institutions, an essential crosscutting of opposed groups. He also found, as we have found, that (Turner 1957, p. 289) ". . . links of kinship and of political and economic co-operation *per se*

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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sistent as a major principle of organization in all realms of Mbuti life, with a consequent lack of interest in lineage. This adds both to the compositeness of the band and to its fluid structure. The division of authority renders the band, at any stage of its existence, without the slightest trace of individual leadership other than fictive to which the village headmen or chiefs could relate. Even more important, it means that the band has no constant kin grouping by which it can be related to the village unilineal descent group claiming hereditary ownership over a comparable Mbuti group. The comparable Mbuti group only exists in the minds of the villagers, and functions among them as an institutionalized means of regulating intervillage disputes over Mbuti "ownership." The effect of placing a horizontally divided hunting band in a vertically divided village is fragmentation. The only effective relationships, even when the Mbuti happen to be in a village where their *kpara* resides, are interpersonal. The loyalties that the Mbuti feels toward an age group are negated by the lineal loyalties of the villager, and conversely.

Again the Mbuti employ the joking relationship to their advantage. They invoke claims upon *kpara*, *karé*, and "kin" without the slightest compunction, but when the same claims are reversed, they either deny or ridicule them.

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3. TERRITORY, which acts in one respect as a focus of band unity, is the only principle that also, in this limited respect, offers any measure of consistency in intergroup contact. Thus while the villagers in any given village may never be sure of just which Mbuti they will be dealing with in the adjacent hunting territory, they are always able to look to that territory for *some* Mbuti. There is, in fact, a reasonable continuity within the band, achieved by territorial considerations, and this helps stabilize relationships with the neighboring village to some extent. But in its wider extension, as the forest, territory only serves to unite the Mbuti in common opposition to all villagers.

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4. NOISE is associated with the village, and noise is associated with death. The term *akami* is used together with the terms *bulé* or *tupé*

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are insufficiently strong to hold together village and nation." The "consciousness of national unity" (*ibid.*) that exists among the Ndembu nonetheless is, according to Turner, because that unity is moral rather than political, its source lying in the value system.

In considering Mbuti society we have to think of opposition within the forest society, such as that created by the age-level system, and within the total society, such as that created by the "kinship" system. At each level there are indeed opposed groups, with crosscutting membership. The absence of a common value system between forest and village, further, is accompanied by a corresponding absence of a wider unity.

(empty), *mbafu* (stupid) and *mota* (in the sense of dangerous) as 186
assessments of all village institutions and beliefs. A certain amount 577
of this ridicule is again a part of the joking relationship, but it is significant
that the Mbuti do not frequently accuse the villagers of being
sinana, "bad," however much they might refer to the village itself as
a "bad place." From the forest standpoint, however, there is no question 177 *
but that the village system is singularly inapplicable, and therefore 186
at least *bulé* (empty) and possibly *mbafu* (stupid), if not 577
actually *mota*, or dangerous. The village does become *mota*, and very 626
much so, the moment it impinges upon the forest, and any villager in
this situation becomes truly *sinana*, or bad. But as seen, in forest life
even *akami* can be turned to good use, and the noise of village life,
while in itself definitely not good, can be turned to advantage. In the
same way that *akami* is the duty of hunters in the forest, as a means
of resolving disputes, or at least bringing them into the open, so may
akami in the village be used as an institutionalized means of resolving
a dispute without settling the blame on any single Mbuti. Thus individual
villagers, village demands, or village allegations of witchcraft
or sorcery can all be invoked to explain what could otherwise only be
explained by Mbuti delinquency. Individuals or families who are under
criticism, openly or covertly, may decide to go to the village to
fulfill some obligations to village *karé* or *kpara*. The village generally
is a place for relief from the tensions of forest life, and by bringing
their *akami* to this center of *akami* the Mbuti often hope to shed their
own internal dissensions. The village is associated with "war" (*vita*).[8]

In the sense of constant interpersonal conflicts, there is no doubt 177 *
that for whatever reason an Mbuti band reassembles after a stay in a 578
village, it is likely to reunite in the forest with considerably more 626
ekimi than it possessed on leaving. In the same way that individuals
leave a forest camp for a visit to the village because of *akami* (probably
of their own making), so whole bands move to the village when

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[8] *Vita* is, strictly speaking, a KiNgwana word, but is invariably used by these Mbuti, (192)
as are some other words of the same language, even when speaking in KiBira. A future study of such usages might reveal significant connotations in Mbuti thought. Certainly the wars still uppermost in the minds of the Mbuti, as of others in this region, are those of the Arab slavers, whose pawns the Ngwana were. Similarly the KiNgwana word *bulé* (empty) is used far more than its KiBira counterpart (*bobo*) when the implication is particularly derogatory. Thus *kelele bulé*, which is all KiNgwana, means empty noise, a phrase that might be used to describe a dispute that has no just cause. If an Mbuti were to refer to a dispute as being *akami bobo*, it would have a similar connotation. However, if he said *akami bulé*, it would no longer describe a merely pointless dispute, but one that is both without just cause and with deliberate hostile intent. In fact the odium of *vita* clings to almost every KiNgwana word, as does that of *mayelé*, or trickery.

*177 578 626 the camp is filled with *akami*—not in search of *ekimi*, but in the hopes of doing as the hunters do, killing noise with more noise.

*177 583 181 5. SONG brings us to the crux of the opposition between Mbuti and villagers, for all song in villages is by definition "empty," even if sung by Mbuti, and even if, as is rarely the case, the song is strictly Mbuti in origin. That is, while in the village the Mbuti no longer have the ultimate safeguard of being able to "rejoice the forest" through song. Even if they tried, it would be *bulé*. Song being directly associated with *ekimi*, it follows, and the Mbuti affirm, that there can be no
*177 181 [224] [778] *ekimi*, or "quiet," in the village. *Ekimi*, as stated, is the ultimate goal of the Mbuti, and it is only *ekimi* that can please the forest. Visiting the village, then, would be a treacherous act beyond reconciliation under Mbuti values if it were not for the Mbuti attitude to such visits as being a form of hunt, for hunting is pleasing to the forest, and hunting is also associated with noise and danger, *akami* and *mota*. The rationalization may seem a feeble one, but to the Mbuti it is adequate and convenient.

*177 181 182 439 Thus while the more formal institutions of the band, age levels and territorial affiliation, work internally to achieve stability and externally to directly counteract village attempts to subordinate the Mbuti, so do forest values directly counter village values, maintaining the complete separation of the two peoples. The economic exchange that takes place, while undeniably mutually convenient, may also be in part a mere recognition of territorial propinquity and of mutual opposition, a mechanism for avoiding open hostility, which would otherwise be the only possible relationship.

*177 181 186 The strongly forest-oriented value system of the Mbuti, while operating toward the maintenance of internal order, completely counters the attempts of the villagers to assert their dominance by supernatural sanctions based on village values. But the answer to the question
[224] [881] as to why the Mbuti go to the extreme of allowing themselves to be circumcised and initiated by the villagers may be more than that offered by the Mbuti hunting metaphor.

*177 181 186 224 The metaphor recalls the technique of a hunter in taking on the appearance (and smell) of his quarry, of rubbing himself with a paste made of the heart and brains and eyes of the animal so that he can feel and think and see like his quarry. It is not a technique widely practiced, though it *is* practiced by elephant hunters, and by some archers, and by elders who are out hunting on their own. It is more

widely practiced in the mimetic hunting dances, by which it may be 177*
supposed that the dancer is trying, magically, to influence the action 18
and movement of the game. In this light the Mbuti acceptance of the 186
nkumbi seems more plausible, as a "magical" means of gaining power 224
over the villagers. It is not entirely unlike the situation described by [788]
Beattie (1960, p. 78) for Nyoro reactions to foreign powers such as [789]
Europeans, Polish expatriates, and airplanes. The Nyoro attempt
was to gain some control over the situation by becoming possessed by
the spirits of these foreign powers.

There may also be a certain amount of seepage of village beliefs 177*
into the Mbuti subconscious, despite the formidable structural oppo- 754
sition they have raised to all such influences. There is certainly cause
to think that the village beliefs of witchcraft and sorcery, confused as
they are by the Mbuti, nonetheless have for them a certain sinister
ring of conviction.[9]

It is perhaps for that reason that the only plainly discernible sym- 177*
bolism evident in Mbuti ritual is concerned with life. Of all the oppo- 761
sitions between the forest and the village, such as abundance/hunger, 182
unity/disunity, moral/immoral, equal/unequal, cool/hot, song/
silence, quiet/noise, the most significant are undoubtedly the last
two, for silence and noise are associated ultimately with death. If the [776]
Mbuti suspect there are, in the village, supernatural powers with
which they should come to terms, it is for purposes of defense. And [778]
they see their major defense in the power of their own supernatural,
the forest.

Their desire is to counteract the forces of hunger, disunity, immoral- 182
ity, inequality, heat, silence and noise, forces that amount to death 761
for the Mbuti. Their focus of attention is on the preservation and con- 765
tinuation of life. The relatively simple ritual, if it can truly be called 561
that, of the *molimo* festival is supercharged with an emotional con-
cern, a burning desire, for life. As might be expected, it reinforces [578]
those aspects of Mbuti society that require constant attention: age
divisions are clearly symbolized in the three fires for the three upper
age groups; the value of sharing (on nonlineal grounds!) is empha-
sized in the technical division of the songs, again bringing in division
along age lines and demanding close cooperation; the reluctance to
share is symbolized at the same time as the friction between youths

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[9] Again, a linguistic study might help greatly, not only through separating institutions and concepts that derive from different tribes, but in revealing the location of hidden areas of forest/village opposition. Unfortunately we still lack any published studies of KiNgwana, KiBira and KiLesé, let alone of the divers Mbuti groups.

182 and fathers when youths go around trying to snare food from each
761 hut (the women ultimately letting them have it, often ostenta-
765 tiously). The opposition of adjacent age levels, and particularly the
561 hostility between sons and fathers, is plainly manifest in the morning
578 rampages of the *molimo* trumpet. The forest itself is symbolized by
[593] the leaves that conceal the trumpet (itself the symbol of the life-giving organ), and *ekimi* is the avowed objective sought through song. *Akami*, its antithesis, is symbolized again in the morning rampage, frequently a physical battle between older and younger youths (dividing brothers) and between youths and hunters, and always a wordy battle, with the hunters winning if for no other reason than that there is a limit to the energy even of Mbuti youths.

182 Thus the *molimo* admirably reinforces social values and allows for
761 the harmless expression of hostility in areas of conflict. The only sym-
765 bolic representation of sexual conflict is *ekokomea*, and of course the
831 fire dance. But here the symbolism runs deeper, and concerns the
372 ultimate end, for just as *akami* is associated with death, so is *ekimi* associated with life. The fire is not as realistically symbolic as the trumpet, though it is undoubtedly as feminine as the trumpet is masculine. But it is impossible not to be reminded of other instances of the use of fire and sex symbolism.[10]

761 And perhaps we should see this concern with life not only in terms
181 of the threat of death from the village. Death is a threat to all societies, and for the Mbuti it is probably the one imperfection in an otherwise perfect life; that is to say, it is the one thing for which they have no certain answer, and to a practical people such as the Mbuti uncertainty is imperfection.

*177 Ultimately the efforts of the Mbuti, if not of their system, are directed to keeping the villagers physically out of the forest, an effort that is successful largely because the villagers are only too thankful
*177 not to have to go into the forest. But just the fact that one villager
754 can set up a fishing camp in mid-forest and be visited by other villagers, or that a chief can send his representative to a hunting camp to demand (but not necessarily obtain) meat, means that even the forest

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[771] [10] For instance, Audrey Richards (1956) writes of the Bemba that access to the ancestral spirits is to be had through the correct handling of fire and sex, and stresses (*ibid.*, p. 30, *seq.*) the ritual association of sex, blood and fire as the *idée maîtresse* behind most of the ritual behavior of the Bemba. Hocart would certainly have seen the *molimo*, and the "baptism of fire" (when Moké passes his hands through the flames and rubs them over his face, then gently touches the hands of all those around), as a request "for the gift of undying life" (Hocart, 1952, p. 47).

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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cannot offer absolute sanctuary, for each one of these villagers brings 177*
with him *akami* and, even worse, the threat of witchcraft and sorcery. 754
In the last resort, then, the only recourse of the Mbuti will be to
learn to master these arts themselves, unless in time they learn to discern
between the possibilities of the one as a legal mechanism and
the practical ineffectiveness of the other as a physical threat.

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In other areas of the forest, where the village tribes are less afraid 177*
of the forest, living and hunting in it themselves, as well as cultivating, 184
the attempted exploitation of the Mbuti has been no less and its C
general pattern and degree of success have been similar, but there 563
has not been the same attempt by villagers to assimilate the Mbuti.
This seems to be true not only in the northern part of the Congo, but
also further west and in the Gabon.[11] But while in those areas the P
hunters may not be assimilated into the village system to the extent [754]
of being admitted to initiation, they are also, it seems, more ready
to accept village beliefs such as those in witchcraft and sorcery, and
are evidently more dependent upon the villagers in other respects.
However, these areas need considerably more investigation before any P
useful comparisons can be made. Here it is sufficient to stress that in 177*
a situation where the village cultivators are afraid of the forest and unwilling 621
to move freely within it and exploit it, and perhaps correlated 18
with that fact, the Mbuti maintain a form of social organization
based on recognizable principles that plainly have a dual function—
the maintenance of internal order and the maintenance of separation
and distinction from the villagers. In such a situation, the Mbuti
adopt only the outer form of the village social organization while in
the village, in a form of joking relationship between the two groups.
The joking relationship and the dual function of the Mbuti principles
of organization effectively counter all attempts of the villagers to effect
an institutional subordination of the Mbuti. The value systems
of the two people are in complete opposition, and this reflects the
whole nature of the relationship between them. The ultimate attempt
of the villagers to assert supernatural authority over the Mbuti,
while derided by the Mbuti as *bulé*, or empty (but malevolent),
might be a cause of Mbuti willingness to undergo the *nkumbi* initiation,
as a means of acquiring power through assimilation of like
power, to combat this authority.

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On the other hand it might be argued that the villagers, in initiat- 563

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[11] Information on the relationship of the pygmies of the Gabon to the village cultivators was supplied by Mr. Leon Siroto, from unpublished field notes. [P 127]

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563 ing the Mbuti, are not only trying to subject the Mbuti to the authority of village supernatural sanctions but are also trying to assimilate from the Mbuti some of the spiritual power they believe to reside in the forest.

P The ultimate nature of the relationship between the two people
*177 cannot be determined until further studies have been made of similar
105 situations from both the Mbuti point of view and, a major need at the
621 moment, from the village point of view. For now, it seems sufficiently
648 clear that the general nature of the relationship is one of opposition, and that Mbuti society, in response to the demands of the situation or by fortuitous chance, meets it with an organization based upon the
C very antithesis of village organization. Against political centralization
[621] it offers complete decentralization and diffusion of authority. Against a sedentary, patrilineal, patrilocal village it matches the nomadic, nonlineal, territorial band. The vertical village kinship system is countered by a horizontal age-level system. Village values are directly opposed by forest values. And within itself Mbuti society uses these same principles, in a state of almost perpetual flux, to maintain a
P cohesion fully as powerful as that found among the villagers. Instead
C of looking to the more conventional structural principles for the
[181] source of unity of Mbuti society, we have had to look rather to values, and it is in terms of values that the over-all society, of Mbuti and villagers, has its ultimate being and significance.

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APPENDIX I

The Legend of Double Trickery
and
The Legend of the Mbuti Plantation

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.303]

THE LEGEND OF DOUBLE TRICKERY

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me ke nandura ka ba boki.
I went to the forest to collect honey.

me ke a'i, me ke a'i, me ke a'i.
I went, I went, I went.

me ke akurahwa, ku pia libo mangbo.
I went very far, beyond the big river.

moki li suanjoki. me oni neko kuma boki.
I heard the sound of bees. I saw up high the place of honey.

me lufudo, "toka bo nangoli; nda mendamo; nda boki ndamo."
I said, "Nobody has enclosed the tree with vine, *it is* mine; *it is* my honey."

me poki loka phalaa, phalaa bakbakba'i.
I sharpened my ax, very sharp indeed.

me teningoli. ke kongi iaa, me piai iaa mbeao.
I cut a vine. I fanned my fire, and put the fire in my basket.

me pedi oda phangoli; me daphi, me daphi.
I began to climb; I climbed, I climbed.

boki nako kurahwa. nda boki, boki aandenengo, kenga piao.
The honey was very far. It was honey, real honey, not *apuma.*

me kidi. me boingoli, me liki. me piai iaa mbe ebowo.
I reached it. I fastened the vine, I sat. I put fire into the hole.

me lophi. me ki abi bakbakba'i, me cha'i banzoki.
I blow. I got much smoke, I drove out many bees.

me ko iti, me ko iti, me ko iti.
I chopped, I chopped, I chopped.

me ko iti, me muaa kito, a muaa pika na dodo.
While I was chopping I heard someone walking below.

"ma endaa a muaa pika peeha me?" nda mukpara ndamo.
"Who is walking below me?" It is my master.

539 "*a oki kuete mboki ndamo, a me beli.*" *me wenzi nimbo.*
222 "He heard me cutting my honey, he followed me." I began to sing.
439

me nimbi bakbakbei, akini melufu. kanga me oki.
I sang loudly, but he called me. I did not hear.

me nimbi, akini me kweti.
I sang, but I chopped.

me nimbi, "Hai me kweti boki. me ko oka kapa'i akpara mamo."
I sang, "Ha! I am chopping honey to give to my *kpara*."

me kweti biaa, me kweti boka. boki a bi lenga'i.
I chopped slowly, I chopped honey. There was much honey.

akini me piaa depha mbaso.
But I only put part of it in my basket.

me piai ndetina a na soro kokomea.
The rest I put where the tree had two arms.

me nimbi, "Ah! boki a bi depha, me ka bokbu akpara mamo." me ki a dodo.
I sang, "Ah! There is only a little honey, I shall give it all to my *kpara*." I came down.

"*Ah! mambuti mamo, me siye ema?*" *mubira a si pi so.*
"Ah! My Mbuti, what are you doing here?" The MuBira looks at the basket.

"*Ah! akpara mamo, me piki ka ba boki ndamo, akini me pati na che.*
"Ah! My Master, I came to search for my honey, but I got only a little.

"*me mua ka pa'i bokbu. me sia bo'u.*"
"I am going to give it all. I will stay empty."

"*ue nde mambuti manaa. me ka pa eboko mboye aki nanji.*"
"You are a good Mbuti. I shall give you bananas when you come to the village."

"*Ah! akpara mamo, me lika ndura a ka ba boki, akini nde depha.*"
"Ah! My Master, I shall stay in the forest to search for honey, but there is little."

"*nde mwaka sinana. nde kazi ndangbo.*"
"It is a bad year. It is hard work."

"*ue aikia nanji na boki ndamo. me pati ndetina, me piki na'u.*"
"You go to the village with my honey. If I get more, I shall come with it."

akpara a bu boki ndamo, a aki nanji nda'a.
The *kpara* took my honey, he went to the village with it.

anibanda a bi boki ndamo bokbu. ndandama nda'e!
He would say he had eaten all my honey. His stupidity!

ake me daphi umand'o, me bu boki ngbokbu, kumande me pisibi. 539 222 439
I quickly climbed up again, I took all the honey from the place where I had put it.

me simi ya dodo a sia n'apa a kapa banama bame.
I came down to return to the camp and shared it with everyone.

me tambi, me tambi, me tambi. me kidi apua libo mangbo.
I walked, I walked, I walked, I arrived at the big river.

tokwaba a wenzi pika. me lufu. "ha! tudu a me pedi a me mandula? me sao mabo?"
Darkness began to settle. I said, "Ha! Is night catching me in the middle of the forest like this? What shall I do?"

me daphi kua me mangbo, me langi neko.
I climbed up into a big tree, I lay there.

ame mangondo moki liso. me oni kunshwa ias ebaré. 539 776
Halfway through the night I heard a sound and woke. I saw far away two firebrands.

"mondea na tamba kifa, na ias ebara bende? nde ketiba!"
"Who is walking in the middle of the night, with two firebrands? It is an evil spirit!"

me kobi nengo. m'oki liso kali.
I remained completely quiet. I heard a woman's voice.

"a miki mamo, miki mamo; miki mamo mu ma?" liso a tata, mozee nengo.
"Ah! My child, my child; where is my child?" It was the voice of my grandmother, a very old person.

me moboki nengo. "Ah! tatamua kaba me amemangondo? nde tata mamo nengo?"
I was very afraid. "Ah! My grandmother is looking for me in the middle of the night like this? Is it really my grandmother?"

"ah miki mamo mu ma? au moli a pedi, au a bungi?"
"Ah! Where is my child? Either a leopard has caught him or he has lost his way?"

me kobi nengo, akini ias eberé akidi tina me.
I kept quiet completely, but the two firebrands came right up underneath the tree.

nde keti nengo, akini akoki tatamamo.
It was truly an evil spirit, but it had turned into my grandmother.

539 *me teni kisio. "Ah! miki mamo amu neko?"*
776 I sneezed. "Ah! My child is up in the tree?"

"e'i tata, me mu be'i. me ka bi boki tudaha a me pedi a phe."
"Yes, Grandmother, I am here. I was searching for honey but darkness caught me on the trail."

"Ah! miki, ue mesi sinana. ue a bia sisia abende neku, me toli akaba'o; me tondi mota'o. ue si sinana nengo. pisa boki ndamo."
"Ah! Child, you have done badly. When you did not return, I thought you were dead and I left to search for you; I found you strong. You have done very badly towards me. Give me my honey."

"ah! tata, nde tida'i; me kumbendi susia kumekadi."
"Ah! Grandmother, it is very heavy. I shall carry it for you, we shall return together."

"mbe, ueche todahwa; ue lika ma. me sia na boki ndamo. pikisa."
"Nonsense, you are afraid of the night. You stay here. I shall return with the honey. Give it."

me che'i nengo gunde me upi a bi keti.
I was very afraid, because I knew it was an evil spirit.

me maké boki na dodo. "pikasa ndetina, pikasa ndetina."
I threw some honey down. "Give me more, give me more."

me maké-ndetina. "pikasa ndetina."
I threw down more. "Give me more."

"ndetina a munda, tata." "mbe, pikisa, miki masinama."
"There is no more, Grandmother." "Nonsense, give, my bad child."

me che'i nengo, me maké bokbui me lufu:
I was very afraid, I threw it all down; I said:

"e ngbokbu, tata, bo'a, ue ke, ndetina amunda. peda ue sia nda'o. me lika oma."
"That is all, Grandmother, take it, you go, there is no more. Take it and return to your place. I shall remain here."

"ebo. nde bonga'i, miki mamo. me siki a'o. ue likato."
"Good. It is good, my child. I shall return. You stay on."

"ue kato'e, tata."
"Go then, Grandmother."

me liki na siu, me bonji mané. mané a piki, me simia a dodo.
I sat with eyes, I waited for daylight. When daylight came I climbed down to the ground.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

539
T76

me ka bi anga batu; anga munda.
I looked for footprints of humans. There were no footprints.

"Ah!" me lufu, "nde keti mabobo. me si ndasua me ka boki bokbu. a bia mua me nengo."
"Ah!" I said, "It was an evil spirit, truly. I did well to throw down all my honey. It would have killed me completely."

akini, gunde me sibo.
But, empty-handed I return.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.308]

THE LEGEND OF THE MBUTI PLANTATION

539
825
186 *moas besu bambuti subua'ini eboko. moas ma batu banji.*
245 In olden times we Mbuti had bananas, before the people of the village.

batu banji baku bisi eboko ndasu. su kangia'i.
The people of the village stole the bananas from us. We shared them.

besu bambuti sukonia ekasa, bakpara bua'i poko. Seyuma mayeli bendo.
We Mbuti took the leaves, the *kpara* took the roots. That was their trickery.

samba ndaso nde moas bindanaa. akini bambongu pikisi dongasu.
539 Our plantations of old were good. But the elephants came and troubled us.
825
186 *bandongia'isu. ba bumia'i tiko su.*
They troubled us. They killed our plantations.

bambuti balufa'i, "su samabo? bambongu basu dongibé, babuniasu tiko ndasu."
The Mbuti said, "What shall we do? The elephants trouble us so and are killing our plantations."

mangesé, mangesé mangbo, alufa'i, "bambongu bapiké su lufue nabé."
An elder, a very old man indeed, said, "When the elephants come again, we shall talk with them."

bachahwa balufa'i, "ue samabo?" mangesé a lufa'i, "ue sipe, bamiki."
The youths said, "What will you say?" The old man said, "You wait, children."

bambongu bakidi. bawanji a laa'eboko bokbu. ba wanjia'i buna tiko.
The elephants came. They began to eat the bananas. They began to destroy the plantation.

bachahwa bache'i aka mangesé, balufua'i, "ombo, epa, bambongu bkidi; ba bunia tiko ndasu."
The youths were afraid and ran to the old man, saying, "Oh! Father, the elephants have come; they are destroying our plantation."

"*ndasas. me mua ka totiambino. beningbokbu mu lihana; nakobi anenengo." mangesé a ka d'i na tiko.*
"Good. I shall go to chat with them. All of you stay here, completely quiet." The old man went to the plantation.

a kamia'e nengo. engbue na dodo nengo. bambongu ba li sipi.
He cried greatly. He threw himself on the ground. The elephants looked at him. 539 825 186

balufu, "nde'i'i? bachahwa kabapiki dongasu, paka mangesé a piki ngamo nde ndanza sulea kobia nasu."
They said, "What is this? The youths have not come to trouble us. Only an old man has come. Good, we shall eat quietly."

bales ebokosu, bachahwa bakobia nengo apa.
They ate many bananas, the youths stayed very quiet in the camp.

mangesé a kami, "Ah! bamiki bamo bau. Ah! bamiki bamo buma?"
The old man cried, "Ah! my children, all are dead. Ah! my children, where are they?"

bambongu ba'oki, balufu'aka mangesé, "angbe ue ka mi? bachahwa buma? su laa tiko bokbu."
The elephants heard, they said to the old man, "Why are you crying like that? The youths are where? We shall eat the whole plantation."

mangesé a lufu, "laa, laa ngbokbu. bamiki bamo baku." a kami.
The old man said, "Eat, eat everything. My children are all dead." He continued crying.

bambongu balufu, "akini ue mua bamiki ai angbe e'ebaku?"
The elephants said, "But you have many children, how did they die?"

mangesé a lufu, "nde keti, keti ma phele'a. a tembi na kongé ebaré nde bia nengo, arwa na ue.
The old man said, "It was an evil spirit, very evil indeed. It walked with two spears. It was very fat, like you.

"siku bokbu, ma mangia na'u kapié eboko, keti a mua'e, a nia'e.
"Every day I sent someone to cut bananas, the evil spirit killed him, it ate him.

"makati i'o'elea', bamiki bamo bokbu. a siainbende nde tiko nda'e, batu bakidid, a muangbokbu.
"Now it has eaten all my children. It said it was its plantation and whoever came it would kill them all.

"ah! bamiki bamo baku bo'u. angbe'e keti kadongimbe tiko ndatina?
"Ah! My children have all died emptily. Why did the evil spirit not trouble some other plantation?

"angbe a loki tiko ndamo?" mangesé a kami, a ke.
"Why did it curse mine?" The old man cried, he went away.

539 *bambongu balufu, "Ah! akini keti nde sinana, a loki tiko ndamané, su bua ka*
825 *komanda; suke umana, kabe su mua."*
186 The elephants said, "Ah! But if the spirit is that bad, and has cursed the plantation, we had better go elsewhere; let us go quickly, before it kills us."

gunde bambongu bua sopilabatu bananji, bache'i baketi bobo.
Because elephants are like people of the village, they are very afraid of spirits.

ba ke, ba ke, kurahwa. mangesé e oki bamiki bokbu.
They went, they went very far. The old man called all his children.

a lufu, "bambongu ka ba piké noma. ba bia sisia kuma keti masinana.
He said, "The elephants will not come back again. They think this is a place full of bad spirits.

"su likia kobia nasu tiko ndamu.
"We shall remain quietly in our plantation.

"batu betina bunda basudonga."
"Nobody else will bother us."

[P.311]

APPENDIX II

000

Medical Treatment

[P.312 is blank]

[P.313]

MEDICAL TREATMENT

The following list represents only a third of the total number of 75]
treatments noted; for the rest it was not possible to obtain exact 824
identification of the plants used. Only the general identification is [122]
given below of the treatments cited here, the full details being lodged
with Smith, Kline, & French, who generously supported the project.

HEADACHE: *amongolo pepé* (menispermaceae)
Leaves are pounded and rubbed into forehead.
doré (violaceae)
Seeds are pressed, and the juice is lightly rubbed on the forehead.
sungusungu (orchidaceae)
Leaves are roasted, then rubbed into light incisions in the skin of the forehead.

KNEE ACHE: *amakokosu* (uragoga pedunculari)
Stem, leaf and bloom are roasted, then rubbed into incisions on knee.
tapha (strychnos icaja)
Leaves are roasted and applied to incisions.

SORE THROAT: *kasa* (mapana bieleri)
Leaves are wrapped tightly around the throat.

EYE INFLAMMATION: *manoka* (manotes pruinosa)
Leaves are rubbed well between the hands, then put into a leaf cone. A little water is poured into the cone and allowed to drip into the eye.

STOMACHACHE: *amasobo* (violaceae)
The bark is stripped from young shoots, the core being pounded and roasted. The ashes are rubbed into incisions made over the afflicted area.
apisikalukba (araceae)
Leaves are pounded, water added, warmed, and drunk.
karama (dracaena maculata)
The leaves are pounded with salt, mixed with water, the concoction drunk. (The juice of the pounded leaf, without salt, is also put in the eyes of children "to make them see well.")
ebambu (annonaceae)
Bark is cut into small pieces, water is poured over it; when the water is red, a small quantity is drunk.

757
824
[833]

IMPOTENCE IN MALE: *tededasi* (rubiaceae)

Leaves are roasted, and the ashes rubbed into light incisions made above the penis.

teba (rubiaceae)

Leaves are roasted, and if the penis pains, the ashes are rubbed into incisions in the skin of the penis itself.

757
752
824

TOE ROT: *apatekaka* (hippocrateaceae)

Leaves are roasted and rubbed into incisions.

FOOT SORES: *ikengbe* (ochnaceae)

Stem of plant is warmed over a fire, then blown through, so that the juice enters the sores.

ikengbe (convolvulaceae)

Same as above.

HEART PAINS: *bange bamemé* (compositae)

Leaves are pounded, soaked with water, which is drunk when it becomes red.

HEMORRHOIDS: *amekulu* (beilschmieda spp.)

Stem is roasted, the ashes rubbed well into the buttocks around the affected area, and left on. Repeated after three days.

TOOTHACHE: *amabulubulubu* (tiliaceae)

Leaves are pulped to a juice, diluted with water for a child, funneled through a leaf into the nostrils. Said to afford instantaneous relief.

mangenza (leeaceae)

Berries are roasted, crushed, and the ashes rubbed into incisions on the jaw.

OPEN WOUNDS: *ndindimia* (connaraceae)

The bark of a twig is carefully shaved, and the juice blown through the twig into the sore or wound. The bark is then packed into the wound to stop bleeding and to prevent dirt from entering. After three days the bark is removed and a fresh application is made, using less bark shavings to allow the wound to close gradually.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1956) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.315]

APPENDIX III

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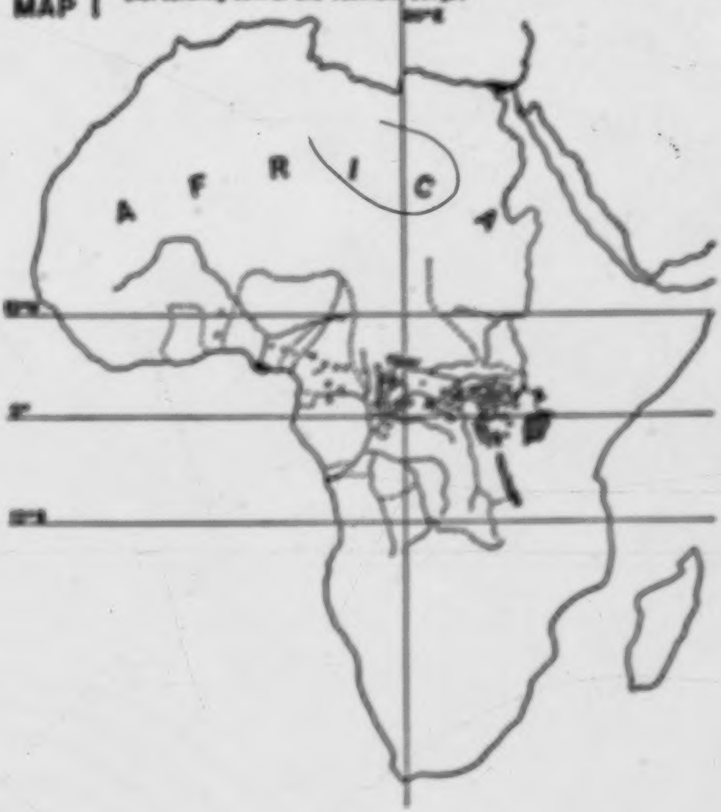
Maps, Tables and Plans

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

102
114
131
133

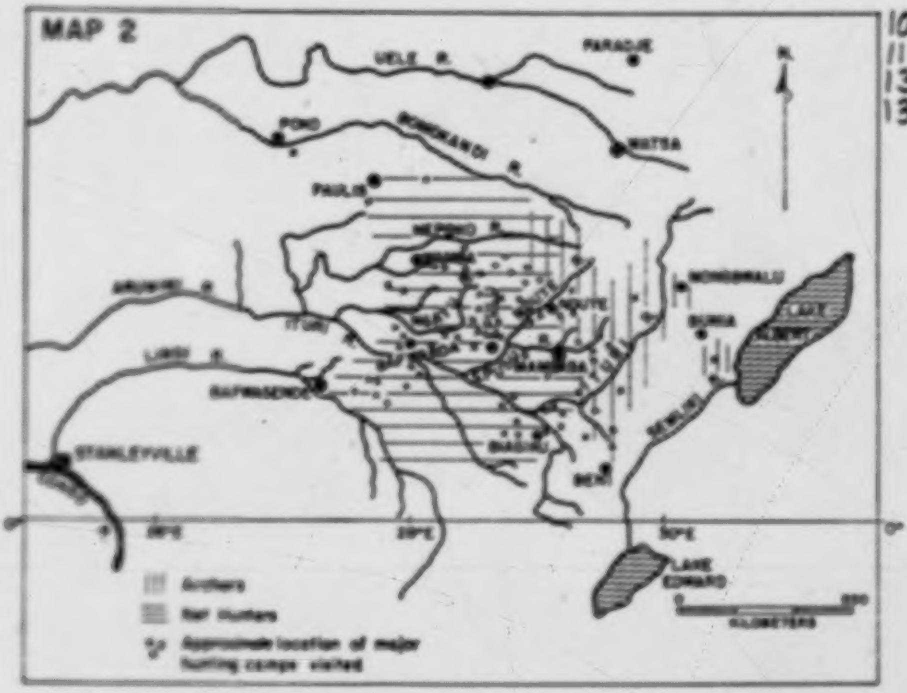
MAP I

Extent of personal knowledge of pygmy groups according to economic [illegible] and personal contact made during 1957/8 field trip (not covering central and northern Congo)



102
114
131
133

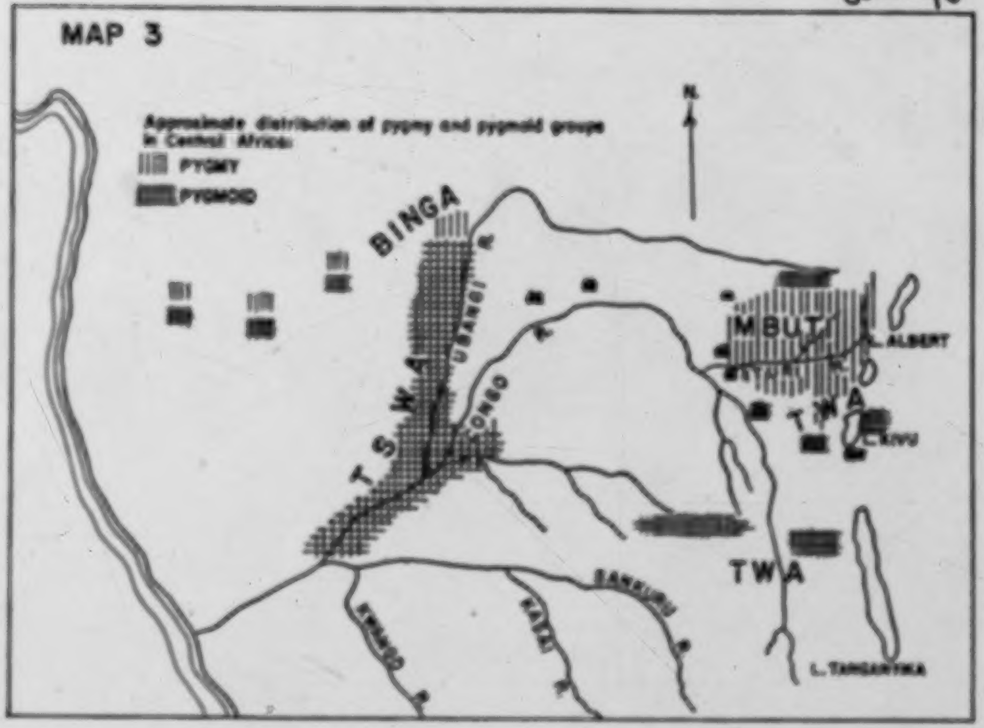
MAP 2

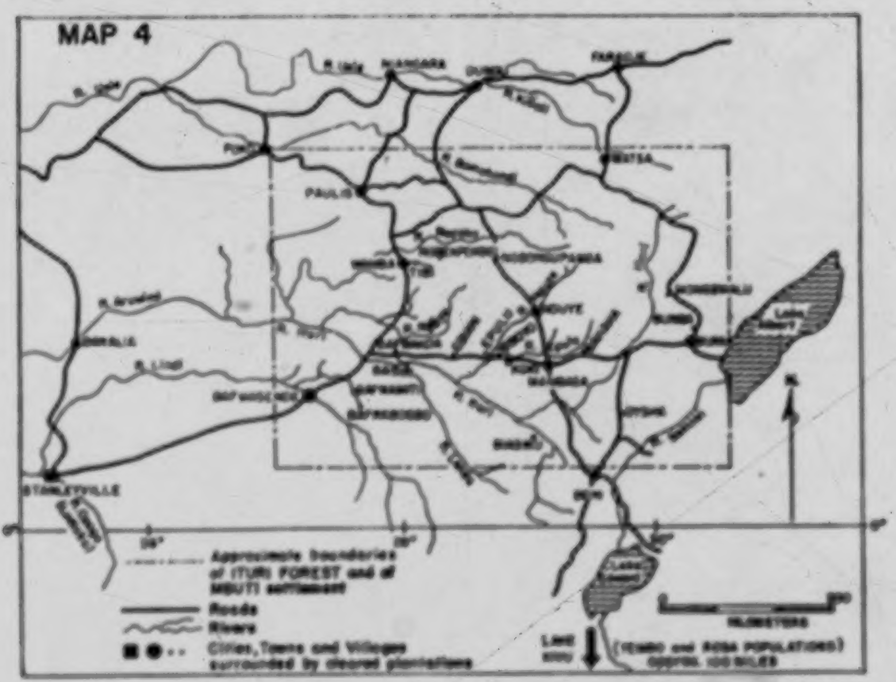

UELE R.
PARADJE
POKO
BOMOKANDI R.
WATSA
PAULIS
NEPOKO R.
ARUWIMI R.
ITURI R.
LINDI R.
BAFWASENDE
STANLEYVILLE
CONGO R.
MONGBWALU
BUNIA
LAKE ALBERT
MAMBASA
BENI
SEMLIKI R.
LAKE EDWARD
N
0°
26°E
28°E
30°E
0
200
KILOMETERS
Archers
Net Hunters
Approximate location of major hunting camps visited

Approximate location of hunting bands visited in the Ituri.

102
101
131
133

MAP 3


Approximate distribution of pygmy and pygmoid groups in Central Africa:
PYGMY
PYGMOID
N.
BINGA
TSWA
UBANGI R.
CONGO R.
MBUTI
L. ALBERT
TWA
L. KIVU
TWA
SANKURU R.
KASAI R.
KWANGO R.
L. TANGANYIKA

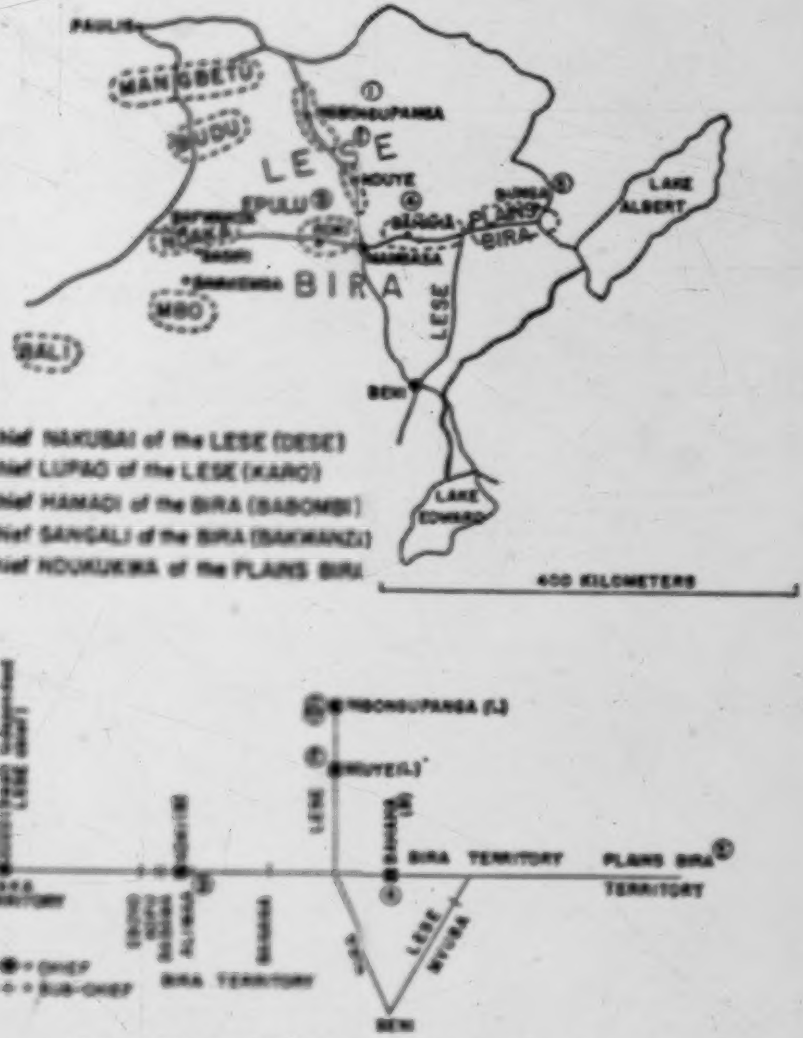

MAP 4
FARADJE
WATSA
PAULIS
BAFWASENDE
STANLEYVILLE
BENI
N
Approximate boundaries of ITURI FOREST and of MBUTI settlement
Roads
Rivers
Cities, Towns and Villages surrounded by cleared plantations
KILOMETERS
(TEMBO and ROBA POPULATIONS)

Boundaries of Ituri Forest and of Mbuti settlement.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

C
101
102

MAP 5

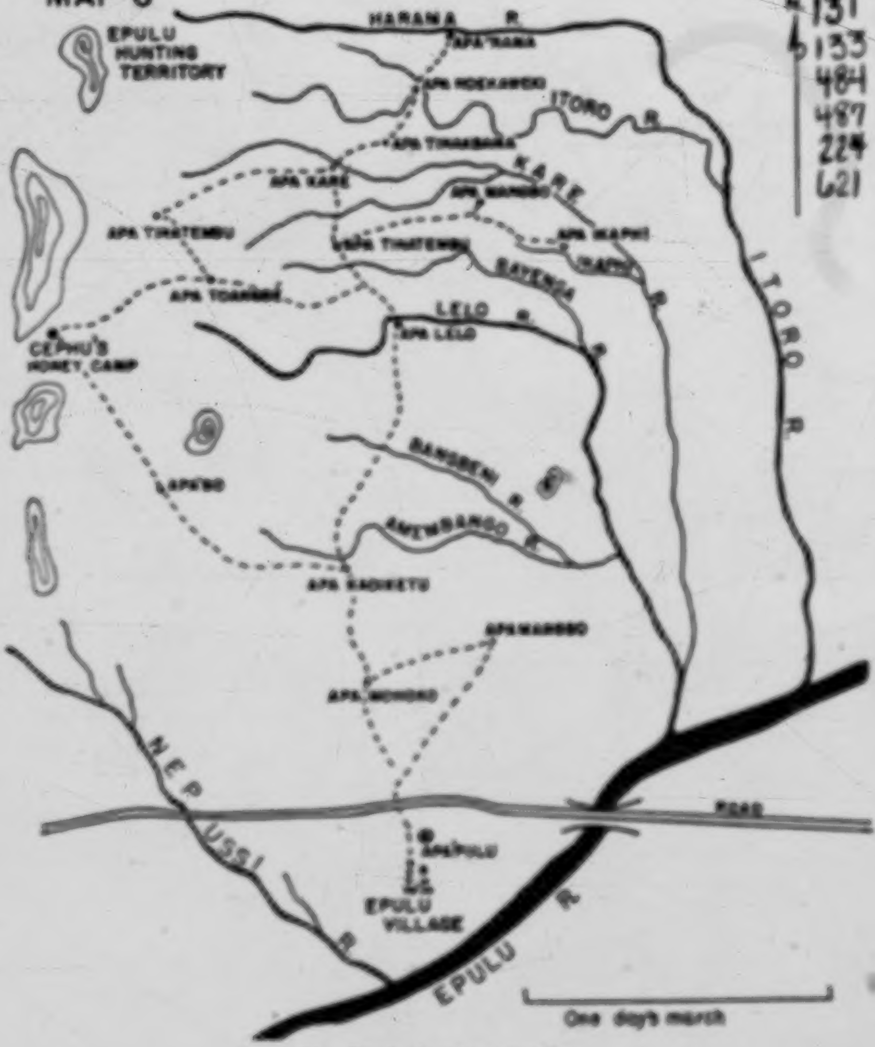

PAULIS
MANGBETU
BUDU
LESE
EPULU
NDAKA
MAMBASA
MBO
BALI
BIRA
LESE
PLAINS BIRA
BENI
LAKE ALBERT
LAKE EDWARD
400 KILOMETERS
① Chief NAKUBAI of the LESE (DESE)
② Chief LUPAO of the LESE (KARO)
③ Chief MAMADI of the BIRA (BABOMBI)
④ Chief SANGALI of the BIRA (BAKWANZA)
⑤ Chief NDUKUKIMA of the PLAINS BIRA
NDAKA TERRITORY
BIRA TERRITORY
PLAINS BIRA TERRITORY
BIRA TERRITORY
LESE
BENI
● = CHIEF
○ = SUB-CHIEF

Village tribes and location of tribal Chiefs in the Ituri.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

102
131
133
484
487
224
621

MAP 6

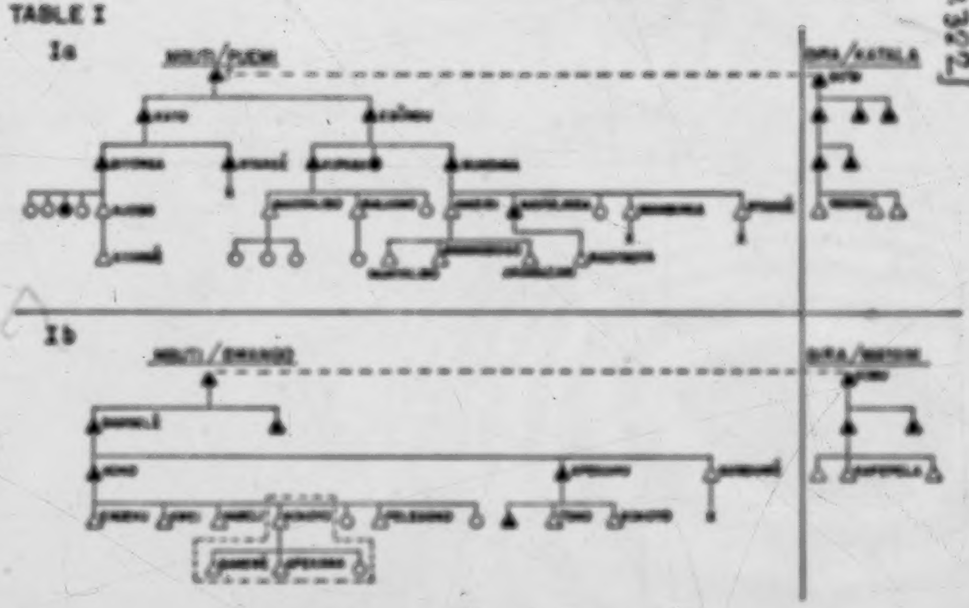

EPULU
HUNTING
TERRITORY
HARANA R.
APA'RAMA
APA NDEKAWEKI
ITORO R.
APA TINABABA
APA KARE
KARE
APA TIMATEMBU
APA TOANBRE
APA IKAPHI
IKAPHI R.
BAYENGA R.
LELO R.
APA LELO
CEPHU'S
HONEY CAMP
BANGBENI R.
ITORO R.
APA'BO
AMEMBANGO R.
APA SADIKETU
APA MAMBBO
APA MONDRO
NEPUSSI R.
ROAD
APA'EPULU
EPULU
VILLAGE
EPULU R.
One day's march
N

The Epulu hunting territory.

[P 322]

TABLE 1a
Mbuti/Puemi: *All living members make regular prestations to Ngoma, their hereditary kpara, though he is permanently absent from the area. Njobo and Ngoma independently declared that Kayo's father allied with Ngoma's great-grandfather, Bo'bi. His offspring have been inherited by the senior member of Bo'bi's lineage since, and still recognize reciprocal obligations.*

TABLE 1b
Mbuti/Bwango: *All but Kokoyo and family, who hunt with the Epulu band, still hunt in the territory around Kapopela's village, moving, when he does, as a unit. They all claim to have been inherited from Gebu.*

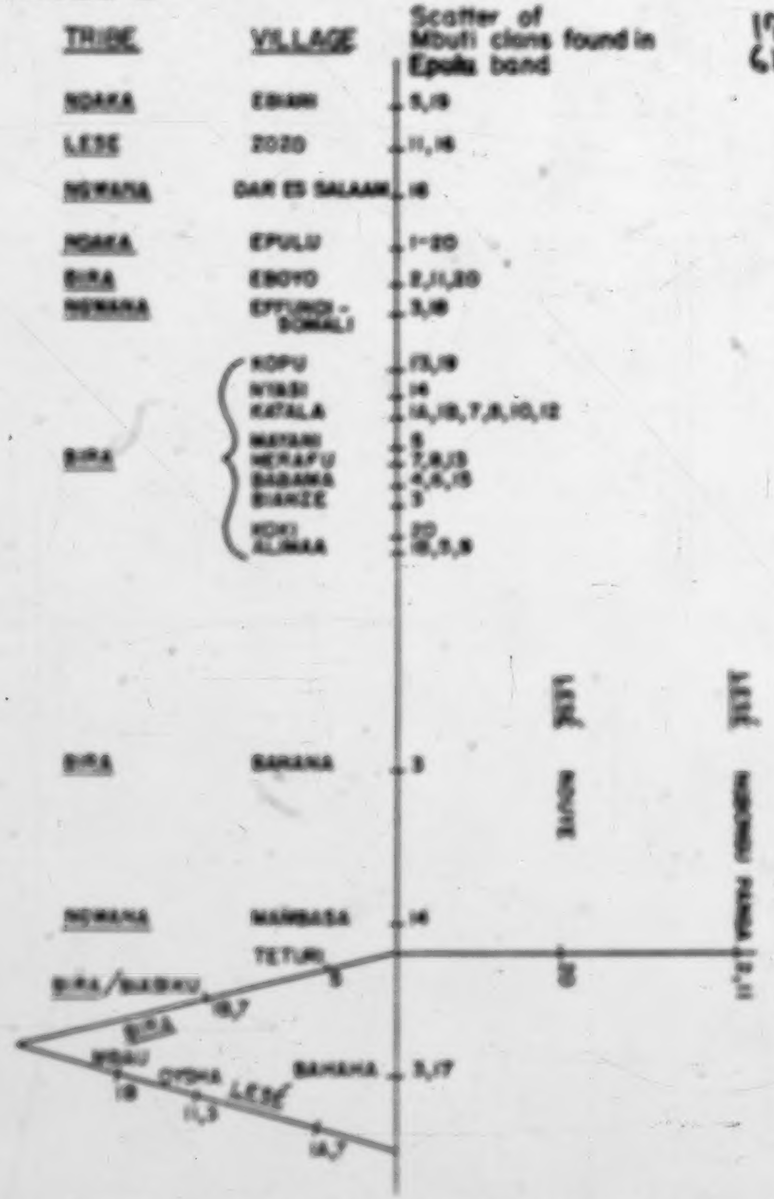


Both Ngoma and Kapopela are renowned for their affection for "their" Mbuti.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

TABLE 2

1774
614


TRIBE
VILLAGE
Scatter of Mbuti clans found in Epulu band
NDAKA
EBIANI
5,19
LESE
ZOZO
11,16
NGWANA
DAR ES SALAAM
16
NDAKA
EPULU
1-20
BIRA
EBOYO
2,11,20
NGWANA
EFFUNDI-SOMALI
3,18
BIRA
KOPU
13,19
NYASI
14
KATALA
14,18,7,8,10,12
MAYANI
5
MERAFU
7,8,13
BABAMA
4,6,15
BIANZE
3
KOKI
20
ALIMAA
18,3,8
BIRA
BANANA
3
NGWANA
MAMBASA
16
TETURI
3
BIRA/BABIRU
18,7
BIRA
MBAU
18
OYDHA
11,3
LESE
14,7
BAHAHA
3,17
LESE
LESE
20
2,11

Distribution of Mbuti "clans" found in the Epulu band.

21 Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
*177
439
433
C
177
439
433

TABLE 3a

FOREST/VILLAGE EXCHANGE

To illustrate the major areas in which an exchange of goods or services does or could take place.

The Village

Forest Produce	*Village Produce*
SHELTER: Phrynium leaves, small saplings, firewood.	House poles; large saplings; leaves; mud for walls; wood for doors, furniture, etc.; clothing.
FOOD: Meat, rarely nuts and honey.	Bananas, manioc, peanuts, rice, corn, beans, palm oil, dried fish (trade).
LABOR: Partial hut-building, guarding plantations, carrying goods to market, drawing water, entertainment.	All major building, furniture-making, marketing, plantation work, clearing, canoe-building, fishing, road work.
SKILLS: Effective medicines.	Pottery, metalwork, toolmaking, divination, ritual specialization (circumcision).

The Forest

SHELTER: Phrynium leaves, saplings, firewood, clothing, furniture.	Nil
FOOD: Meat, mushrooms, fruits, nuts, berries, roots, honey.	Bananas, manioc, corn, beans, palm oil, rice (with relevant utensils).
LABOR: Hut-building, bark-cloth-making, hunting, gathering.	Nil
SKILLS: Effective medicine, manufacture of hunting equipment, dance and song.	Metalwork (metal tips for arrows and spears, blades for knives and axes).

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

TABLE 3b

ACTUAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN VILLAGE FAMILY AND MBUTI FAMILY DURING FIVE-DAY VISIT OF LATTER TO EPULU VILLAGE

P
177*
439

Brought for villagers:

C
177
439

One *mboloko* antelope (enough for two adults for one meal)
Two loads of leaves (enough for ⅙ roof, or for one over-all temporary repair)

P
461
177*

Work done for villagers:

Woman:	Man:
husks rice: four hours	fetches one load of firewood: four hours
watches over cooking: twelve hours	helps re-leaf roof: three hours
helps fetch water: two hours	takes part in two dances: two evenings
carries one load of bananas to market: three hours	
takes part in two dances: two evenings	

Two children: watch plantation for three mornings

P
177*
439

Obtained during stay from the villagers:

C
177
439

Village food for four, or five, days
1½ packets of cigarettes
1 bottle of palm oil
1 musical instrument (*lukembi*)
2 arrow points
1 ax blade
1 bottle of beer
1 shirt
1 bar of soap

Taken back to forest after five days:

1 stem of bananas (enough for the family for fourteen meals)
manioc (enough for four meals)
beans (enough for two meals)
corn (enough for three meals)
peanuts (enough for one meal)
½ bottle palm oil
1 bar soap
1 handful of salt
1 handful loose tobacco

[*Table 4 is located inside back cover.*]

Table 5

613
621
162

LINEAGES CONTRIBUTING TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE EPULU NET-HUNTING BAND DURING 1957–1958, NOT INCLUDING VISITORS STAYING LESS THAN THE DURATION OF ONE CAMP

		married		*unmarried*
Bambaka		14	13	15
Bandobwa		1	—	3
Bí		—	2	4
Bokele	(1)	2	3	4
	(2)	9	5	11
	(3)	—	1	—
Bolima		2	—	—
Bomasua		3	8	8
Bongwana		2	5	5
Buela		1	1	—
Bwango		2	1	3
Meki		—	2	2
Molomba		—	2	1
Ngamo		5	—	7
Pasama		—	1	—
Pokama		1	—	4
Pokbaya		2	2	5
Poté		—	1	—
Poteba		3	2	5
Potola		1	2	—
Poya		2	—	5
Puemí	(1)	5	4	7
	(2)	6	3	12
Pukena		—	2	2
Puma		1	2	4
Pumasa		—	1	—
Pusa		—	2	5
Pusei		—	1	1
Tisi		—	—	1
Ungbausu		3	—	7
Totals:		65	66	121

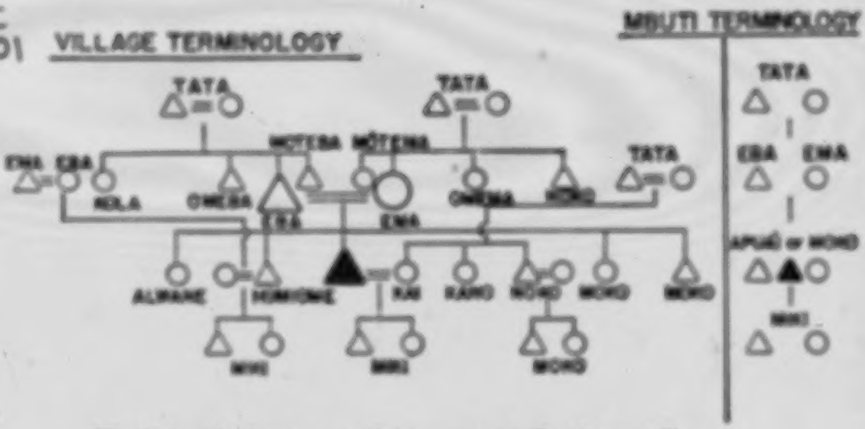
Individual members mentioned in text by name are indicated on Table 4. 613 621

To get some idea of the extent of mobility from band to band, the figures in Table 5 (total) should be compared with figures that could be reasonably expected to apply to an average-sized camp of this band; *i.e.*, of 17 huts, each containing a married couple and three or four unmarried children. 162

Any one such "average" camp would be composed of little more than a quarter of all those who, at one time or another during the year, would be band members.

TABLE 6

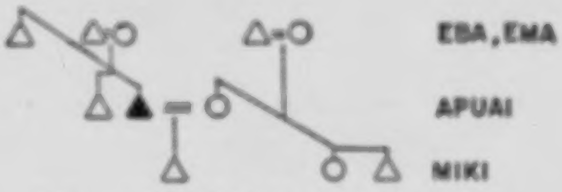
P
C
601


VILLAGE TERMINOLOGY

MBUTI TERMINOLOGY

TATA
TATA
EMA EBA
KOLA
OMEBA
MOTEBA MÖTEMA
EBA
EMA
OMEMA
MOKO
TATA
ALIMAKE
NDINDONE
KAI
KAKO
MOKO
MOKO
MEKO
MIKI
MIKI
MOKO
TATA
EBA EMA
APUAI or MOKO
MIKI

Mbuti terminology may also vary according to age, if one brother or sister is much older than another, thus:


EBA, EMA
APUAI
MIKI

Village and Mbuti kinship terminology.

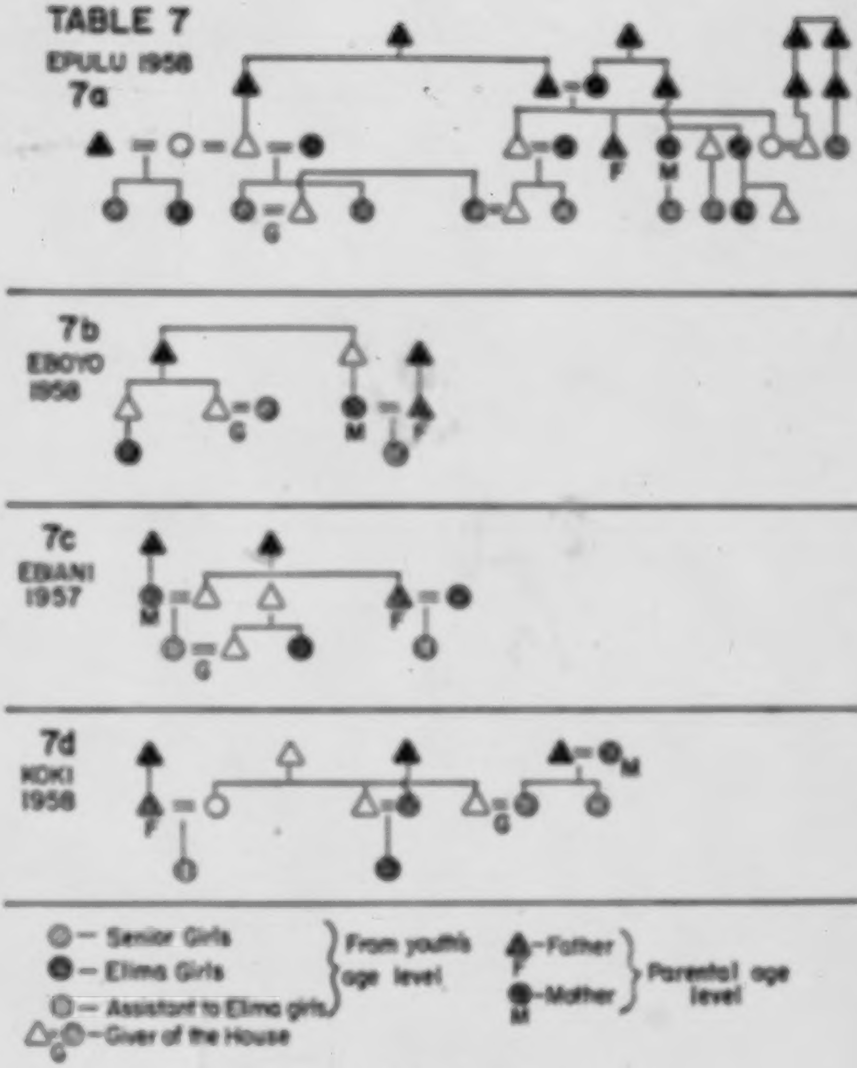


TABLE 7
EPULU 1958
7a
G
F
M
7b
EBOYO
1958
G
M
F
7c
EBANI
1957
M
G
F
7d
KOKI
1958
F
G
M
— Senior Girls
— Elima Girls
— Assistant to Elima girls
—Giver of the House
From youth's age level
—Father
—Mother
Parental age level

881
591
602
632

TABLE 7a-d elima participation

TABLE 8

621
561
554
562

FIELDS OF AUTHORITY

	Nuclear Family	Youths	Hunters	Elders
1. Economic				
Hunting] (Joint male/female authority among the net-hunters)			△	
Gathering]			○	
Honey collecting			△	
Exchange with village	△○			
Industry (manufacture of material possessions)	△○			
Camp supervision (in absence of the hunt)		△○		△○
2. Ritual				
Birth	△○			
Puberty, betrothal and marriage: the *elima*		○		○
Death: the *molimo*		△		△
3. Legal				
Conjugal harmony	△○			
Individual disputes (personal insults, abuse, failure to share food or property, etc.)			△○	
Group disputes (any of the former that become enlarged beyond the realm of those directly concerned)				△○

Thus distribution of authority according to age and sex is almost equal as follows:

Family:	4
Youths:	3
Hunters:	4
Elders:	4

Male:	12
Female:	11

TABLE 9

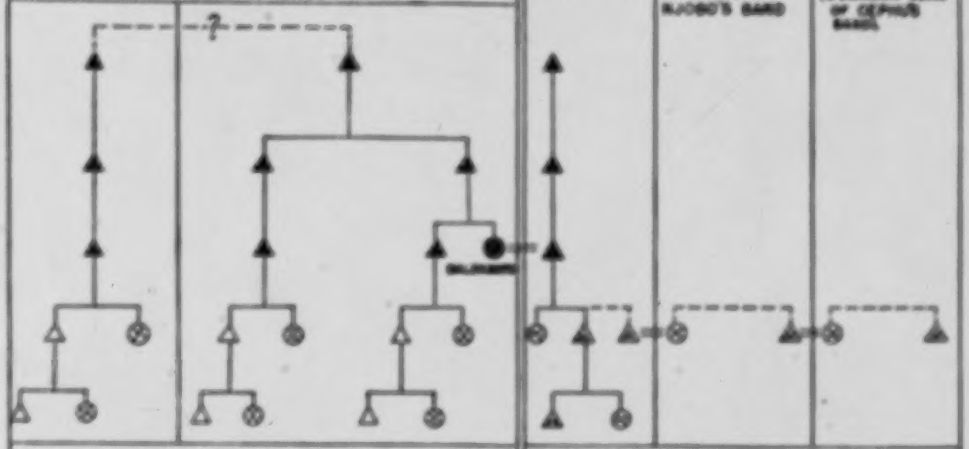
SCHEMATISED GENEALOGY SHOWING AGNATIC PARTICIPATION ALLOWED ACCORDING TO VILLAGE CUSTOM

PUEMI (2) | PUEMI (1)
(DOMINANT CLAN OF NJOBO'S BAND)

TABLE 10

AFFINAL MEMBERS OF GROUP BARRED FROM PARTICIPATION ACCORDING TO VILLAGE CUSTOM

BOMASUA | OTHER CLANS AND LINEAGES OF NJOBO'S BAND | BAMBAKA (DOMINANT CLAN OF CEPHU'S BAND)



ANALYSIS OF FULL GENEALOGY SHOWING ACTUAL PERCENTAGE OF CONSANGUINEAL AND AFFINAL PARTICIPATION IN MOLIMO FOR BALEKIMITO

PUEMI (2)	PUEMI (1)	BOMASUA	OTHER CLANS AND LINEAGES OF NJOBO'S BAND	BAMBAKA
△ = 14.9% ○ = 12.7%	△ = 12.1% ○ = 16.4%	△ = 8.1% ○ = 18.2%	△ = 43.3% ○ = 34.5%	△ = 21.6% ○ = 18.2%
△ = 27.0% ○ = 29.1%		△ = 73.0% ○ = 70.9%		
△ = 35.1% ○ = 47.3%			△ = 64.9% ○ = 52.7%	
△ = 78.4% ○ = 81.8%				△ = 21.6% ○ = 18.2%

▲ = DECEASED

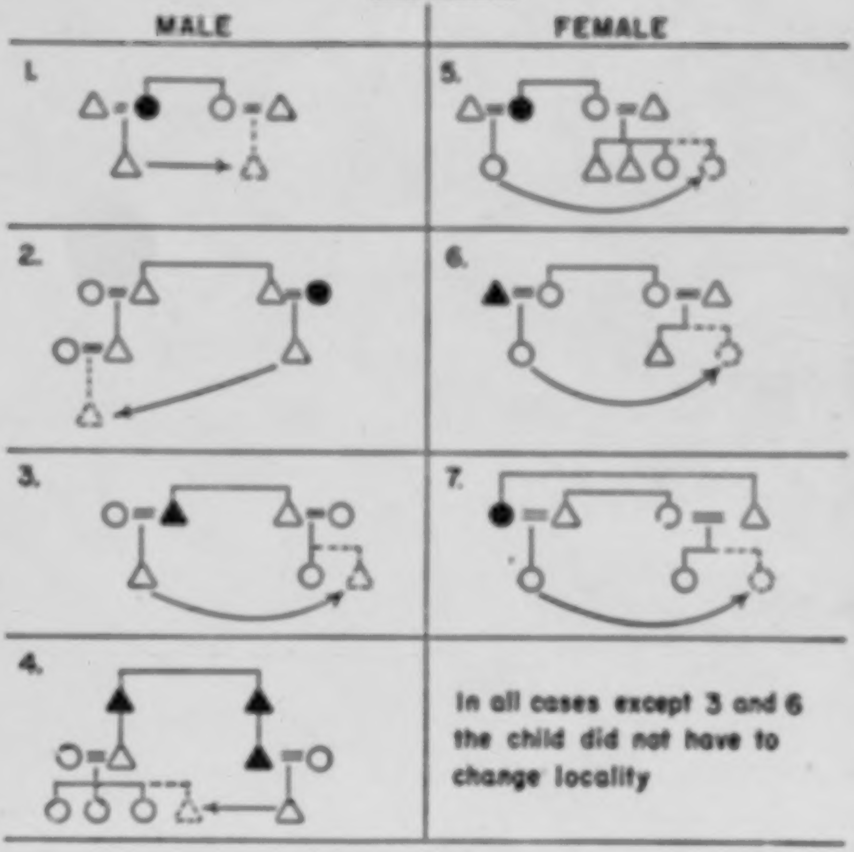
▲, ⊗ = NON-PARTICIPATING MEMBERS

177*
601
602
613
614
615

597.

TABLE II

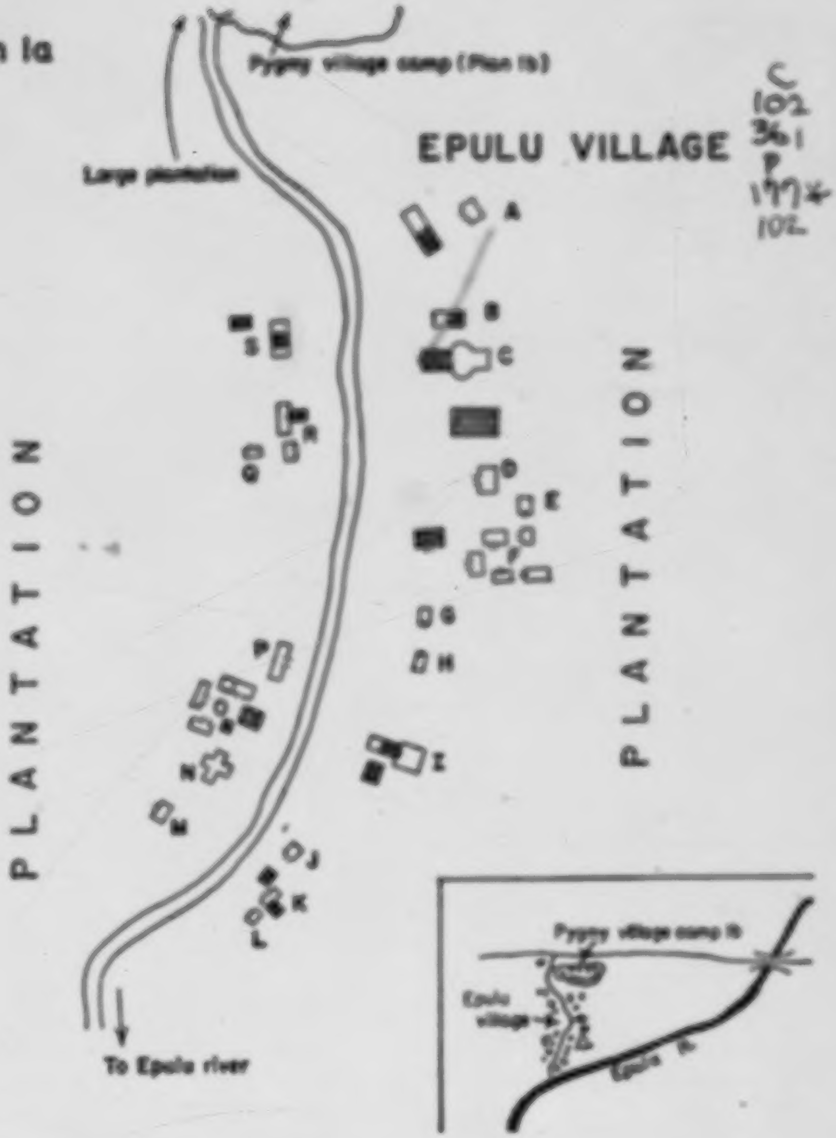
ADOPTION


MALE
FEMALE
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

In all cases except 3 and 6 the child did not have to change locality

Patterns of adoption.

Plan Ia


Pygmy village camp (Plan Ib)
Large plantation
EPULU VILLAGE
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
PLANTATION
PLANTATION
To Epulu river
Pygmy village camp Ib
Epulu village
Epulu R.

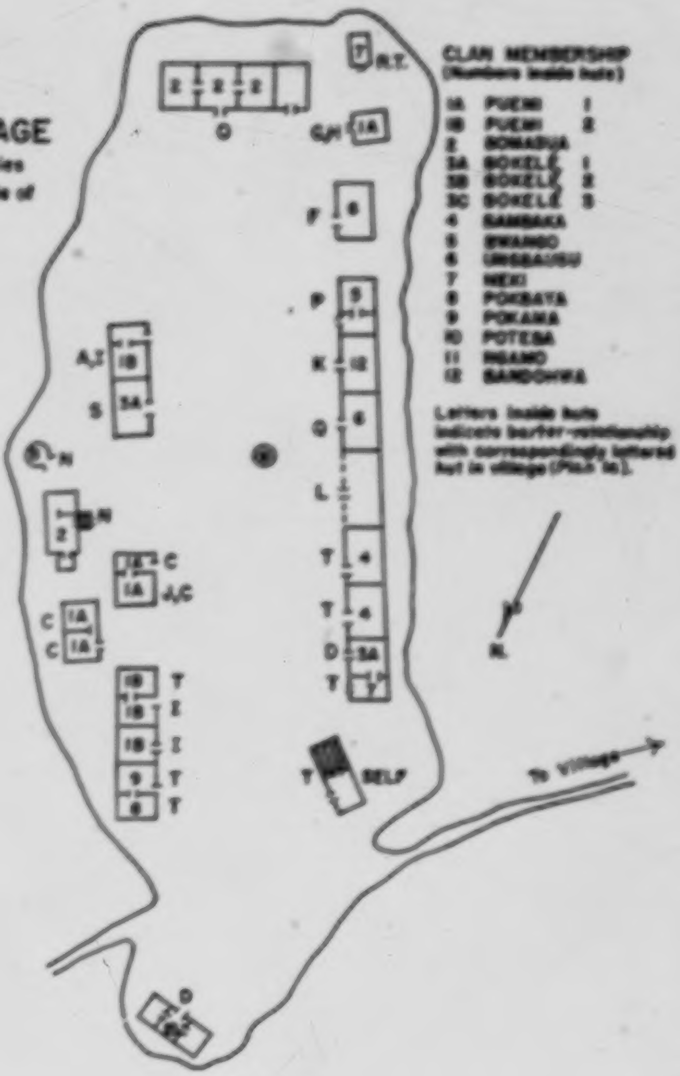
C
102
361
P
177*
102

C
479
177
P
177
451
341
614
122
221
102

Plan Ib

EPULU VILLAGE

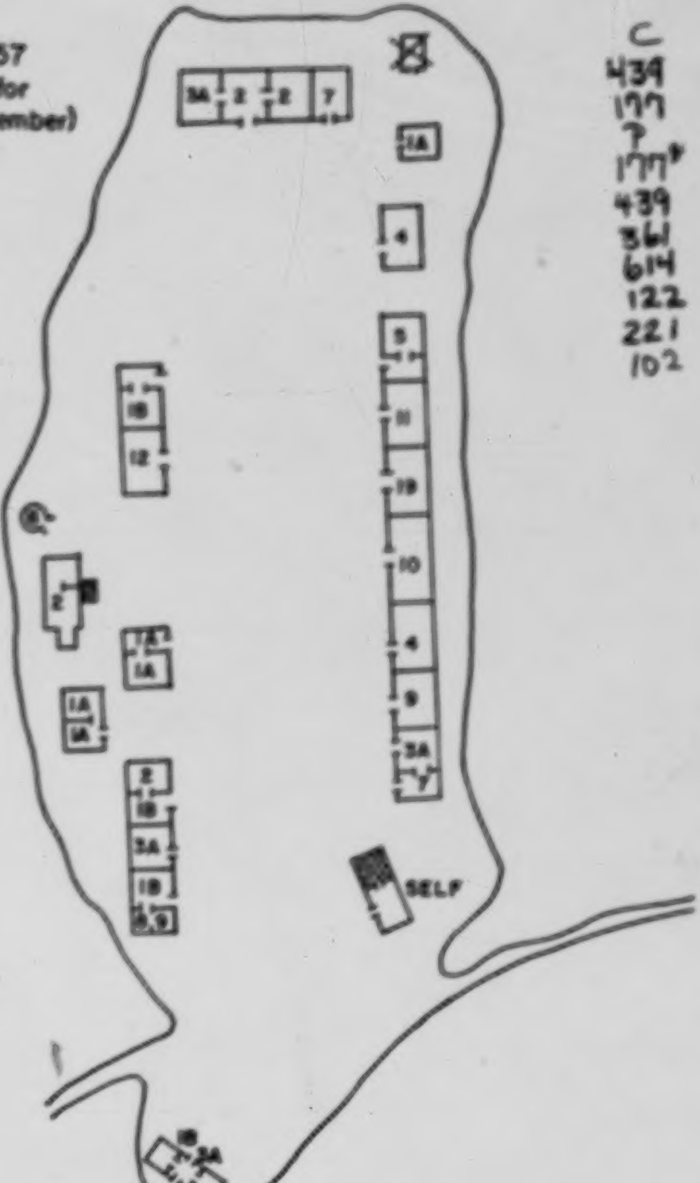
Camp of Pygmies
(About twice scale of Plan Ia)


CLAN MEMBERSHIP
(Numbers inside huts)
1A PUEMI 1
1B PUEMI 2
2 BOMADUA
3A BOKELÉ 1
3B BOKELÉ 2
3C BOKELÉ 3
4 SAMBAKA
5 EWANGO
6 UNGBAIUSU
7 NEKI
8 POKBATA
9 POKAMA
10 POTEBA
11 NGAMO
12 BANDOHWA
Letters inside huts indicate barter-relationship with correspondingly lettered hut in village (Plan Ia).
R.T.
O
G,H
F
P
K
Q
L
T
D
A,I
S
N
C
J,C
I
SELF
To Village
N.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

Plan 2a
OCTOBER 1957
(See Plan 1B for
August-September)

C
439
177
7
177*
439
361
614
122
221
102


3A
2
2
7
1A
4
5
11
1B
12
19
10
2
4
7A
1A
9
1A
3A
3A
7
2
1B
3A
1B
3 9
SELF
1B
3A

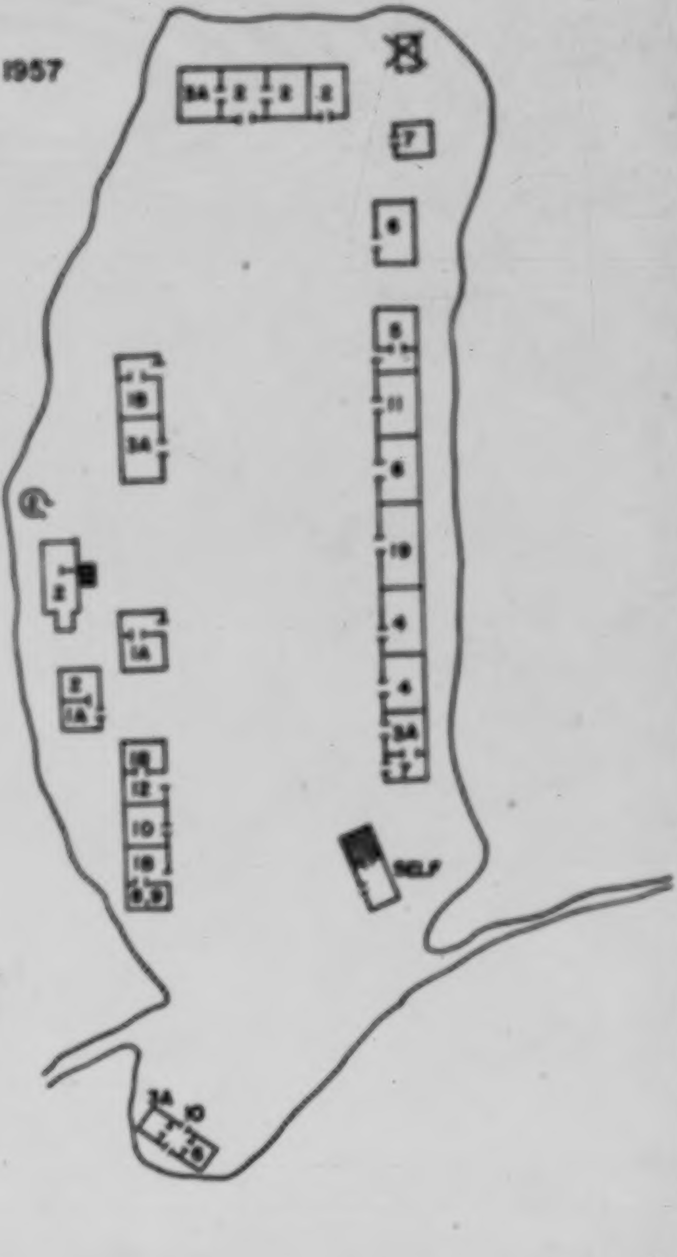
Plan 2a–d Village camp of Epulu Mbuti, October 1957–March 1958.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

C
459
177
P
P177
459
361
614
122
221
102

Plan 2b

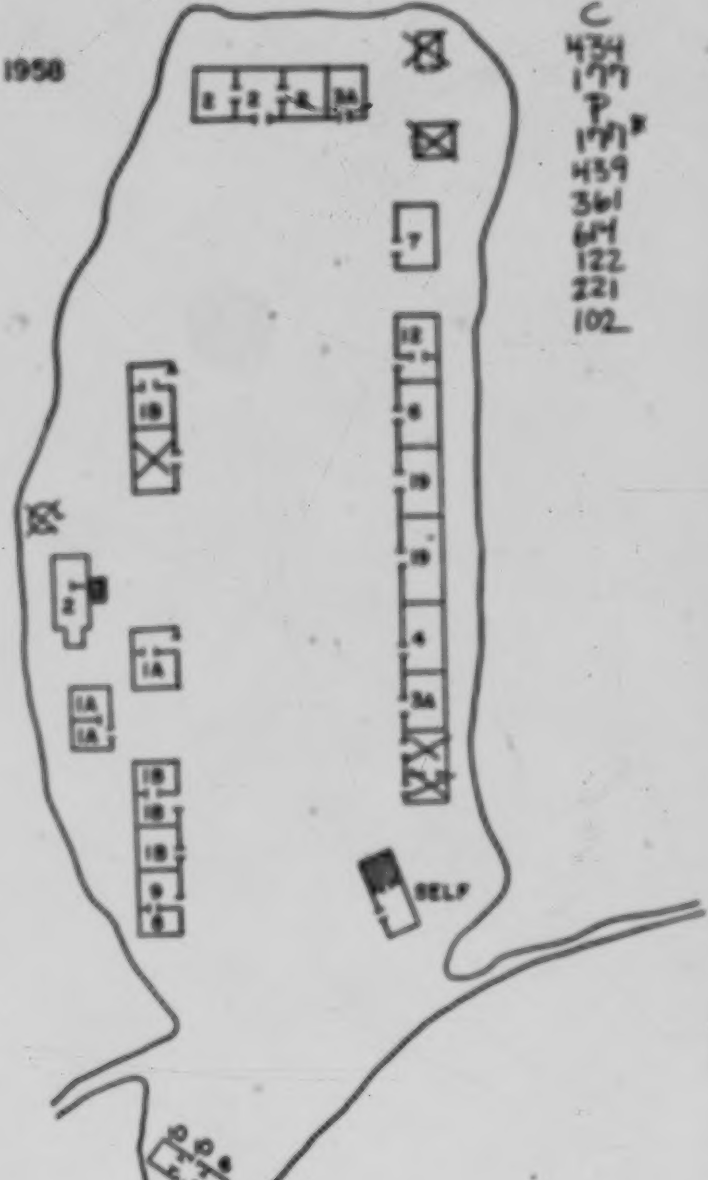
DECEMBER 1957


3A
2
2
2
7
6
5
11
6
19
4
4
3A
7
18
3A
2
1A
2
1A
18
12
10
18
9
9
SELF
3A
10
6

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

Plan 2c
FEBRUARY 1958

C
434
177
P
171*
439
361
654
122
221
102


2
2
4
3A
7
12
1B
6
1B
1B
4
3A
2
1A
1A
1A
1B
1B
1B
9
9
SELF
10
10
6

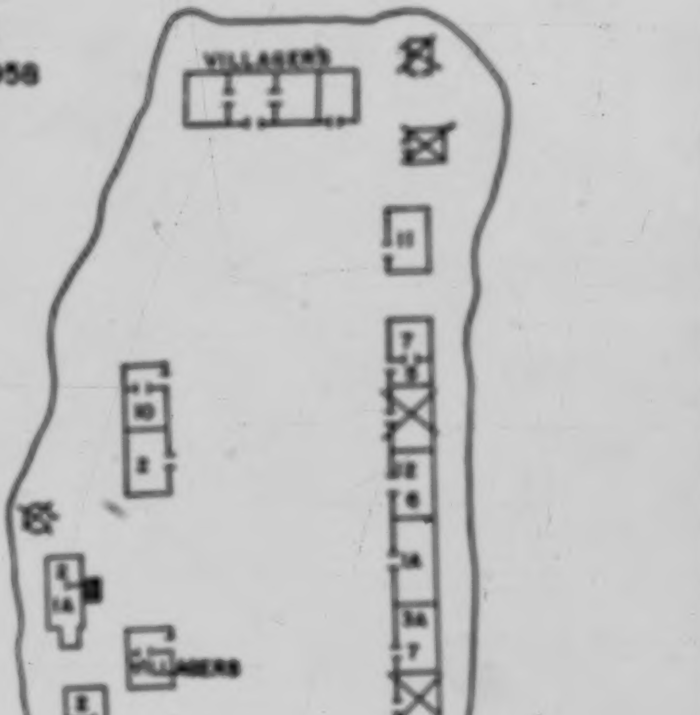
338

WAYWARD SERVANTS

C
459
177
P
177
459
361
614
122
221
102

Plan 2d

MARCH 1958


VILLAGERS
11
7
10
8
2
1A
VILLAGERS
2
1A
2
4
4
10
3A
7
SELF
1B
3A

Plan 3a-g KEY

361
614
592
122

▨ = Baraza (meeting veranda)

C,D = Hut

Ȼ = Abandoned hut

⊠ = Living but not in camp

Ⓗ = Hearth, used by more than one nuclear family

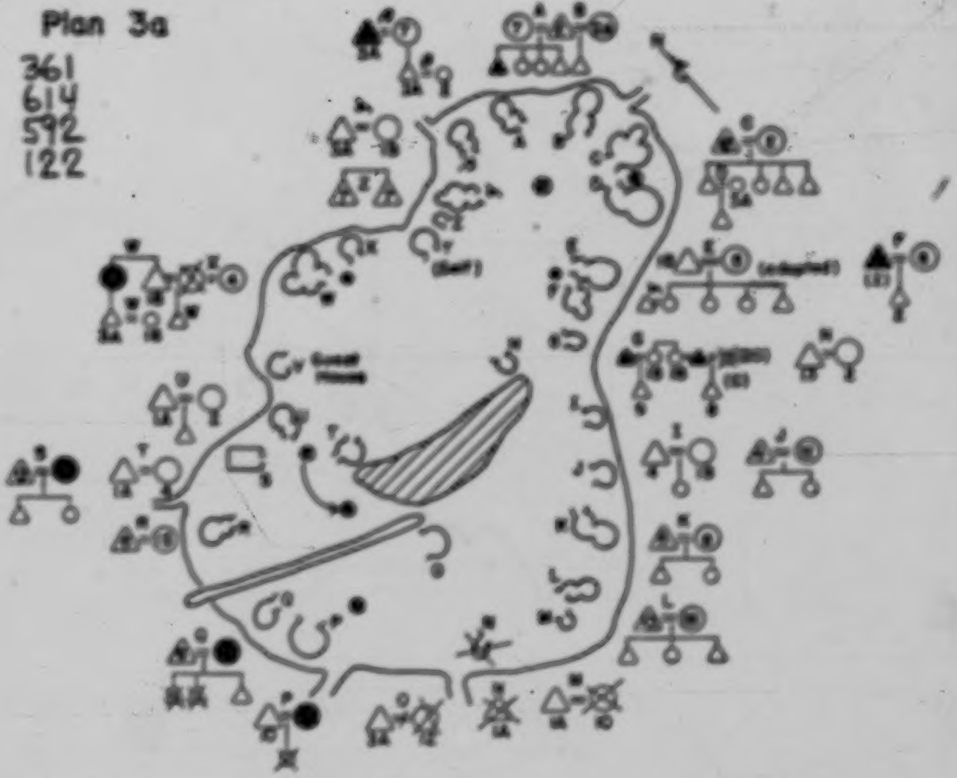
▨ = Brush and tree trunks that effectively divide a camp

	CLAN	TOTEM		CLAN	TOTEM
1A,1B	PUEMI	2	11*	NGAMO	1
2	BOMASUA	1	12	BANDOCHWA	2
3A,B,C	BOKELÉ	3,1,6	13	POYA	4
4	BAMBAKA	6	14	MOLOMBA	4
5	BWANGO	1	15	POTOLA	1
6	UNGBAUSU	2	16	PASAMA	5
7	MEKI	4	17	PONDWANA	2
8	POKBANA	1	18	PUKENA	1
9	POKAMA	6	19	PUSA	7
10	POTEBA	1	20	PUMA	4

TOTEMS: 1 LEOPARD
2 CHIMPANZEE
3 BUFFALO
4 SNAKE
5, 6, 7 } Different kinds of rare antelope

/Epulu band/

Plan 3a
361
614
592
122

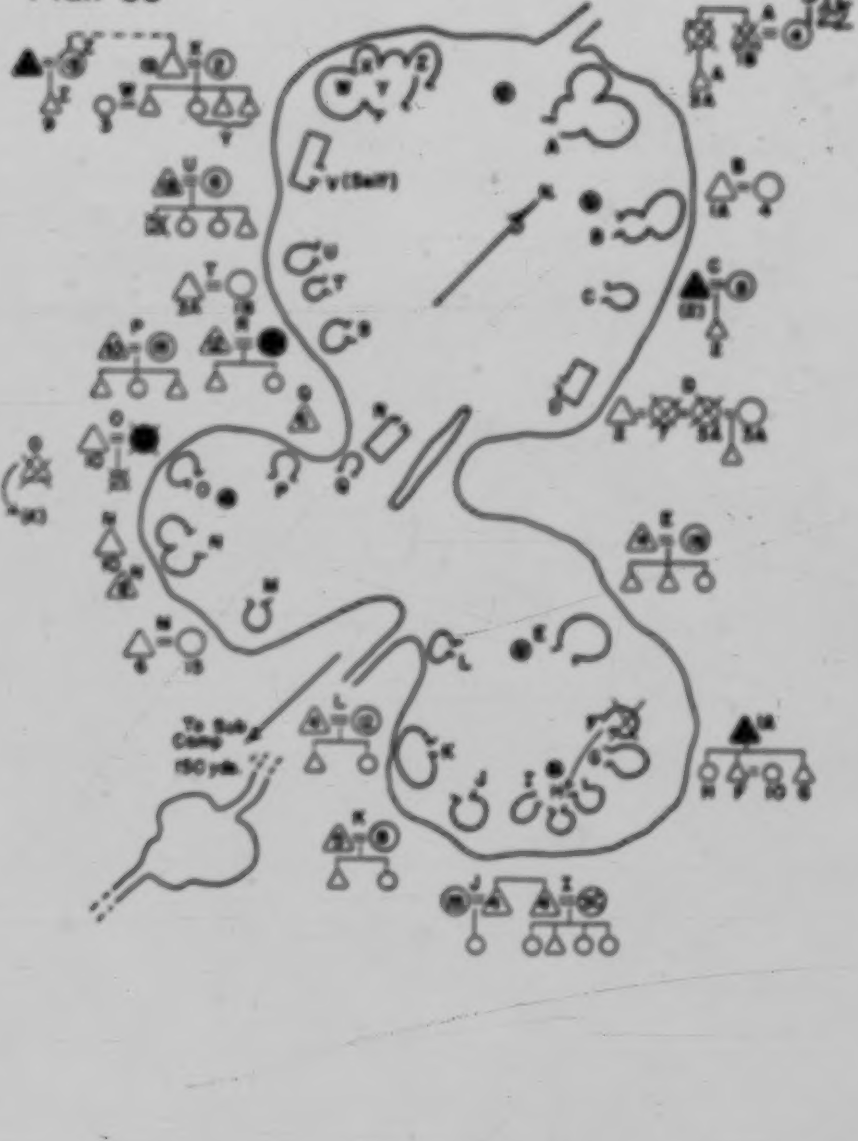


PLAN 3a-g Composition of hunting camps cited p. 98 for large and small camps of Epulu band.

/Epulu band/

361
[illegible]

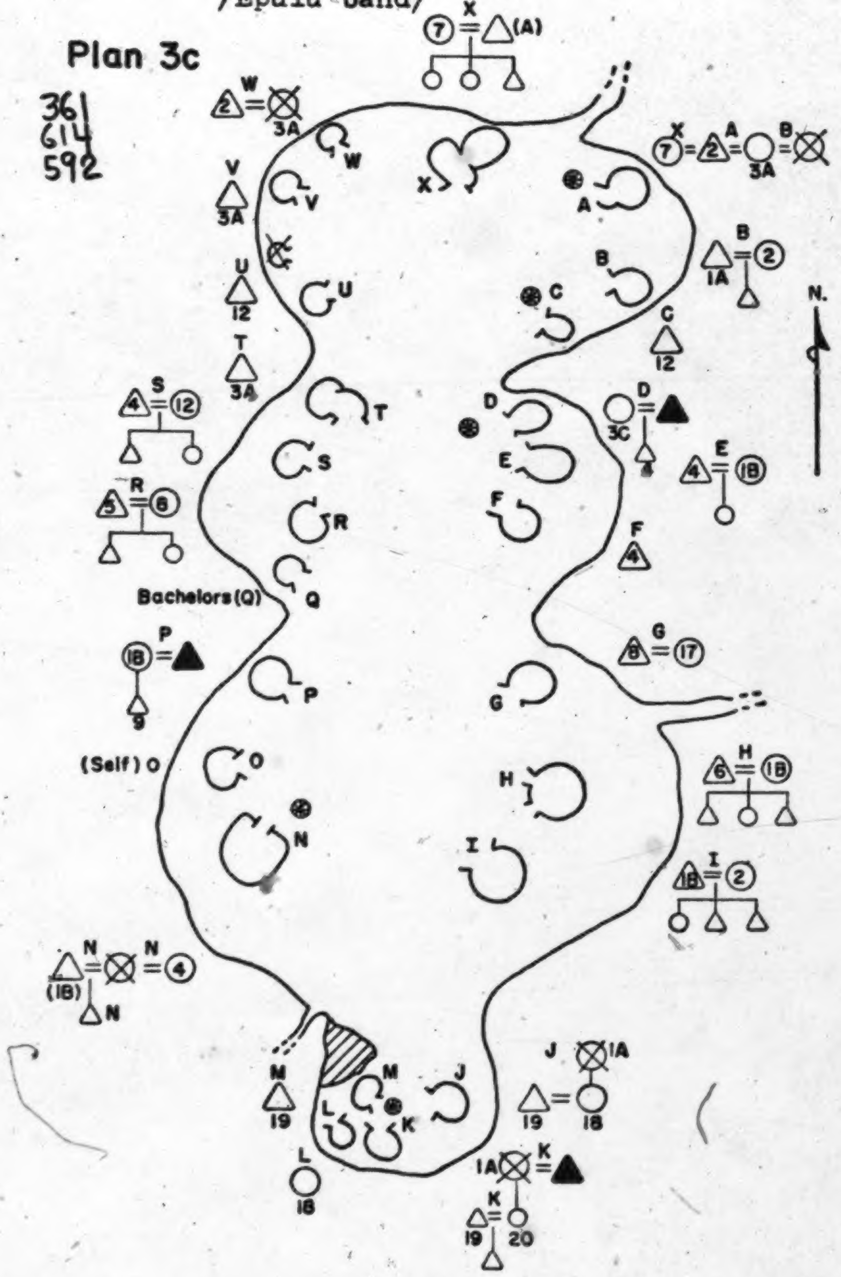
Plan 3b


V (Self)
To Sub Camp
150 yds.

/Epulu band/

Plan 3c

361
614
592

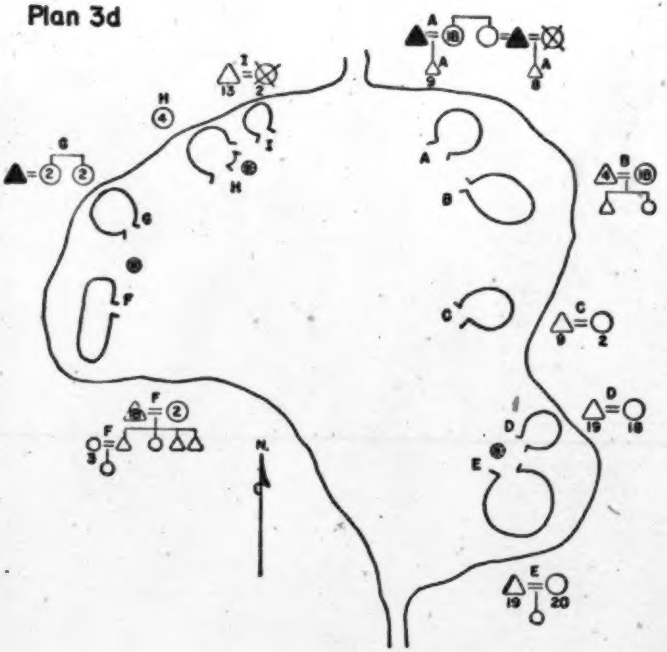

X
7
(A)
W
2
3A
V
3A
U
12
T
3A
S
4
12
R
5
6
Bachelors (Q)
Q
P
18
9
(Self) O
O
N
(18)
4
M
19
L
18
K
1A
19
20
J
1A
19
18
I
18
2
H
6
18
G
8
17
F
4
E
4
18
D
3C
C
12
B
1A
2
A
7
2
3A
N.

[P. 343]

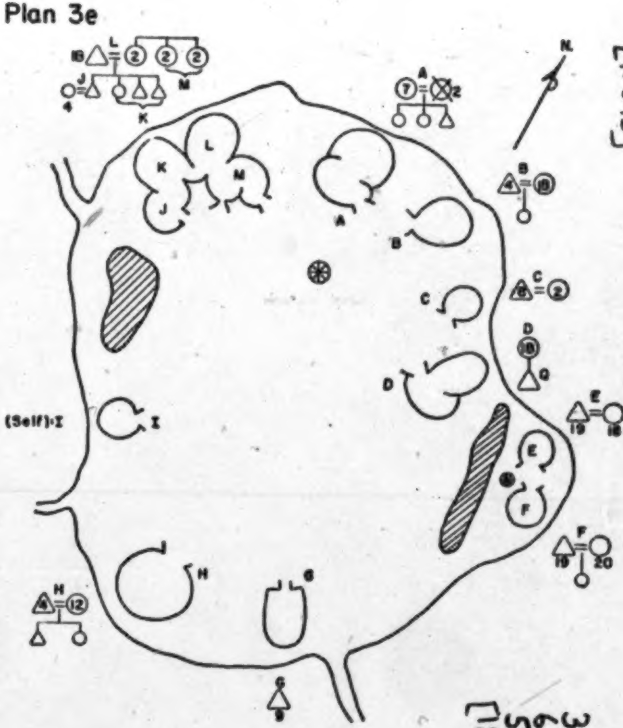
/Epulu band/

361
614
592
[122]

Plan 3d


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
N.
13
2
9
8
19
18
20
3

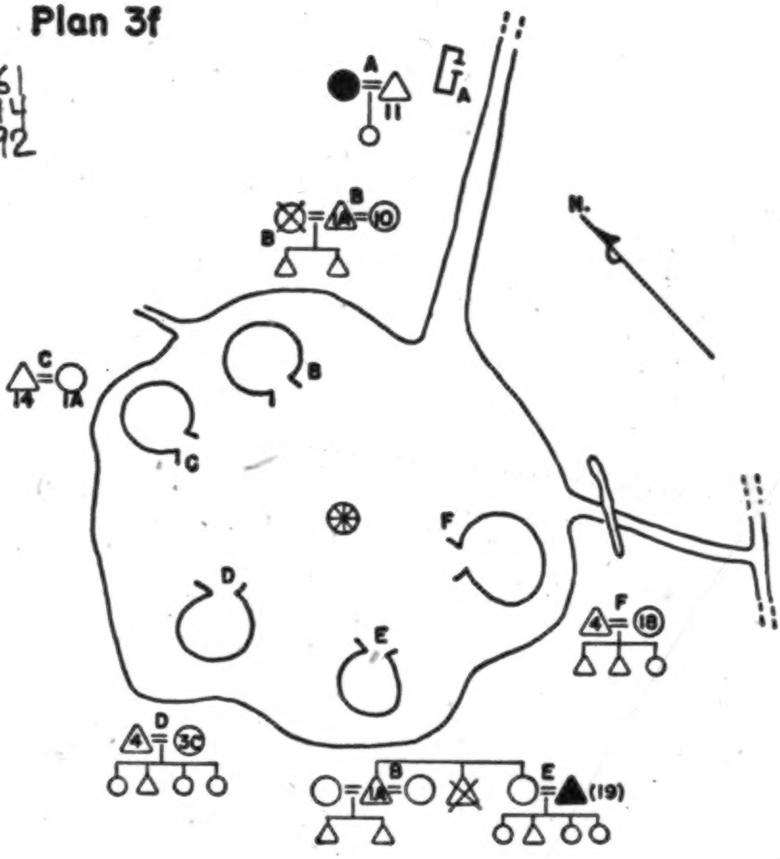
Plan 3e


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
(Self):I
J
K
L
M
N.
4
7
12
19
18
20
9

/Epulu band/

Plan 3f

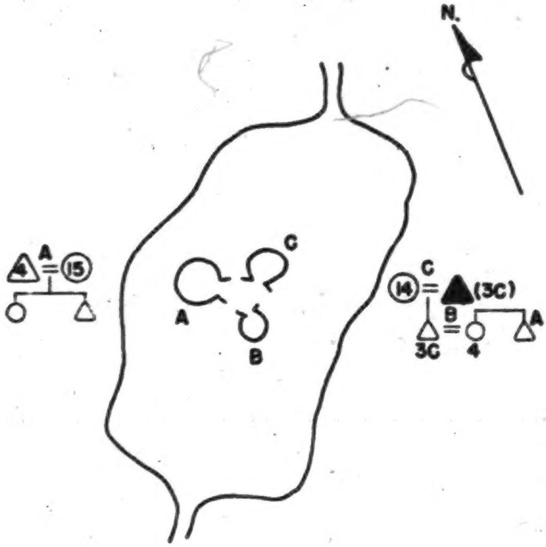
361
614
592


A
11
A
B
1A
10
B
N.
C
14
1A
B
C
F
D
E
F
4
18
D
4
3C
B
1A
E
(19)

/Epulu band/

Plan 3g

361
614
592

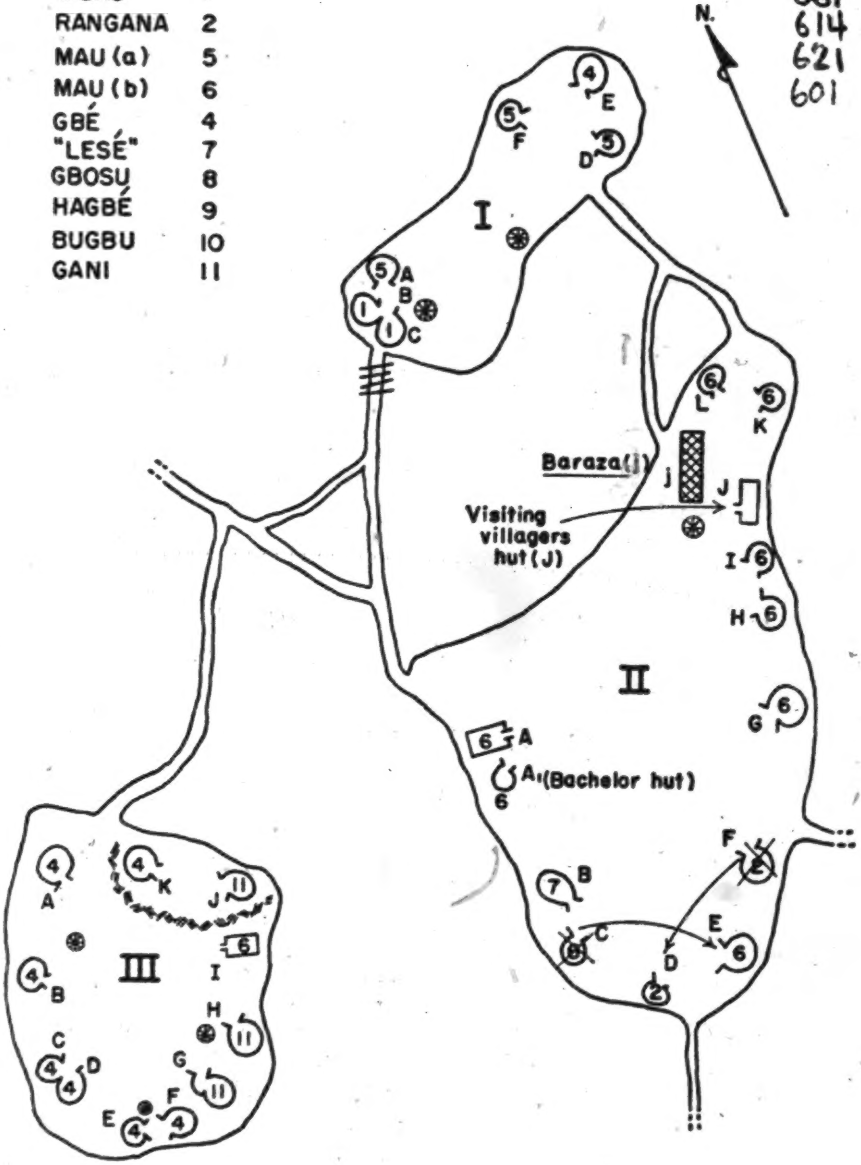

N.
A
4
15
C
A
B
C
14
(3C)
B
A
3C
4

[P.346]

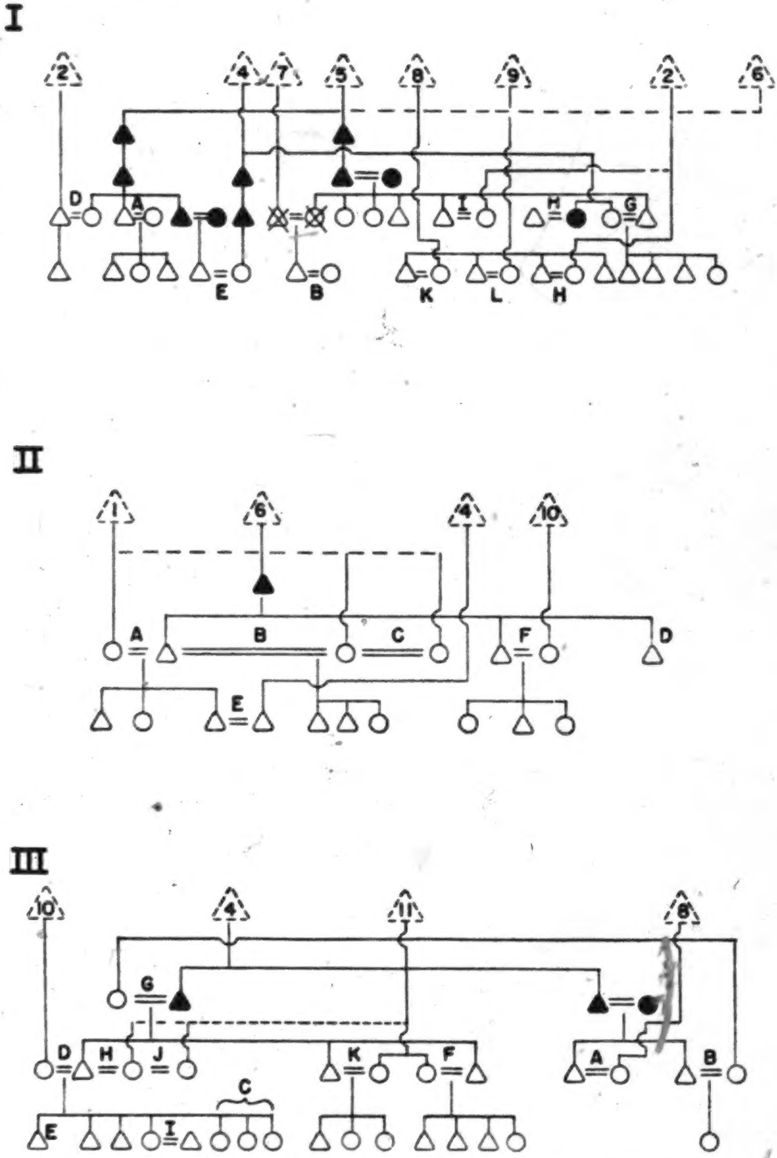
Plan 4a

G'BAO	1
RANGANA	2
MAU (a)	5
MAU (b)	6
GBÉ	4
"LESÉ"	7
GBOSU	8
HAGBÉ	9
BUGBU	10
GANI	11

361
614
621
601


N.
I
II
III
Baraza (j)
j
J
Visiting villagers hut (J)
A₁ (Bachelor hut)
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
1
2
4
5
6
7
11

361
614
601
621

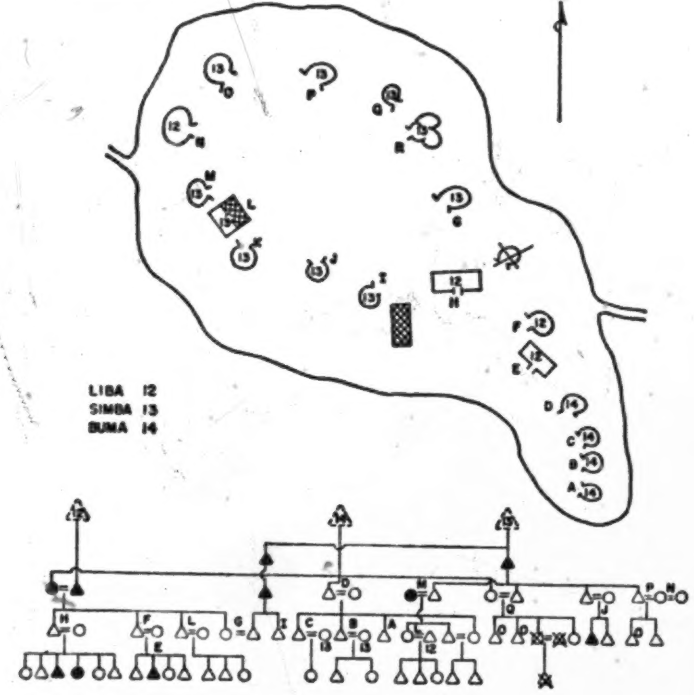

I
2
4
7
5
8
9
2
6
D
A
I
H
G
E
B
K
L
H
II
1
6
4
10
A
B
C
F
D
E
III
10
4
11
8
G
D
H
J
K
F
A
B
E
I
C

Plan 4a–m *Hunting camps of net-hunters and archers other than at Epulu, showing composition.*

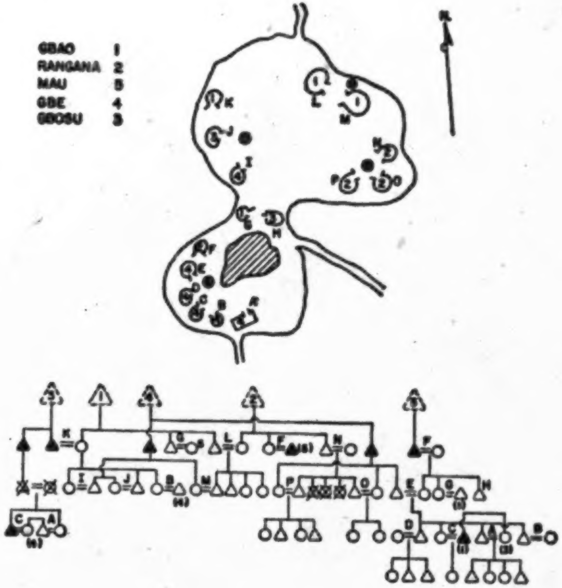
[P. 348]

36
60
614
62

Plan 4b


N
O
P
Q
R
N
M
L
K
G
J
I
H
F
E
D
C
B
A
12
13
14
LIBA 12
SIMBA 13
BUMA 14

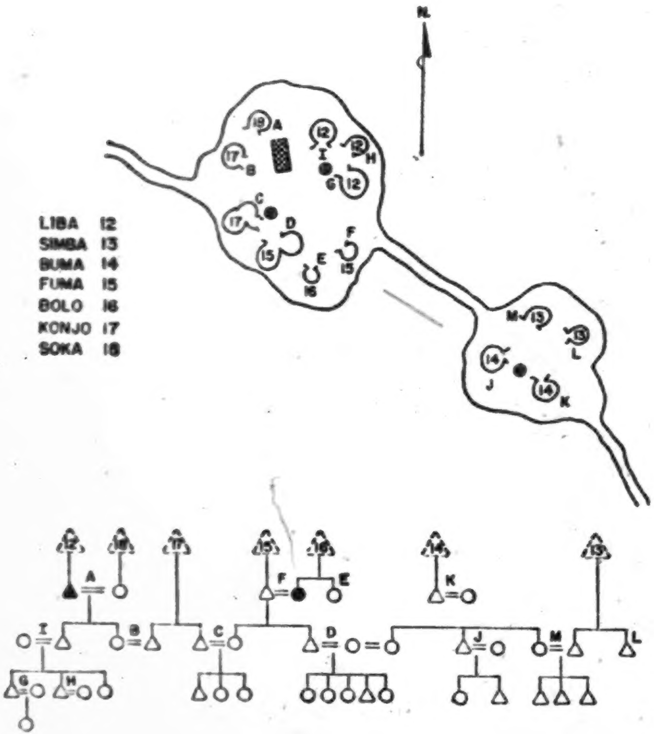
Plan 4c


N
GBAO 1
RANGANA 2
MAU 5
GBE 4
GBOSU 3
K
J
I
L
M
N
P
O
G
H
F
E
D
C
B
A
1
2
3
4
5

[P.349]

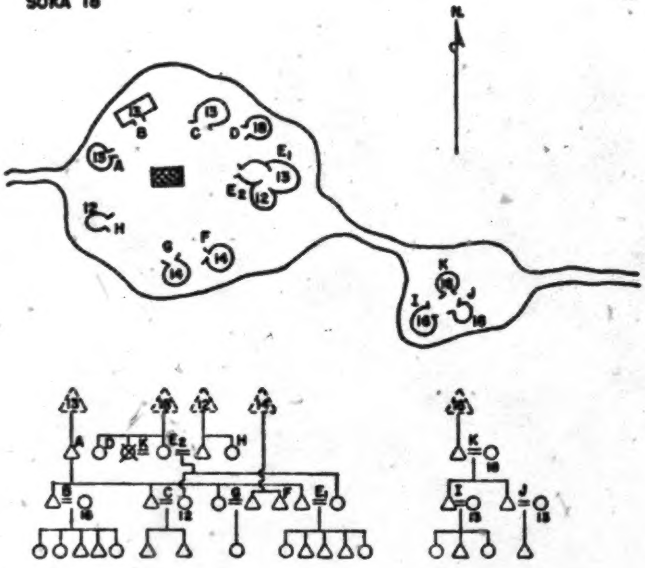
Plan 4d

LIBA	12
SIMBA	13
BUMA	14
FUMA	15
BOLO	16
KONJO	17
SOKA	18


N.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

Plan 4e

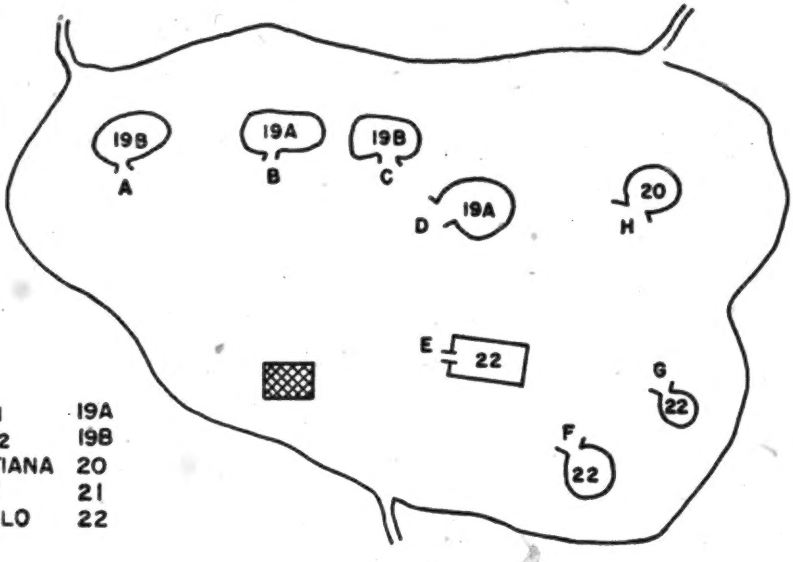
LIBA	12
SIMBA	13
BUMA	14
BOLO	16
SOKA	18


N.
A
B
C
D
E1
E2
F
G
H
I
J
K
12
13
14
16
18

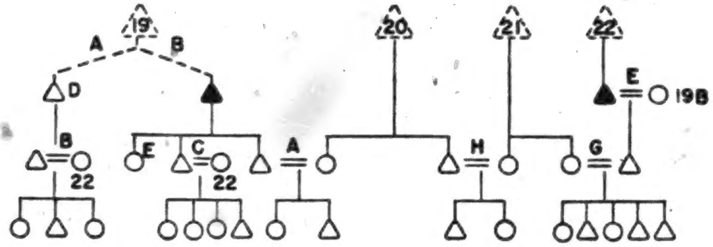
361
601
614
621

Plan 4f

361
601
614
621


19B
A
19A
B
19B
C
19A
D
20
H
E
22
G
22
F
22

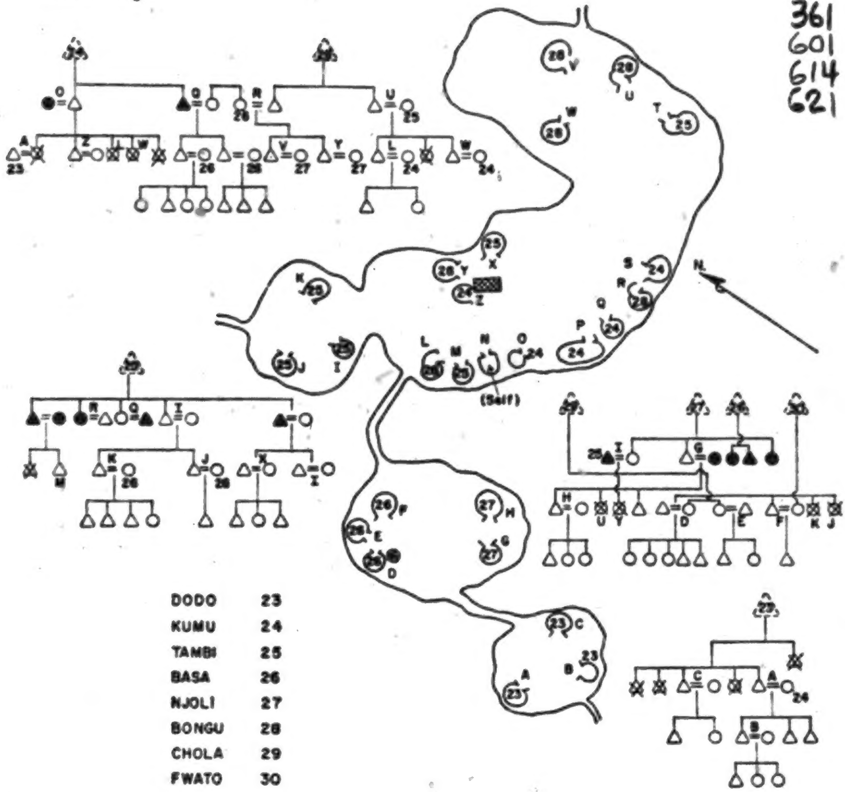
KIMA$_1$	19A
KIMA$_2$	19B
PIPUTIANA	20
DOLÉ	21
TOBOLO	22


19
A
B
D
20
21
22
E
19B
B
22
E
C
22
A
H
G

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

361
601
614
621

Plan 4g



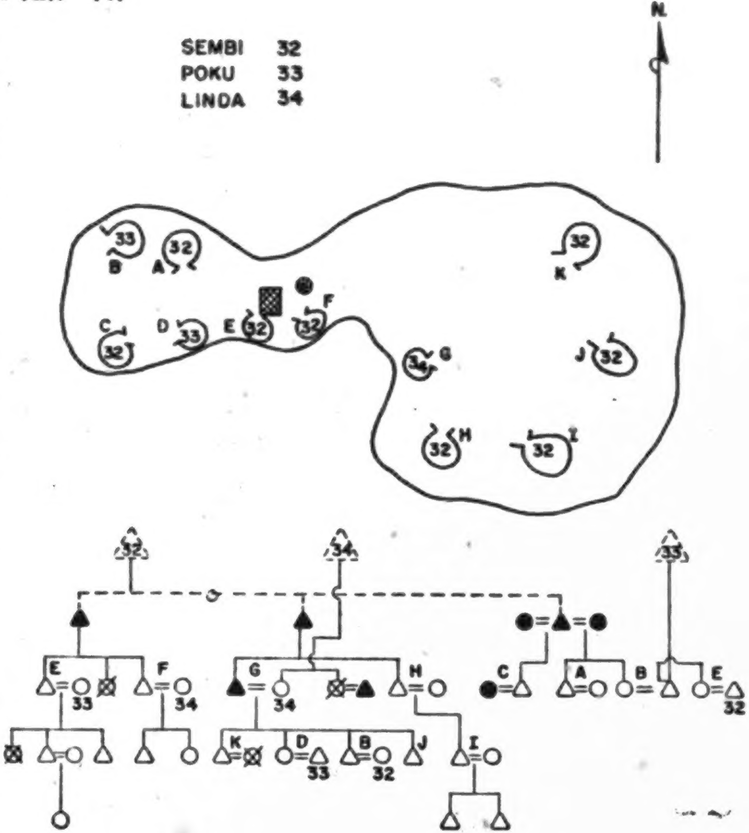
DODO	23
KUMU	24
TAMBI	25
BASA	26
NJOLI	27
BONGU	28
CHOLA	29
FWATO	30

[P.352]

361
601
614
621

Plan 4h

SEMBI	32
POKU	33
LINDA	34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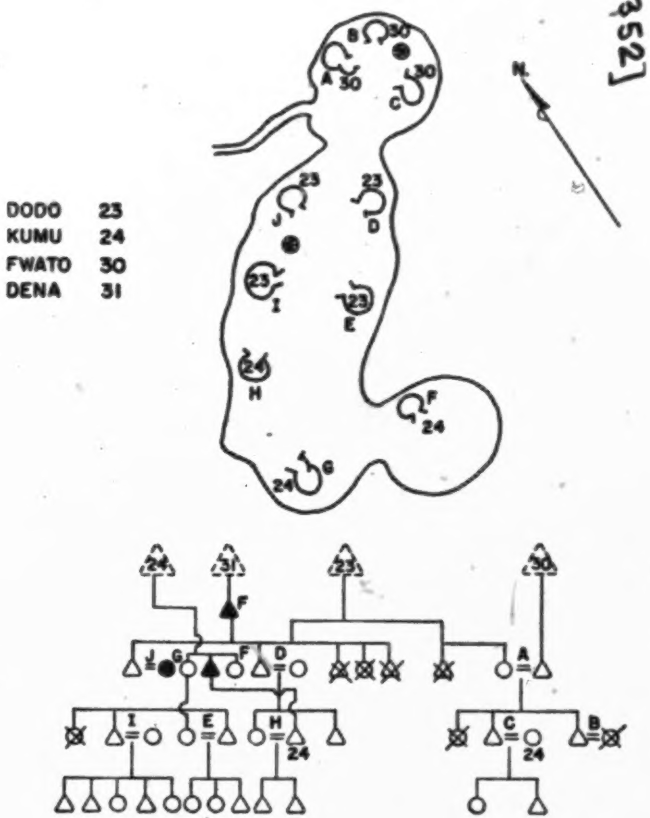
Plan 4i

DODO	23
KUMU	24
FWATO	30
DENA	31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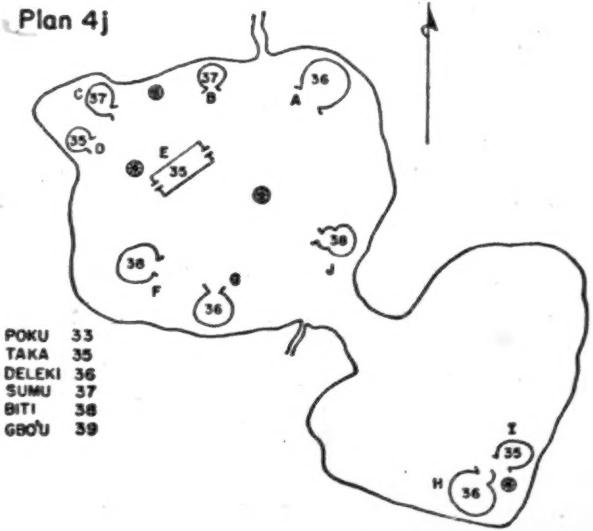
Plan 4j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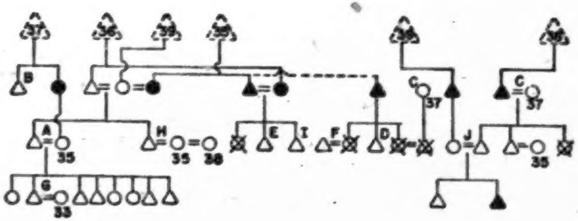
POKU	33
TAKA	35
DELEKI	36
SUMU	37
BITI	38
GBO'U	39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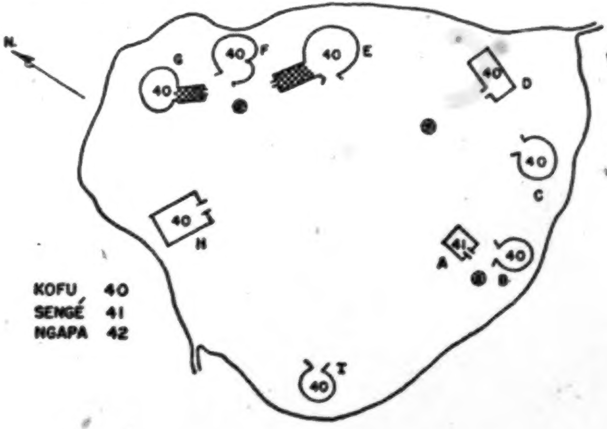
Plan 4k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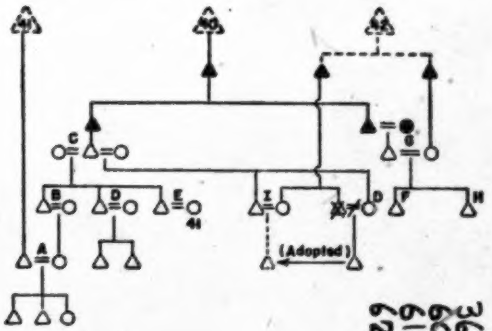
KOFU	40
SENGÉ	41
NGAPA	42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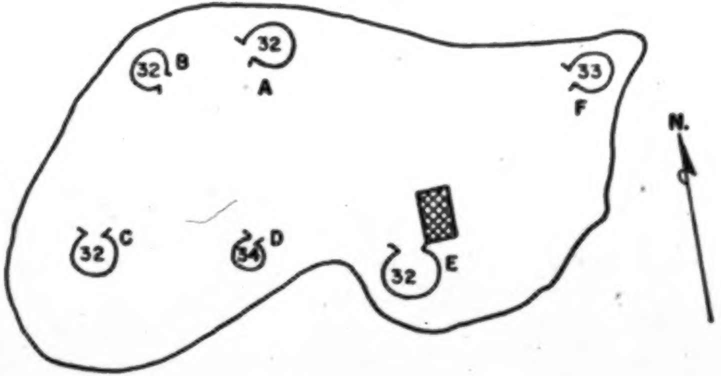
[P.354]

Plan 4L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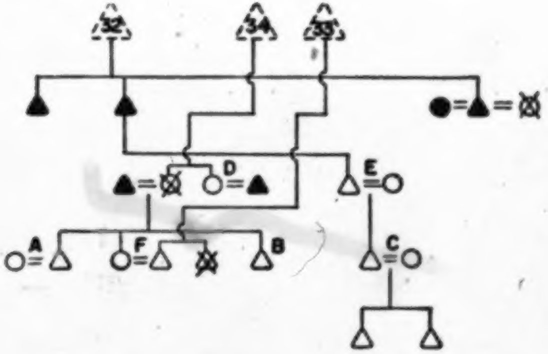
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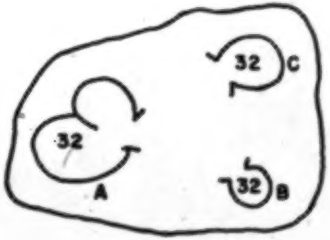
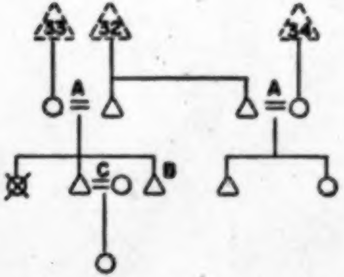
SEMBI	32
POKU	33
LINDA	34

Plan 4m



SEMBI 32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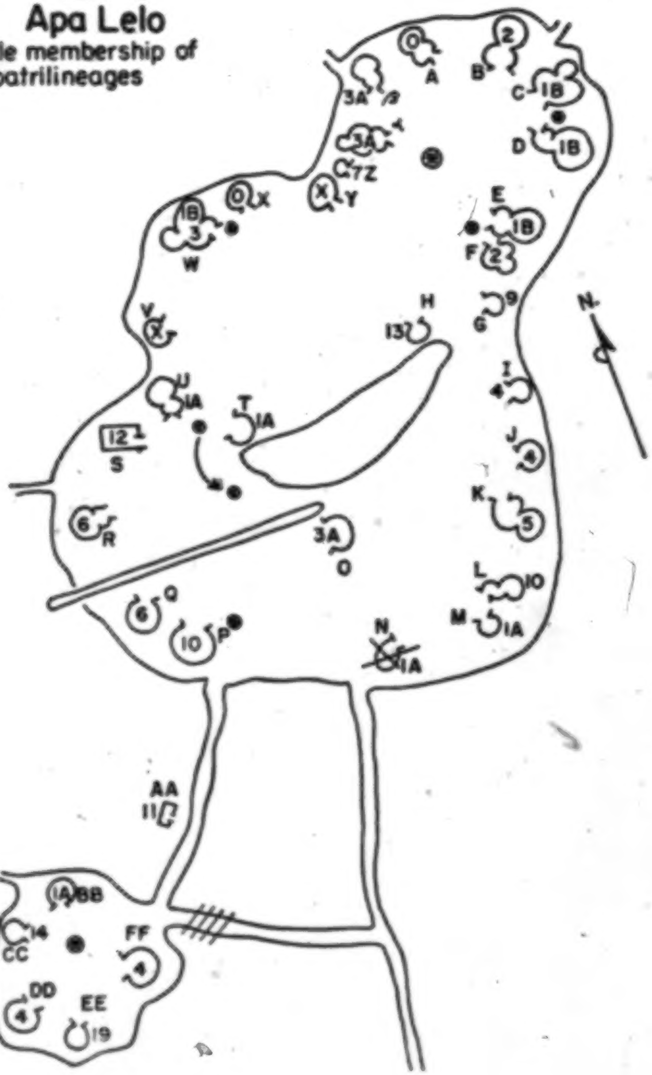
Plan 5
Apa Lelo
Male membership of patrilineages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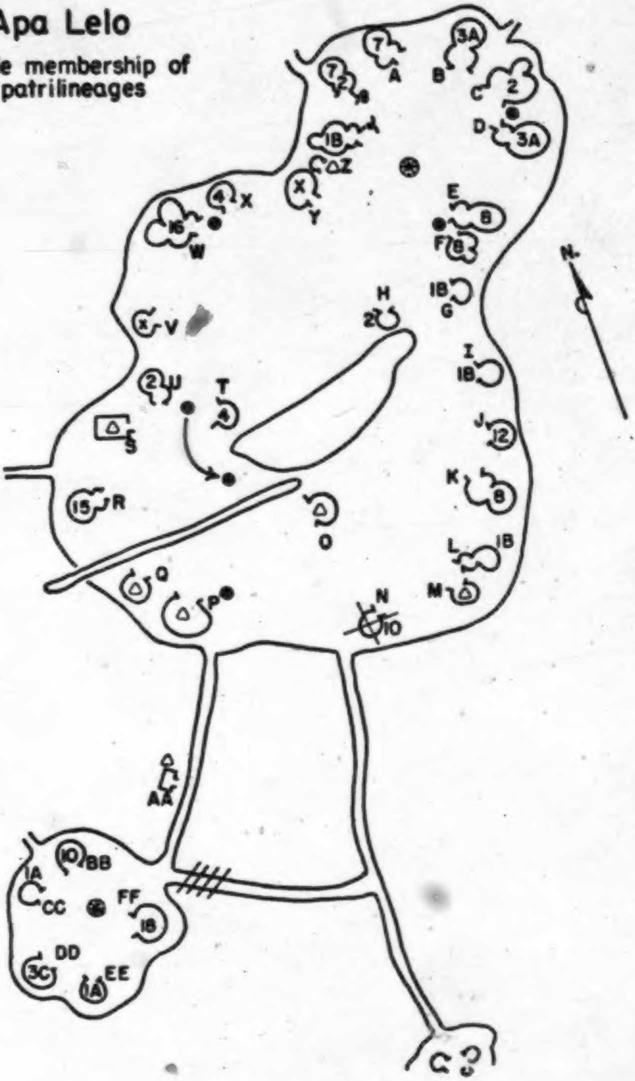
Plan 6
Apa Lelo

Female membership of patrilineages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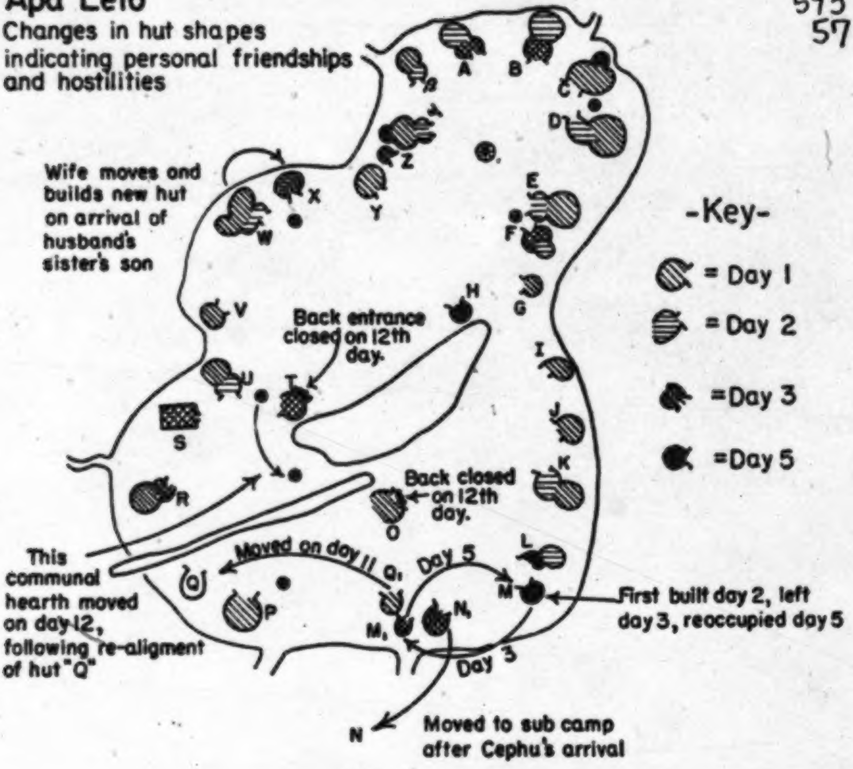
Plan 7

Apa Lelo

Changes in hut shapes indicating personal friendships and hostilities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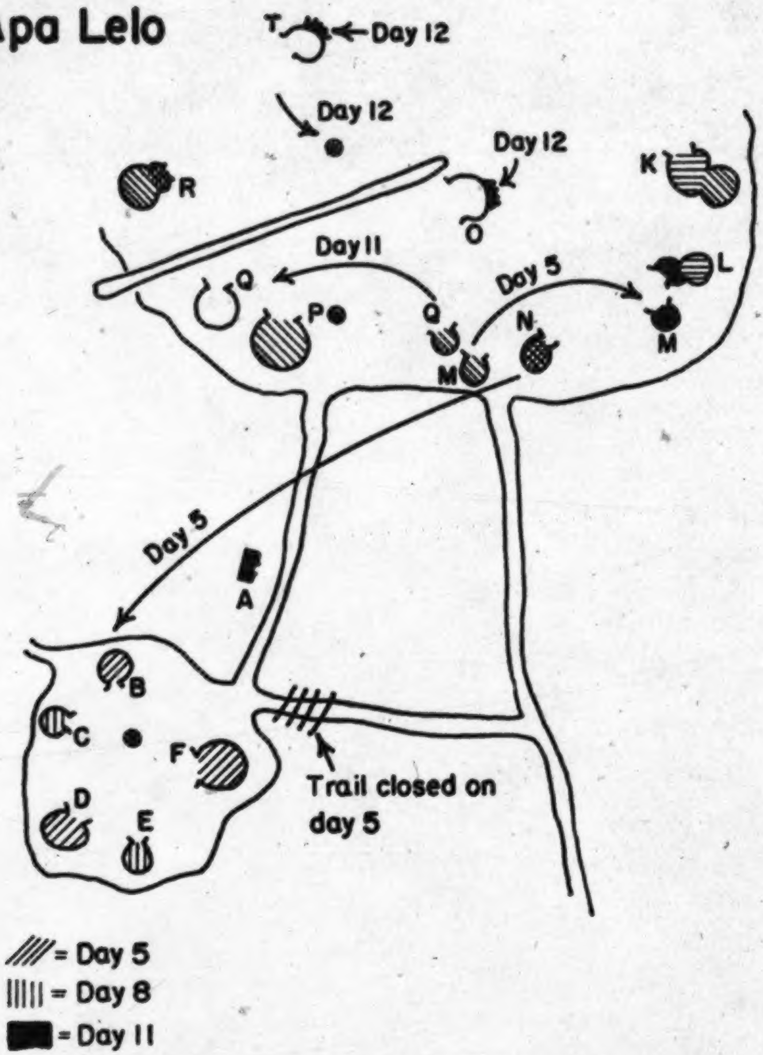
W
X
Y
Z
Wife moves and builds new hut on arrival of husband's sister's son
Back entrance closed on 12th day.
Back closed on 12th day.
Moved on day 11
Day 5
Day 3
First built day 2, left day 3, reoccupied day 5
This communal hearth moved on day 12, following re-aligment of hut "Q"
Moved to sub camp after Cephu's arrival
-Key-
= Day 1
= Day 2
=Day 3
=Day 5

Plan 8
Apa Lelo

361
578
571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Day 12
Day 12
Day 12
K
R
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Day 11
Q
L
Day 5
P
Q
N
M
M
Day 5
A
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C
F
D
E
Trail closed on day 5
/// = Day 5
||||| = Day 8
■ = Day 11

Apa *Lelo: changes at southern end of camp due to Cephu's arrival.*

361
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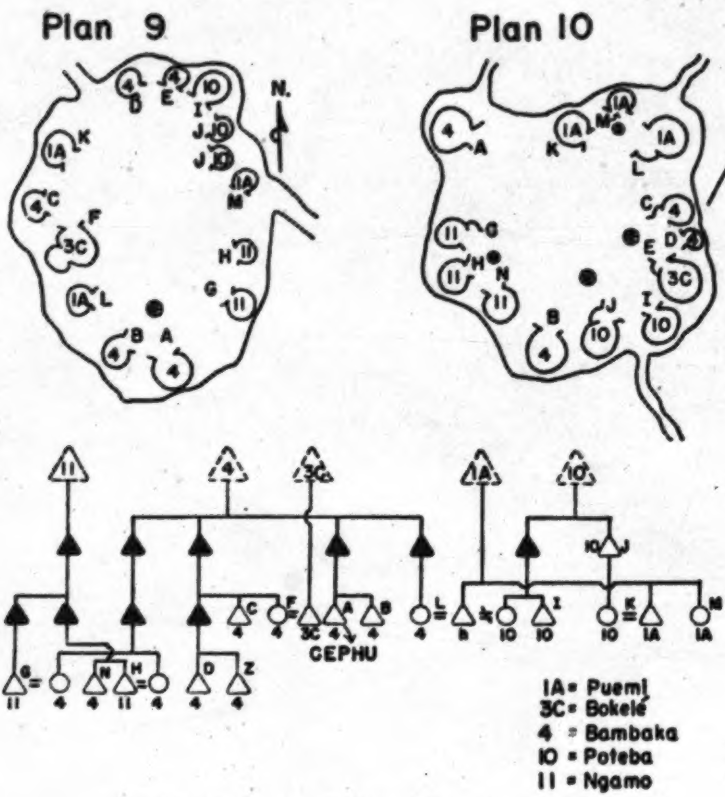
Plan 9
Plan 10
N.
N.
CEPHU
IA = Puemi
3C = Bokelé
4 = Bambaka
10 = Poteba
11 = Ngamo

[601]

Cephu's camp before (Plan 9) and after (Plan 10) his hunting offense.

[*Plan 11 is located inside back cover.*]

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[P.361]

Glossary

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[P.363]

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This is a glossary of terms used by Epulu Mbuti, as cited in the text. Owing to the frequency with which the Mbuti mingle words originating from different local languages, while most of the words given here are of Bira origin, some derive from KiNgwana. Further, owing to the Mbuti habit of dropping or adding vowels or consonants for the sake of euphony, and to their ambivalent attitude toward prefixes, I give the words as used in speech without attempting to reduce them to roots, except where there is no doubt. Thus "*bo'o*" in Mbuti usage I give as the KiBira original, "*bobo*"; where in doubt I suggest a possible derivation such as "*ekimi*" from "*kimia*" (KG). Wherever the derivation is apparently from KiNgwana, I insert (KG).

akami: noise (from *kami:* to cry?).
angbe: a tree and the wood from the tree, important for honey.
angbelu: medicine for honey season (from *lu-* to talk, call?).
anjo: hunting medicine.
anza: good.
apua'i: friend, sibling.
bamiki ba ndura: children of the forest.
batu ba ndura: people of the forest.
batu banji: people of the village.
bekbekbe'i: very (much).
bera'i: melody (solo).
bo: good.
bobo: empty.
boki: honey.
bokbu: all.
bonga: good (in a fuller sense than *bo*).
bongisa: to make good, to rejoice.
bopi: children's playground.
boru: the "house" (*endu*) of the soul; i.e., the body.
bulé: (KG) empty, worthless, troublesome.
chahwa: youth(s).
chanja: (KG) to make light incisions in the skin, for tattoo or for insertion of medicines.
chawi: (KG) witch.
che'i: fear.
eboko: banana.
ekimi: (ref. *kimia* [KG]) quiet.
ekokomea: erotic dance for *molimo* and for honey season.

ekonga: spear.
ekondi: love.
elima: premarital festival in which girls and boys both take part, signaled by a girl's first menstruation.
ema: mother.
endu: house, hut, room.
epa: father.
esumba: (KG) ritual originally associated with elephant-hunting for Arab slavers, sometimes used interchangeably with the word *molimo.*
furahisa: (KG) to rejoice, make festive.
ganga: to mend, bind together, cure; hence *mganga* or *muganga,* doctor.
imia'i: chorus, refrain.
isa: fire.
ishumbwa: another form of *esumba* (KG), possibly of slightly different significance to the Ngwana, not to the Mbuti.
itaba: edible forest root.
kali: girl, woman.
kalisia: a name sometimes used for the godhead (forest).
kami: to cry, which is defined as making a noise (*akami* or *kelelé* [KG]).
karé: brotherhood in the *nkumbi* initiation.
kelelé: (KG) noise.
keti: a forest spirit, neither good nor bad to the Mbuti, but evil to the Bira.
kidi: come, arrive.
kimia: (KG) quiet (ref. *imia'i,* chorus, and association of song with the value of *ekimi*).
kiyana: (KG) youth(s).
kobi(a): fear, be wary or cautious, but more often used as:
kobi: to keep very quiet.
kobinengo: silence.
kondi: to love, have affection for.
kuma: hearth.
kuya: hunting net.
langé toro: sleep; lit., "to lie sleep."
le: eat.
leahwa: food.
lendu: an antelope.
lozi: (KG) sorcerer.
lufu: say, talk, call.
lukembi: (KG) musical instrument, an idiophone better known as *sanza* in Swahili.
madé: wooden whistle.
madé: lesser (as in *molimo madé*).
mangbo: great.

mangesé: elder.
mavi: (KG) excrement.
mbafu: (KG) stupidity.
mboko: buffalo.
mboloko: small antelope.
mbongu: elephant.
miki: child.
moko: brother.
molimo: men's religious association, a festival of crisis among both the Mbuti and the Bira, and also associated with a musical instrument among both, but otherwise quite distinct.
mongongo: phrynium leaves used for roofing (ref. *makongo* [KG]).
mota: hard, difficult, dangerous.
mukira: hunt, hunter (also in KG).
mungu: (KG) God.
nanji: village.
ndandama: stupidity.
ndasi: too much.
ndura: forest.
nengo: very.
ngbengbe: wooden clappers used in honey season.
nguvu: (KG) difficult, hard, heavy.
njelani: vine used for making baskets.
nkumbi: initiation of the Bira for boys.
nkusa: vine used in making twine and nets.
nyama: animal.
oki: hear.
oni: see.
pati: take to oneself, cover oneself, become.
pepo: vital essence, vital breath, life force of the forest.
pika: to come, bring.
piki: whistle of wood.
pisa: give, pass over, put.
ponisa: (KG) punish.
roho: individual self, personality (with different connotations when used by Bira or Ngwana).
satani: (KG, also *shaitani, saitani*) spirit, ghost, evil if used by villagers, or by Mbuti if referring to village "satani."
segbe: wooden whistle (as for *piki, madé*) for magical use.
shamba: (KG, also *samba*) plantation.
sinana: bad.
sindula: water chevrotain.
sondu: a large antelope.

songé: moon.
suba: within.
s'uti: sound.
tata: grandparent.
teré: the godhead, primarily in its judicial, authoritative aspect (ref. morning *molimo* cries of "*e teré*": "it is *teré*").
tiko: plantation.
toré: as for *teré.*
wendi: to hunt.

[P 367]

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IIA
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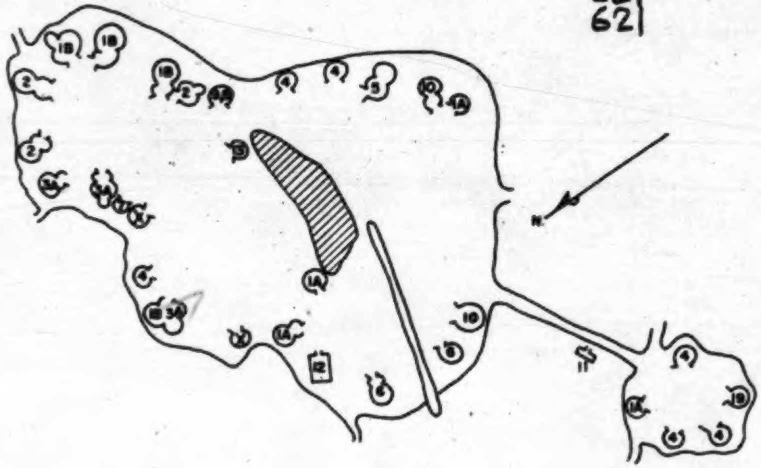
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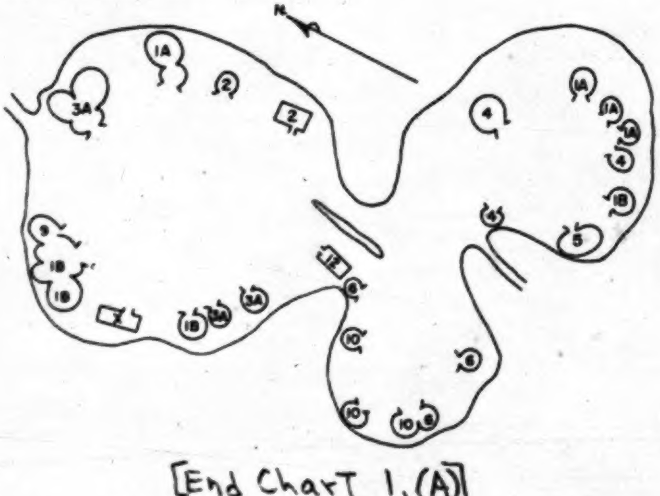
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[End Chart 1,(A)]

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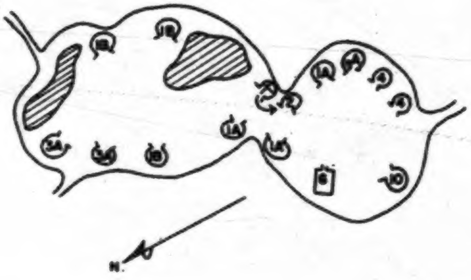

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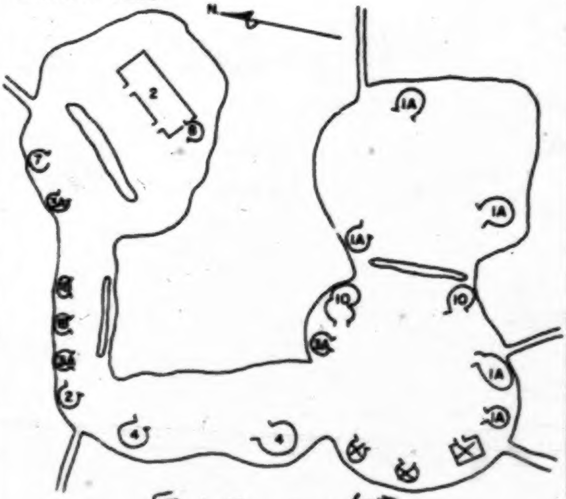

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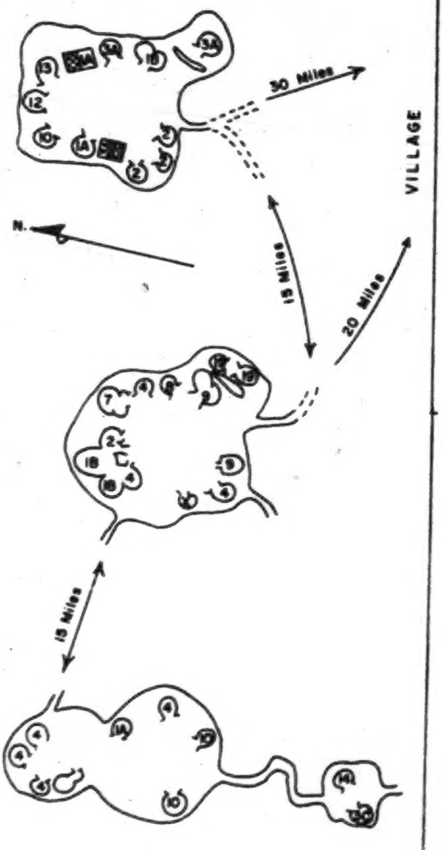
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[End Chart 1,(C)]

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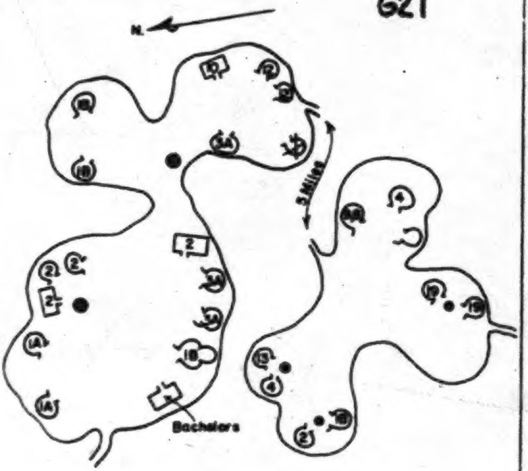
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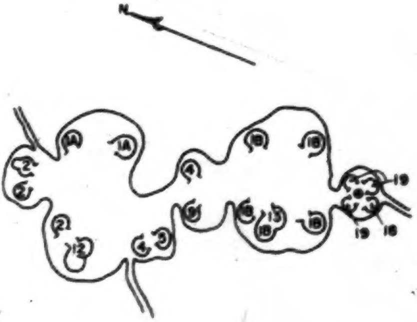
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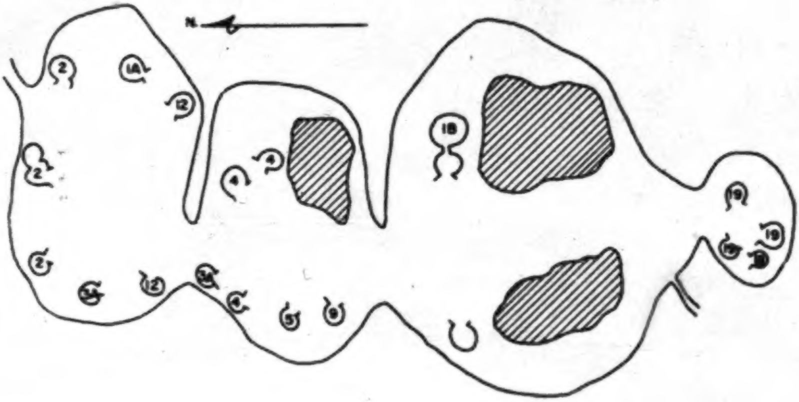
4
1B
1B
1B
13
1B
1B
19
19
16

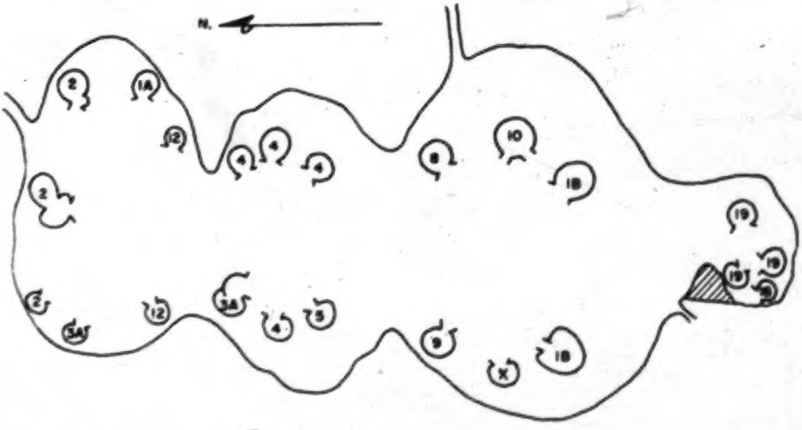
[End Chart 1, (D)]

361
221
621

II H
SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1958


N.
2
1A
12
2
4
4
1B
19
19
19
2
3A
12
3A
4
5
9

II I
NOVEMBER 1958


N.
2
1A
12
2
4
4
4
8
10
1B
19
19
19
2
3A
12
3A
4
5
9
X
1B

[End Chart 1, (E)]

614
613
601

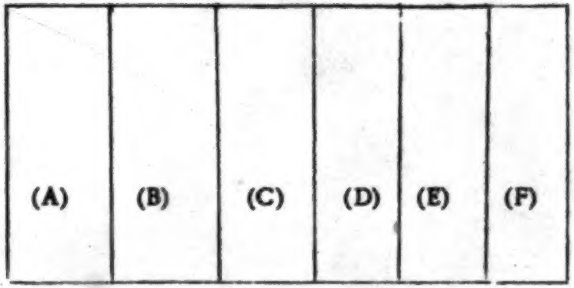
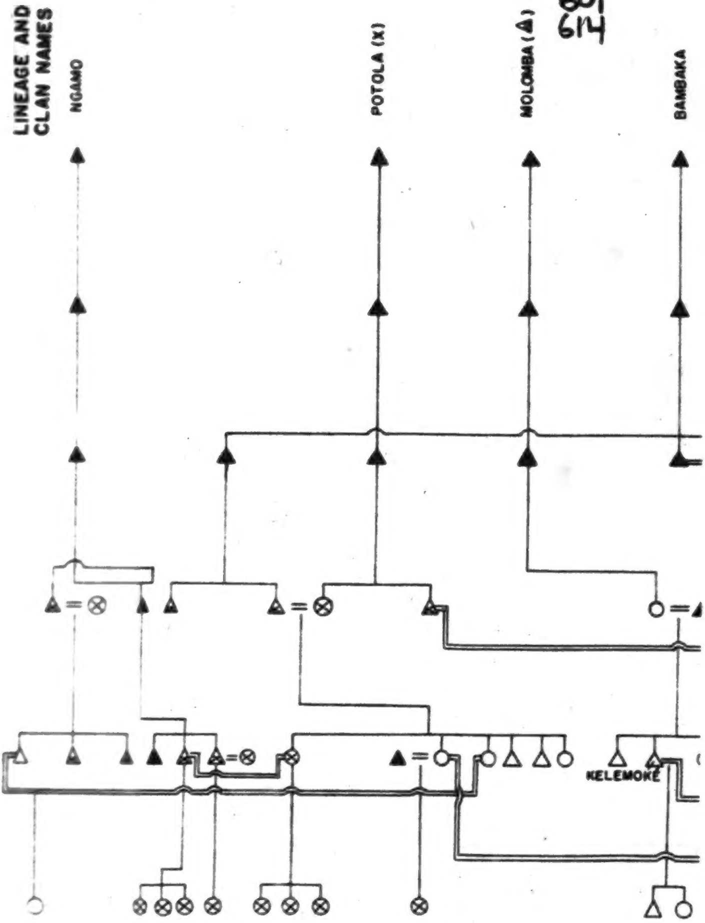


Chart of Positions of End Plate 2 (Table 4).
[facing End Chart 2]

TABLE 4

613
601
614


LINEAGE AND CLAN NAMES
NGAMO
POTOLA (X)
MOLOMBA (Δ)
BAMBAKA
KELEMOKE

LINEAGE AND CLAN NAMES:

PUEMI (1) : (2): indicates different totemic branches of the same clan.

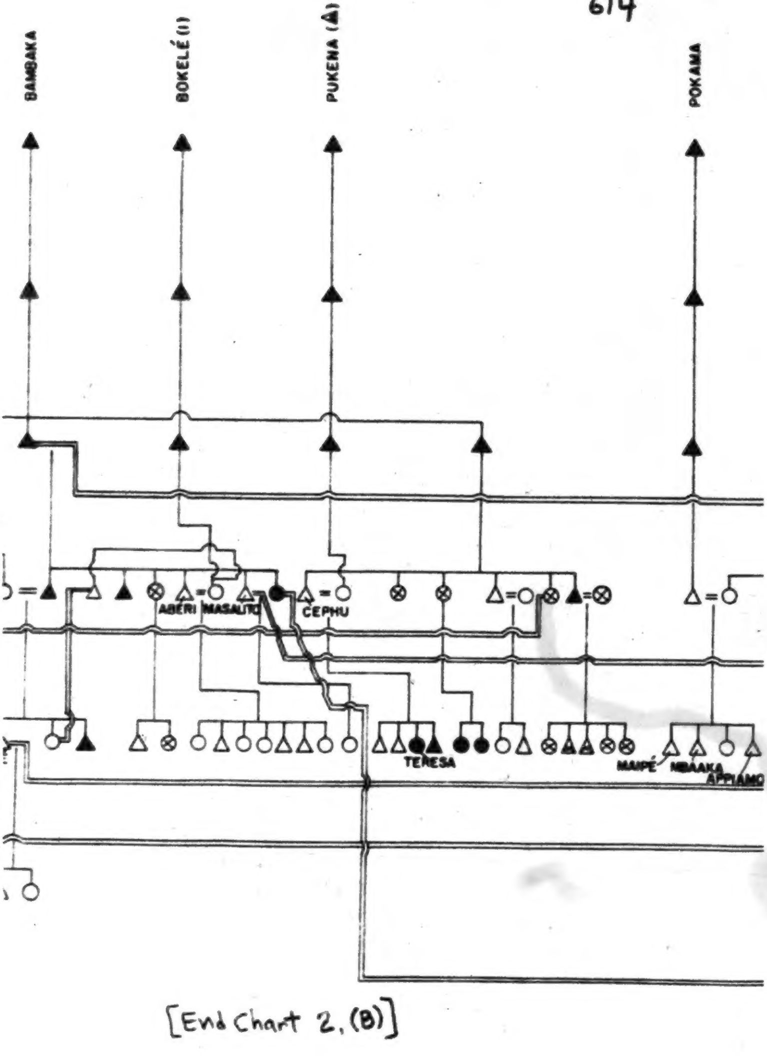
▲ ; ⊗ : Living members of other hunting bands not present at the molimo

Δ┐…┌O: An extended form of the conventional marriage symbol (=)

Δ ┌─○: is used when for convenience the eldest sibling has had to be placed on the right

[Er. Chart 2, (A)]

613
601
614

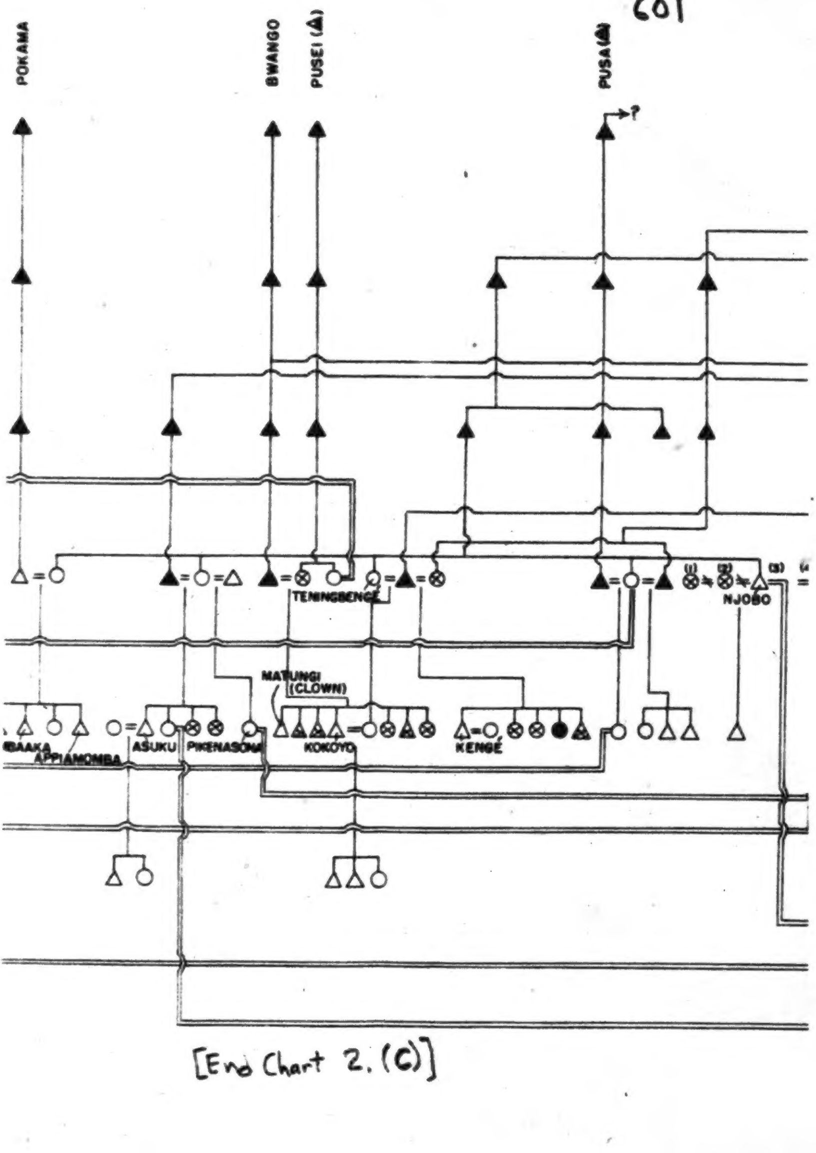

BAMBAKA
BOKELÉ (I)
PUKENA (Å)
POKAMA
ABERI
MASALITO
CEPHU
TERESA
MAIPÉ
MBAAKA
APPIAMO

[End Chart 2, (B)]

idest
right

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

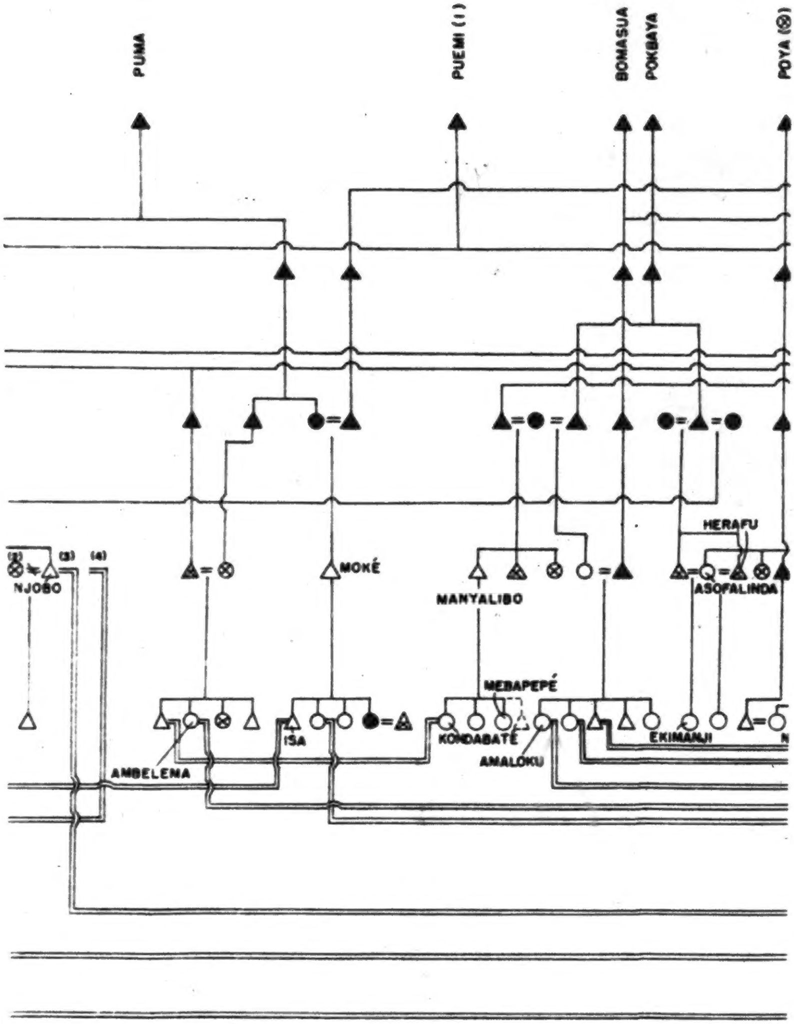
614
613
601


POKAMA
BWANGO
PUSEI (Δ)
PUSA (Δ)
?
TENINGBENGE
(1)
(2)
(3)
NJOBO
MATUNGI
(CLOWN)
BAAKA
APPIANOMBA
ASUKU
PIKENASONI
KOKOYO
KENGÉ

[End Chart 2. (C)]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

613
614
601


PUMA
PUEMI (!)
BOMASUA
POKBAYA
POYA (⊗)
HERAFU
(2)
(3)
(4)
NJOBO
MOKÉ
MANYALIBO
ASOFALINDA
MEBAPEPÉ
AMBELENA
ISA
KONDABATE
AMALOKU
EKIMANJI

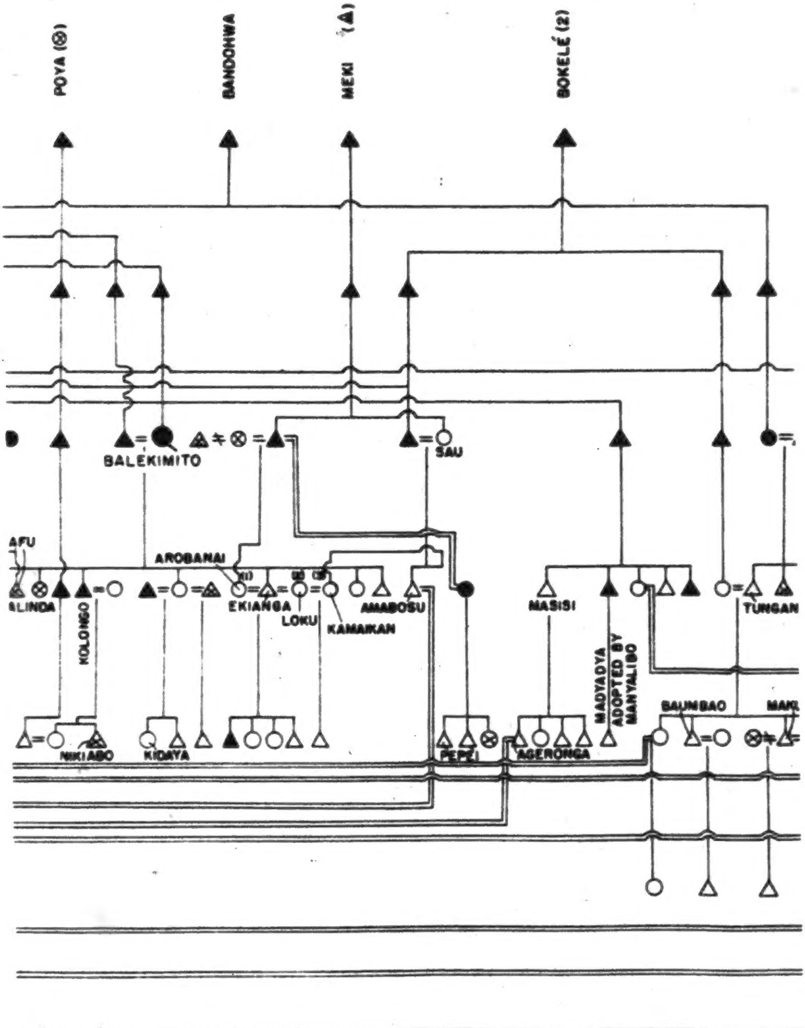
Composition of Epulu Net-Hunting Mbuti

OCT.–DEC. 1957

[End Chart 2, (D)]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

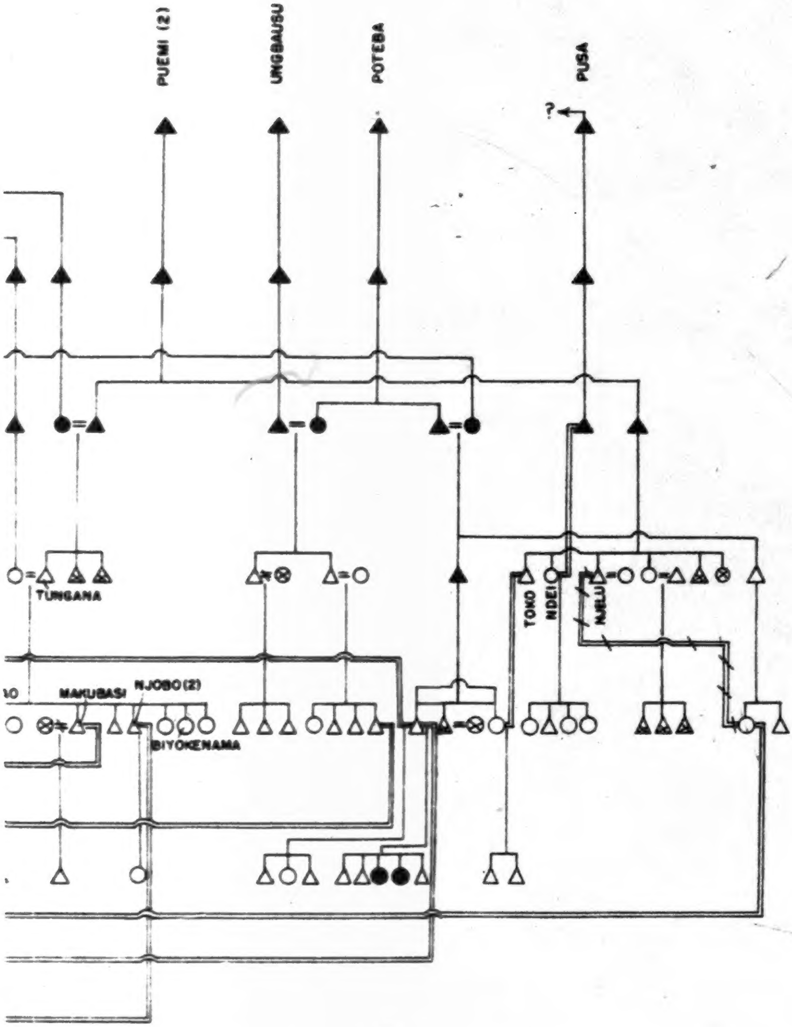
613
614
601


POYA (⊗)
BANDOHWA
MEKI (Δ)
BOKELÉ (2)
BALEKIMITO
SAU
AFU
AROBANAI
LINDA
KOLONGO
(1)
(2)
(3)
EKIANGA
LOKU
KAMAIKAN
AMABOSU
MASISI
MADYADYA ADOPTED BY MANYALIBO
TUNGAN
BAUMBAO
MAKI
NIKIABO
KIDAYA
PEPEI
AGERONGA

[End Chart 2, (E)]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

614
613
601


PUEMI (2)
UNGBAUSU
POTEBA
PUSA
?
TUNGANA
TOKO
NDEI
NJELU
AO
MAKUBASI
NJOBO(2)
BIYOKENAMA

[End Chart 2, (F)]

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He has made three extended field trips to Africa, from which he drew the material for this volume, as well as his two previous books, *The Forest People*, a more informal study of the Congo Pygmies, and *The Lonely African*, a study of tribalism and cultural change in modern Africa. He is a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and a Corresponding Member of Le Musée Royal d'Afrique Centrale.

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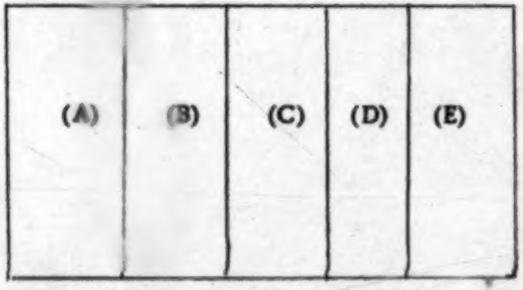

Chart of Positions of End Chart 1 (Plan 11).
[facing End Chart 1]

[For general information on culture contacts and acculturation processes between the Mbuti bands and the villagers, see the following pages in category 116: 8, 15-17, 22, 27-29, 33-38, 44-54, 56-80, 83-88, 108J, 108K, 109, 128, 143, 145, 150, 156-157, 177-178, 180, 201, 205, 214-215, 225-228, 229-231, 234-239, 243-244, 246, 251, 273, 281-283, 291-292, 294-300, 322-325, 331, 333-338.]

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[For additional information on Villager/Mbuti relationships in which interpersonal and/or kpara/kare (artificial kin) aspects predominate, see also 608, 571, 578.]

[For additional information on the honey season, but only as it pertains to the effect of that season's activities on community relations and structure, see 621, 628 and 221.]

[For additional information on the kpara-type relationship of villager to individual Mbuti Pygmies, see categories 177 and 571.]

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FO4 Pygmies FO4
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[For general discussions of "authority" in Mbuti society, see category 554.]

2: Turnbull

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[For additional information on the question of Villager influence on the Mbuti, and Villager/Mbuti cultural differences, see also Congo-Kinshasa FO1, categories 101, 241, 105, 628, 361.]

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[For information on personification of "forest" as Provider, on reification of "forest" as a single mighty being or force to be placated, and on projection onto forest of both man-like emotions and impersonal supernatural power and sanctity: see 778.]